MISSION ON THE MARGIN

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A CASE STUDY ON

REFORMED MISSION PROSPECTS

IN ENKUMANE,

KWAZULU-NATAL

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a Doctorate in Philosophy
in the School of Religion and Theology
at the University of KwaZulu-Natal

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DECLARATION

I, Marinus Jacob de Haan, hereby declare that this whole dissertation, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in this text, represents my original work.

I also declare that I have not otherwise submitted this dissertation in any form for any degree purpose or examination to any university.

Signature:

Date: 11 March 2010

ABSTRACT

Mission on the Margin

Since about 1960, a foreign missionary project, the 'Reformed Mission Enkumane', has been situated in eNkumane, a rural area on the banks of the uMkhomazi River in KwaZulu-Natal. In order to describe this missionary project and its role in the area, a study was completed of the following three topics: the history of the people in the eNkumane area, the history of three other missionary projects in the vicinity of eNkumane and the history of the Reformed Mission in eNkumane.

It was found that some of the inhabitants of eNkumane trace their history back to the northern parts of kwaZulu and Swaziland, from where their ancestors fled during the first half of the 19th century and moved in a south-westerly direction. They resettled at the uMkhomazi, where around the middle of the 19th century, the British Colonial Government started to divide the area and allocate it as commercial farmland. During the second half of the 19th century, the migration of labourers towards industrial centres started to deprive the area of especially the male part of the population for the majority of each year. Out of the migrant labour system several social webs grew which extend into industrial urban areas as far as Durban and Johannesburg. The ongoing drain of especially men and youngsters from the area looking for employment in industrial urban centres is counterbalanced by the return of community members through retirement, sickness or failure to maintain jobs. As a result, whilst the eNkumane can be seen as constituting a marginal area with a residue population, the homesteads also function as nodes in wide social webs.

At the time of arrival of the Reformed Mission in the area, three missionary projects had already been undertaken within a diameter of about 40 kilometres around eNkumane since the middle of the 19th century. A common characteristic of these projects was their focus on church, school, clinic and agriculture. Their missionary activities can be seen as a sharing of the Gospel with people in need across cultural barriers. The centre of each missionary project was a Mission Station, which in certain aspects simultaneously functioned as both a refuge and a threat to the surrounding community. At present, the former Mission Stations still comprise small congregations with a maximum of about 200 members.

The Reformed Mission Enkumane is a missionary project of a church in The Netherlands, which history is characterized by a number of church schisms that resulted from the struggle for its orthodox identity, especially concerning the independent status of local church congregations. Although the missionary project led to the formation of four local Reformed Churches elsewhere in the southern part of KwaZulu-Natal, in the eNkumane area, the project only really settled in a marginal way through its involvement in funerals, prayer meetings and occasional gatherings. Nonetheless, the project can been seen as a good example of missionary work defined as the activities of a church moving beyond its own boundaries into the margins of God's Kingdom. It offers a unique opportunity for people from different backgrounds to live, work and worship together.

ISIQOQO

Emaphethelweni ukuthunywa

Ngo-1960, umkhankaso waphesheya owabizwa ngokuthi yiReformed Mission Enkumane wafika emakhaya aseNkumane akhiwe phezu komfula uMkhomazi okwaZulu-Natali. Ukuchaza lomkhankaso neqhaza lawo kulendawo, kunocwaningo olunezihloko ezintathu oselwenziwe: umlando wabantu baseNkumane, umlando weziMishini ezintathu ezinkanke eNkumane, kanye nomlando weReformed Mission Enkumane.

Kutholakele ukuthi abanye babahlali baseNkumane banokuwulandela umlando wabo kusukela eNyakatho yezwe lakwaZulu-Natali naseSwazini, lapho oyisemkhulu baqhamuka khona mhlambe ngabo-1800 kuya ku-1850 baya ngase-Ningizimu-Ntshonalanga yezwe. Bakha endaweni phezu komfula uMkhomazi lapho uHulumeni wamaNgisi waqala wayidabula iziqephu izwe wayenza amasimu okuhweba abalimi. Mhlambe kusukela ngabo-1850 kuya phezulu kwabakhona ufuduko lokuya kofuna umsebenzi esilungwini, loko kwayiphazamisa indawo ikakhulukazi labo besilisa bomphakathi, bahamba emakhaya unyaka wonke. Ngenxa yalolofuduko kwabakhona izindlela zokuxhumana nalabo abasebenze behlala ezimbonini zasemadolobheni njengaseThekwini naseGoli. Ngalomsinga oqhubekayo amadoda emizi nabasha baya kofuna umsebenzi emadolobheni kwalingana asebenikwe impesheni nabagulayo noma abalahlekelwe ngokungawuphathi kahle umsebenzi, babuyele eNkumane. Ngenxa yaloku iningi lemizi eNkumane ifana nendawo esemaphethelweni kodwa futhi isebenza njengendawo yokuhlanganela.

Kusukela mhlambe ngomnyaka ka-1850 kwaqala izimishini ezintathu ezakhiwa ngokuqhelelana neNkumane cishe amakilomitha angamashumi-40 noma phansi. Lezimishini zagxila kakhulu ekwakheni amasonto, izikole, izinkungo zezempilo namasimu okulima. Umsebenzi walezimishini kube ngukumemezela iVangeli nabantu abantulayo ngokungavinjelwa imingcele yamasiko. Ingqikithi yaleziMishini ngayinye ukuthola indawo yokuhlala eyabuya yasebenza njengendawo yokuphephela nokumelana nomphakathi owakhelene nayo. Njengamanje leziMishini zisenawo amabandla amancane anamalunga cishe angaphansi ku-200.

IReformed Mission Enkumane iphetwe ibandla elilodwa laseNetherlands. Umlando walo uvezwa ukuhlungana kwabakholwayo ngokulwa ngeMfundiso kakhulu mayelana nokuzimela kwamabandla endawo. Umsebenzi weReformed Mission Enkumane udale ukusunguleka kwamabandla amane eReformed engxenyeni yeNingizimu yezwe lakwaZulu-Natali. Kodwa endaweni yaseNkumane iMishini ihlanganyela kancane emingcwabeni, emithandazweni nakweminye imicimbi. Nokho, inokubonakala injengesibonelo esihle somsebenzi weMishini onokuchazwa njengomsebenzi webandla wokubheka ngaphandle kwesonto emaphethelweni ombuso kaNkulunkulu, inike ithuba elikhethiwe ukuba abantu bamasiko ahlukene bakwazi ukuhlala nokusebenza nokukhonza ndawonye.

SAMENVATTING

Zending aan de Zelfkant

Sinds ongeveer 1960 is onder de naam Reformed Mission Enkumane een buitenlandse zendingsorganisatie werkzaam in eNkumane, een ruraal gebied op de oevers van de rivier de uMkhomazi in KwaZulu-Natal. Om dit zendingsproject te beschrijven werden de volgende drie onderwerpen onderzocht: de geschiedenis van de mensen in het eNkumane-gebied, de geschiedenis van drie andere zendingsprojecten in de omgeving en de geschiedenis van de Reformed Mission Enkumane zelf.

Het bleek dat sommige mensen in eNkumane hun geschiedenis herleiden tot de vlucht van hun voorouders uit het noorden van het huidige KwaZulu-Natal en uit Swaziland in het begin van de 19de eeuw. Ze vestigden zich op de oevers van de uMkhomazi in een gebied dat rond het midden van de 19de eeuw door de koloniale Britse overheid werd opgedeeld en verdeeld over een aantal commerciële boerderijen. In de loop van de tweede helft van de 19de eeuw trok met name het mannelijke deel van de bevolking weg uit eNkumane op zoek naar werk in industriële centra. Uit deze trekarbeid ontstonden verschillende sociale netwerken die zich uitstrekken tot in Durban en Johannesburg. Naast de nog steeds voortgaande stroom van met name mannen en jongeren uit het gebied, is er sprake van een voortdurende terugkeer van gepensioneerde, zieke en werkloze mensen. Het eNkumane gebied kan zodoende gezien worden als een randgebied met een residupopulatie, maar ook als een gebied van knooppunten in uitgestrekte sociale netwerken.

Sinds ongeveer het midden van de 19de eeuw hebben zich rond eNkumane een drietal zendingsorganisaties gevestigd in een gebied met een straal van ongeveer 20 kilometer. De zendingsprojecten kenmerkten zich door hun aandacht voor de kerk, onderwijs, gezondheidszorg en landbouw. De activeiten kunnen getypeerd worden als het delen van het Evangelie met mensen in nood die behoren tot een andere cultuur. Het centrum van de activiteiten van elk van deze zendingsorganisaties bestond uit een zendingspost die tegelijk een vluchthaven en een bedreiging voor de directe omgeving vormde. Op dit moment komen op de drie vroegere zendingsposten nog steeds kerkelijke gemeenten bij elkaar elk met minder dan 200 leden.

De Reformed Mission Enkumane is een zendingsproject van een plaatselijke kerk in Nederland. De geschiedenis van deze kerk kenmerkt zich door een voortdurende strijd om het behoud van de orthodoxe identiteit, vooral om het behoud van de zelfstandigheid van de plaatselijke gemeente. Uit het zendingswerk van deze kerk zijn in het zuiden van KwaZulu-Natal vier zelfstandige Gereformeerde gemeenten voortgekomen. In eNkumane zelf functioneert het zendingswerk vooral in de rand van de samenleving, tijdens begrafenissen, gebedsbijeenkomsten en in minder mate ook in andersoortige bijeenkomsten. Toch kan het gezien worden als een goed voorbeeld van eigentijdse zending bestaande uit het werk van een kerk buiten kerkelijke grenzen in de rand van het Koninkrijk van God. Bovendien biedt het een unieke mogelijkheid voor mensen met een totaal verschillende achtergrond om samen te leven, te werken en God te eren.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Above all else that can be said about this research report, 'Mission on the Margin' must primarily be recognized as a celebration of co-operation. The work would never have been completed without the involvement of the many people who contributed to the research and to the processing of its results. I am grateful to all of them and mention the following persons by name to thank them for their generous contributions.

I would like to thank the promoters the late Prof.Dr. M.K.D. Bediako and the late Prof.Dr. S. de Gruchy. It is with sadness that I remember Prof. Bediako, who passed away on 10th June 2008. He helped me listen to what he called the Voice of Africa. The supervision of the research was taken over by Prof. De Gruchy, who unfortunately passed away on 21st February 2010. He helped me see order in the overwhelming amount of details that were collected. I also like to thank Dr. B. Haddad who kindly assisted me in completing this thesis.

I received much help from the archivists of the archives mentioned in Appendix A.1. The names of the 59 interviewees who entrusted their stories to this research, are mentioned in Appendix A.2.

I thank the following persons for their revision of earlier versions of this report and for their valued suggestions and comments: I. Darby, M.M. Funeka (who also assisted with most of the interviews and with the isiZulu parts of the text), H. Ratering, H. Sterley, J.J. Visser, B.Wielenga and O.B. Wiersma.

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Finally, I thank God. It is to His honour and glory that the work described in this research took place.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1: Aim and Methodology

1.1 Introduction

Arriving as a missionary with my family in the eNkumane area in KwaZulu-Natal, in 1991, was a confusing experience.[1] Despite a long period of preparation, the relocation from The Netherlands to the present KwaZulu-Natal was full of surprises. In certain aspects and by certain people we were warmly welcomed. In other aspects we arrived in a hostile environment, partly because some people did not understand what we were coming for and partly because we arrived in an area immersed in a wave of violence. Only a few days after arriving at the Mission Post, a small son of one of the residing evangelists asked me what we wanted there, stating: "This is our Mission Post." One day, soon after our arrival, people at the Mission Post dropped their work and stared at pillars of smoke far in the west, stating: "*Bayazishisa izindlu zaseSimozomeni*" (They are burning the houses in eSimozomeni).[2] Over the following years, violence would spread all over the Richmond District and at times, women, children and old people would flock to the Mission Post for shelter during the night, too afraid to stay at home, stating: "*Impi ifikile*" (It is war). Three years later, South Africa was changed forever after the first general elections in 1994. The period of reconciliation and reconstruction which followed in South African society , was also experienced in its churches. Small notes made during this time and impressions from talks with many people grew into what became a study covering a period of 50 years, during which a foreign mission, the Reformed Mission Enkumane, interacted with people of different backgrounds who for different reasons spent at least a part of their lives in the eNkumane area. While demographically speaking, this area can be called a 'marginal' area, for some of the inhabitants their homesteads are nodes in communication webs which stretch as far as the metropolitan areas of Durban and Johannesburg. In this research, I have tried to catch something of the historical roots and the dynamics of this society, the movement of the people, their interaction with the Mission and the role the Mission has played and continues to play, often on the sidelines, in their lives.

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[1] Richmond is situated in the Midlands of KwaZulu-Natal. In 1994, at the time of the first general elections in South Africa, the Richmond Municipality measured only 6 square kilometres. In 1996, through the inclusion of the former 'townships' eNdaleni, eSimozomeni and kwaMagoda, Richmond became an area of about 450 square kilometres (A. Ragavaloo, 2008, p.7-8). In the year 2000, it was extended to 1050 square kilometres (C. Goodenough, 2004, p.1). Since the restructuring of the municipality in the year 2000, the areas eNkumane, St Bernard Mission, eNhlazuka, Strehla/Amandushill and Durslade form Ward 5 of the Richmond Municipality . Ward 5 is situated in the municipality's southeastern corner. Ward 1 of the municipality, Richmond Village, is situated about 38 kilometers southwest of Pietermaritzburg and about 100 kilometres west of Durban. About the demographics of the Richmond Municipality by the end of the year 2000, C. Goodenough (2004, p.1-2) states: "The Population is estimated at about 74 000... 90% of the new Richmond area had no basic infrastructure, housing, water, sewerage, roads, electricity, telephones or recreation facilities... nearly 47% is between 0 and 19 years of age... Unemployment is estimated to be about 38% [compared with 23% nationally; F. Smit, 2009]... An estimated 77% of households in Richmond earn less than R 1,500.00 per month." The size of the eNkumane area is about 25 square kilometres. The number of people living in eNkumane is about 2500, of whom about 5% are members of the Reformed Church Enkumane.

[2] ESimozomeni, together with eNdaleni and kwaMagoda, is part of Ward 6 situated to the west of the Richmond Municipality.

1.2 Aim of the Research

The Reformed Mission was established in eNkumane either at the end of the year 1959 or at the beginning of 1960, depending on one's interpretation of the term 'established'. During Christmas 1959, a Dutch missionary, Rev. J. Vonkeman held his first church service in eNkumane in a local homestead. By January 1960, he received permission from the South African Government to establish a Mission Post in the area. The historical record of these two events is of differing quality. Whereas the Government permission can be substantiated with a signed and stamped document, only a few elderly people remember the site of the homestead at which the 'first' service took place. The present ruins of the homestead bear no witness to what happened within its walls 50 years ago. The two events also have differing historical significance. The reasons for the owner of the homestead allowing a Dutch missionary to carry out a church service in his house were different to the missionary's reasons for entering the area. Furthermore, the reasons which led the South African Government to give permission for the building of a Mission Post in the area were different to both those of the missionary and the owner of the homestead. In fact, rather than discussing the historical fact of the establishment of the Reformed Mission, it would be more prudent to speak about the context of the establishment, the different histories which coincided at certain points in time. The history of the particular homestead was not the same as the histories of other homesteads in the area. The circumstances of the Dutch missionary were also noteworthy. He was sent by a specific local church in The Netherlands which was established in 1944, only 15 years prior. Additionally, the South African Government was in a momentous period of its history. In 1960, it was busy developing its Apartheid Policy, which would only be abandoned about thirty years later. Hence, the aim of the present research is, firstly, to describe these different histories, especially where they coincide in the eNkumane area during the second half of the 20th century.

Secondly, this research tries to establish the role of the Mission in the eNkumane area. For the Dutch church the area was situated at the end of the Christian world, an area where the biblical message had never been heard before. For the South African Government the area was a border area, the Government Trust Farm Groothoek, situated between a 'native location' and 'white' farms. For part of the local population, the area had been the centre of their lives for approximately 120 years. For others, those who had arrived recently, the area was no more than a temporary refuge in their ongoing migration from generation to generation. The Mission had to find a position in the area between differing interests and expectations and it tried to be part of a community in motion, consisting, at least partly, of people who explained their presence in this area with the fact that they were chased away elsewhere.

In pursuing the above-mentioned goals, this study concurrently seeks to give a contribution to the understanding of missionary work as an ongoing task of the church sent into the world. The importance of this work is not so much sought in structured engagements but rather in the encounters with people on the margin whose lives are characterized by a search for means of survival and healing.

1.3 Leading Questions and Hypotheses

To realize the aims identified above, several questions and hypotheses were formulated as guidelines for this research. I used as a starting point insights about the missionary project formulated in 1971 by J. Lagendijk, Secretary of the Mission Board.[3]

Firstly, questions may be asked about the people in the eNkumane area: who are they; what brought them to this area; what were their reasons to settle in an inaccessible area such as eNkumane? The following working hypothesis was formulated: During the second half of the 20th century, the inhabitants of the eNkumane area formed a homogeneous, stable, traditional group of people.[4] In this research it will be argued that, instead, the population of eNkumane consisted of different strata of people with different historical backgrounds drawn between a need for a place to stay and a need for paid work, living on a former commercial farm bought by the Government for resettlement.

Secondly, in a similar way, questions may be asked about the identity of the Reformed Mission, and about the Church which initiated this missionary project. As a second working hypothesis, it was stated: During the second half of the 20th century, the Reformed Mission represented a homogeneous stable traditional Church denomination. In this research it will be argued that, instead, the Reformed Mission is a missionary project of an orthodox foreign local church with a history of church schisms and a great emphasis on the independence of local congregations.

Thirdly, questions may be asked about the affinity of the people in eNkumane with Christianity: did they know about the Bible; did they have any previous experience with a church or a missionary project before the Reformed Mission was established in their area; do they engage with Christians outside the Reformed church? The following working hypothesis was formulated: When the Reformed Mission started to work in the eNkumane area, the inhabitants of the area had no previous experience with the Gospel nor with Christianity.[5] In this research it

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[3] In 1971, J. Lagendijk, the Secretary of the Mission Board in Kampen from 1959 until 1979, wrote an overview of the missionary project by the Free Reformed Church in Kampen, called 'Van Zorg en Zegen'.

[4] J. Langedijk (1971, p.101-102) describes the people in and around eNkumane as scattered peasants in a traditional Zulu area: "Het grootste gedeelte van ons zendingswerk wordt gedaan onder deze 'boerenbevolking' in de oorspronkelijke Zoeloe-gebieden... met een verspreide dunne bevolking." The description of the 'rural' setting suggests at least two more specific qualifications of the population: inferior living conditions and isolation. By 1971, in The Netherlands, small scale farming was disappearing quickly, refer for example G. Mak (1994, p.85): "De Grote Neergang"; and the term 'peasants' was generally used as an indication for inferior living conditions, refer for example, G. Dalton (1972, p.406): "Peasants of all times and places are structured inferiors." Lagendijk made no mention of their relationship to the land, whether, for example, they were relatively dependant tenants ('feudal peasants') or relatively independent landowners ('capitalist peasants'; M. Harris, 1983, p.164-165). The term 'in traditional Zulu areas' might suggest that they were seen by Lagendijk as people who lived in relative isolation over several generations.

[5] J. Lagendijk (1971, p.50) refers to the people in eNkumane as rough heathen people: "een ruw heidenvolk". He states that the first missionary on behalf of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen, Rev. J. Vonkeman, had to look for people who had not yet been touched by the Gospel: "Ds. Vonkeman... moest gaan zoeken naar een terrein waar uitsluitend heidenen woonden, een zgn. 'maagdelijk gebied'" (idem, p.25). He suggests that Rev. Vonkeman had found such people in eNkumane and that, excluding an 'Ethiopian Sect', they had no knowledge of Christianity nor of the Gospel: "alleen een kleine Ethiopische secte en verder heidendom" (idem, p.39).

will be argued that, instead, the inhabitants of eNkumane have a history of small scale contacts with Christianity which dates back from before the establishment of the Reformed Mission in their area; that they are involved in different European Initiated Churches and African Initiated Churches.

Fourthly, questions may be asked about the goal of the missionary project in eNkumane: what did the Mission want to realize; how did it envisage its position in the community; what type of co-operation with the local population did it strive for; and what did it accomplish? The following working hypothesis was formulated: The Reformed Mission exclusively sought to preach the Gospel without involving itself otherwise with the local community.[6] In this research it will be argued that, instead, the Reformed Mission was involved in a symbiotic complex relationship with the eNkumane community using isiZulu speaking people from outside the area to assist with the preaching of the Gospel and continuously negotiating the needs and expectations of the community.

Finally, related to the fourth hypothesis, questions may be asked about the significance of the Reformed Mission in eNkumane for the debate about missionary work in general: did the Reformed Mission have unique characteristics; did it contribute to the understanding of what missionary work can entail in the 21st century; did it contribute to the understanding of Christianity or of God's Kingdom? The following working hypothesis was formulated: The Reformed Mission proved that 'mission' is the sole responsibility of a local church council to send an ordained minister to an area where the Word of God is not preached otherwise. It will be argued in this research that this definition of 'mission', induced by the specific situation of the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands during the middle of the 20th century, does not explain the range of activities undertaken by the Reformed Mission in eNkumane and overlooks the importance of reciprocity in missionary work. Moreover, it will be argued that the major achievement of the Reformed Mission was that it managed to be part of the eNkumane community during a period of State induced segregation and discrimination, that it crossed cultural and race barriers by taking part in the history of a disadvantaged community and showed the importance of the margins of God's Kingdom as a central focus of modern missionary work.

1.4 Sources of Information

This study is an example of participatory research in the sense that, since 1991, the researcher has been part of the process under study.[7] The result is that elements of the collected

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[6] J. Lagendijk (1971, p.4) states that the aim of the Reformed Mission is the proclamation of the Gospel: "Wie zending zegt, zegt (uitsluitend) prediking van het Evangelie." However, already in the course of the 1960s, the formulation of the aim started to change. Referring to the Reformed Mission in the eNkumane area in 1962, J. Lagendijk (idem, p.34) writes about the Gospel of the Kingdom: "Schriftuurlijk gezien meen ik dat zending is: prediking van het Evangelie van het Koninkrijk." Referring to the situation in 1967, he writes about the Gospel of God's love: "Het eigenlijke zendingswerk [is]: de prediking van Gods liefde - in woord en daad" (idem, p.73).

[7] H.R. Bernard (1994, p.136-137) states about 'Participant Observation Fieldwork': "It involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives... Participant observation fieldwork can involve an array of data collection methods. These include observation, natural conversation, various kinds of interviews (structured, semi-structured and unstructured),

information constitute inside information and one cannot eliminate the possibility that some components of the information may reflect subjective interpretations due to the specific position of the researcher. However, an attempt has been made to nullify the weakness of being an involved participant by using this disposition to become an informed interviewer, well-known in the community.[8] Oral information given by one person was checked against oral information given by others and against information found in public and private archives. An indispensable source of information about the roots of the people living in the eNkumane area are 'The James Stuart Archives' published by C. De B. Webb & J.B. Wright between 1961 and 2001. Secondary literature is used to describe the history of South Africa in general (especially D. Oakes, 1994), of KwaZulu-Natal (especially A. Duminy & B. Guest, 1989) and of Richmond (C. Coulson, 1986, and A. Ragavaloo, 2008). To obtain additional information about the eNkumane area, I visited the following archives: Natal Archives in Pietermaritzburg; Title Deeds Office in Pietermaritzburg; Richmond-and-Byrne Museum in Richmond. Most of the information obtained about the eNkumane area is processed in Part 1 of this research, called 'Groot Hoek / eNkumane: the Area and its History'.

In Part 2 of this Research, called 'Missionary Projects around eNkumane', a comparison is made with neighbouring Mission Stations in order to evaluate the position and the activities of the Reformed Mission in eNkumane. For this part of the research archival material is used from: the Richmond-and-Byrne Museum; the Natal Diocesan Archives in Pietermaritzburg; the Mariannhill Monastery Archives; the Catholic Parish St. Joseph in Richmond. Furthermore, the archivists were asked to comment on previous versions of the text of this research in as far as it was based on material found in their respective archives. The archivists involved reacted positively and their comments and suggestions were used for the final version of the text.

Most information for Part 3 of this research, called 'Reformed Mission Enkumane' is obtained through direct observations, informal talks, unstructured interviews and during different kinds of church meetings over a period of approximately 18 years, between about 1991 and 2009. This information was compared with historical documents available at the Reformed Mission in eNkumane, the Mission Archive in Kampen and with secondary literature offering earlier attempts to categorize the available information about the Reformed Mission: J. Lagendijk (1971); T. Schaafsma (1984); C. Breman (1985).

In Part 4 of this research, called 'Reforming Mission'[9] an attempt is made to analyze and evaluate the information found in this research, especially concentrating on the motives, the possibilities and the importance of the Reformed Mission Enkumane. For several themes

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checklists, questionnaires and unobtrusive methods." The specific position of the researcher in this study is indicated by H.R. Bernard with the term 'Observing Participant' (idem, p.138).

[8] One of the relevant advantages of participant observation is, according to H.R. Bernard (1994, p.142): "Many research problems simply can not be addressed adequately by anything except participant observation."

[9] The title 'Reforming Mission' refers to the title of D.J. Bosch's book 'Transforming Mission', which forms the background of the last chapters of this research. Bosch explains the pun in the title as follows: "'Transforming' can be an adjective describing 'mission'. In this case, mission is understood as an enterprise that transforms reality. 'Transforming' can, however, also be a present particle, the activity of transforming, of which 'mission' is the object. Here, mission is not the enterprise that transforms reality, but something that is itself being transformed" (D.J. Bosch, 1991, p.xv).

mentioned in this part of the research, the reader may be referred to secondary literature, as for example L. Bauerochse (1996), K. Bediako (1992), D.J. Bosch (1991), and I. Daneel & others (2005).

1.5 Oral History

In order to describe the area under research and the identity of its people, informally obtained information was checked and extended in 'unstructured interviews'.[10] The interviewees, people who live in the area, who once lived in the area, or who were in other ways at some time directly involved with the area, participated on an unpaid voluntary basis. Although no specific sample was chosen, most interviewees were 50 years or older. Sometimes, participants referred to others who might contribute. Most of the time, these suggestions proved to be very valuable. The majority of the in total 59 unstructured interviews was held during the years 2002 until 2004. The common aim of the interviews, as discussed with the interviewees, was to conserve their knowledge about the area for future generations.[11] The interviews were not recorded on audio-tape, the impression being that most interviewees were not comfortable with the idea that their voices were put on tape.[12] Sometimes, even requests by the interviewer to take photographs were denied, as they were associated by some with police investigations. The interviews were essential for the research and the pen-and-paper notes made during the interviews provided a sufficient basis for an oral history of the community.[13] To prevent distortion of the oral information, where possible, follow-up interviews were held.

When asked to tell about their history (*umlando*), most of the interviewees referred to a sequence of male ancestors. Often this sequence ended with the first ancestor who had arrived in the area. Sometimes, the interviewees remembered a few stories about this first ancestor ('stories of origin'). It was found that the first arrivals in the area likely occurred between 1830 and 1840, a date reconstructed by the researcher on the basis of comparisons with written sources. Often the ancestor who was the first one in his family to arrive in the area is remembered as a 'founding hero'. Sometimes, a few brothers are remembered as having arrived together, their father's name

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[10] H.R. Bernard (1994, p.209) states about 'unstructured interviews': "Unstructured interviews are based on a clear plan that you keep constantly in mind but are also characterized by a minimum of control over the informants' responses." Many interviews in the present research started with a question about names of ancestors still known to the interviewee: father, grandfather and so forth, for as many generations as possible. Subsequently, starting with the oldest name remembered, questions were asked about the place of burial, about the names of wives and from where they came and about work or, in the case of peasants, about their cattle or produce. The main purpose of all questions was to stimulate the interviewees to talk about their family histories.

[11] About oral history, Marlene Winburg (S. Coan, 2003) remarked: "Oral history is about healing before it is about anything else. You need to know where you are coming from before you can know where you are going". However, in the present research, history (*umlando*) was, especially by youngsters, generally considered as something to do with old people. Only a few youth participated in the research and most of them did not identify themselves with their living area.

[12] During the years 2002 and 2003, a recorder was used to collect choruses sung in the eNkumane area.

[13] About the importance of oral history, B.M. Robertson (2000, p.3) states: "Indeed, one of the most important uses of oral history is to record the perspectives of disadvantaged people who traditionally have been ignored or misinterpreted in conventional historical records."

being forgotten, or simply remembered as 'grandfather' (*umkhulu*). A significant exception was found amongst the Mkhize, who are still accepted as the traditional leaders in the area. Some members of the Mkhize family are able to recollect stories about events which took place before their family arrived in the area under research. Their original 'founding hero' never arrived in the area where his descendants live now.

Fortunately enough, the content of several 'stories of origin' collected during the present research, could be matched with two interviews in 1913 with people from the same area, Mbokodo Mkhize and Mandlakazi Sishi.[14] The comparison with the earlier interviews gave insight into the ongoing process of reconstruction of the collective memories of the community about the time of arrival at the uMkhomazi River. One of the main features of this process is the emergence of a 'founding hero'.[15] This process clearly took place in the Mkhize family. In the 1913 interviews, Mbokodo Mkhize described his family as descendants of Sambela Mkhize, a violent warrior of King Shaka Zulu. After, in 1828, King Dingane had murdered his brother King Shaka, he also eliminated most of King Shaka's military officers, including Sambela Mkhize. Around 1830, after Sambela was killed, his descendants fled from KwaZulu (north of the uThukela River) and moved in a southwesterly direction followed by the descendants of Sambela's brother, Zihlandlo Mkhize. A few years after Sambela was killed, one of King Shaka's most important military officers, Zihlandlo, was also killed by King Dingane. The refugees were joined by Nsele Mkhize, the only surviving brother of Sambela and Zihlandlo. However, during the present research hardly any of the interviewees of the Mkhize families remembered the names of Sambela and Nsele. Without exception, the interviewees claimed that they were descendants of Zihlandlo Mkhize, probably because of his high position in the Shaka Empire. Those few who remembered the name Sambela, had no idea of the relationship between Sambela and Zihlandlo; moreover, Nsele was referred to as a descendant of Zihlandlo.[16] Apparently, in the Mkhize families, the restructuring of the memories about the 'time of origin' led to the ideology that all Mkhize descend Zihlandlo, who as mentioned above, was a famous military leader of King Shaka around the time the Mkhize left their area at the uThukela River and moved in a southwesterly direction to the uMkhomazi River.

To illustrate the importance of Zihlandlo Mkhize as a 'founding hero' of the Mkhize, reference can be made to a meeting of the Mkhize held during the year 2008 at the traditional

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[14] For the 1913 interview with Mbokodo Mkhize see JSA-III, 1982, p.1-22; for the 1913 interview with Mandlakazi Sishi see JSA-II, 1979, p.174-198.

[15] J. Vansina (1985, p.169) states that the presence of 'founding heroes' is a main sign of structuring of memories over successive generations. The 'time of origin' gets centred around a single historical person of high standing. In the present research, it is found that a 'founding hero' may be an ancestor with an exceptionally important position in the community, but it may also be the ancestor who was the first one to build a house in a certain area. Consequently, over several generations, one family may have more than one 'founding hero'. For example, as described in chapter 4, Zihlandlo Mkhize, who held an exceptional high position in the empire of King Shaka, functions as a 'founding hero' of the Mkhize who settled at the uMkomazi River in the area under research, despite the fact that he was not their direct biological ancestor. Yet, Ngangezwe, who was their first *inkosi* to settle at the uMkhomazi, also functions in their stories as a 'founding hero'.

[16] D. Mkhize (2004*) reported the descent line: Zihlandlo → Kunezi → Zingele → Nsele, whereas the correct descent line according to the present research should be Zihlandlo → Siyingele → Ngunezi, Nsele being Zihlandlo's brother (compare the family tree Mkhize① in Chapter 4).

homestead of the Mkhize *amakhosi* in eZulwini, in the area under research. One of the topics discussed during this meeting was the question whether Zihlandlo was the son or the father of Gcwabe Mkhize. If Zihlandlo had been the father of Gcwabe, he would automatically be the ancestor of all Mkhize who had settled at the uMkhomazi River about 170 years ago. This would fit his status as 'founding hero'. However, in line with the findings during this research, the meeting decided that Zihlandlo was not the father but the son of Gcwabe. Zihlandlo, although 'a founding hero' for all the Mkhize in the area, was the biological forefather of only some of them.

An interesting aspect of the restructuring of memories over successive generations is what J. Vanisa calls the 'floating gap', the lack of memories about the period between the 'time of origin', often the time of arrival in an area, and the recent past.[17] All stories of the far past are remembered as stories about the 'time of origin'. It was found in the present research that the period between the arrivals in the area during the first half of the 19th century and the more recent past was only remembered by a succession of male ancestors who were each recalled by name and by place of burial. No specific stories were remembered about one of these 'in-between' ancestors. For the present research, their burial sites were of special interest. Traditionally, a man is buried in the homestead which he has built. So, a sequence of burial sites in a family is a reliable indication of the migration pattern of the family.

The expression 'floating gap' explains the way memories are restructured over successive generations. Evidently, as history goes on, the content of 'the recent past' changes. Important stories that were 'recent past' for one generation become 'stories of origin' for a subsequent one. Most stories merely evaporate, leaving behind the names of those who form the link between the family's origin and its recent past. This bridging sequence of mere names is what is called the 'floating gap', its beginning sometimes obscured or confused, its end moving on with the successive generations. An illustration of this re-attachment of information to the 'time of origin' was found in the Sishi family. One of the praise names (*isithakazele*) of the Sishi family was found to be: *Beqangalephesheyakwezilwandle* (they-jumped-across-the-oceans). An old member of the family explained that this name refers to a story about his grandfather who had worked in England for several years.[18] A young member of the same family, asked to explain the praise name, supposed that her family originally came from overseas.[19]

Memories about the recent past, collected during the present research, cover roughly the whole of the 20th century. Characteristic for memories about the recent past is that they are still related to specific persons and to history markers, historical events which are more or less collectively remembered. In the present research, the following history markers emerged: two locust plagues; the arrival of a local commercial farmer; certain government agricultural advisers; the arrival of the first foreign missionary; the first general democratic elections in South Africa. In the course of the research, these history markers were dated as accurately as possible, and used as

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0. J. Vansina, 1985, p.23.

[18] M. Sishi, 2003*.

[19] S. Sishi, 2003*.

a frame for the chronological ordering of individual memories.[20]

1.6 Processing Information

Written sources were used during the research to substantiate and put into perspective the oral information. The written sources include private and government archives (see Appendix A: 'Written and Oral Sources'). In the notes at the end of each chapter archival information is referred to with the following code sequence:

[archive code]: [date of document, a letter indicating chronological order]#

For example, the indication 'TNA: 1916a#' in an endnote refers to the appendix 'Written and Oral Sources' at the back of this thesis, 'The National Archives - United Kingdom', the first document listed under 1916. Only in the case of a reference to the Title Deeds Office Pietermaritzburg, the relevant archive reference to a specific document is included in the endnote. For example, 'TOP: the grants 7365 and 7366, 1908#' refers to the 'Title deeds Office Pietermaritzburg', the grants 7365 and 7366, both documents issued in 1908.

Generally, the oral accounts and the written documents represent two different historical perspectives and typically refer to the research area with two different names. In the interviews the name 'eNkumane' is used for the area under research. The name 'Groot Hoek' was found in written accounts referring to the same area as a commercial farm. In this research, an overview is made of the sequence of owners of the farm Groot Hoek from when it was granted in 1851. For each owner the reason for the purchase, the way it was used as a private property and what the owner's impact on the local inhabitants was, is queried. The interwoven history of eNkumane and *Groot Hoek* raises the question about the position and impact of the Reformed Mission.

1.7 Writing Names

1.7.1 The Titles Rev., Prof. and St

When the name of a minister is mentioned in this research, the title 'Rev.' is used: e.g. Rev. J. Vonkeman. Anglican ministers are also referred to as Rev., e.g. Rev. H. Callaway, although they are usually introduced in written documents as 'the Reverend'or 'the Revd.' followed by the initials (or first name) and surname. In a similar way, the title Prof. is used for a university professor, e.g. Prof. K. Schilder.

When the abbreviation for Saint, 'St' or 'St.', is used in the name of a church building or mission station, the abbreviation appears without a period in this research, e.g. 'St Andrew's Church' and 'St Bernard Mission'.

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[20] J. Vansina (1985, p.180) warns against the absolute use of history markers like calamities, stating: "If a calamity is mentioned in an account ... we cannot ask whether an event happened before or after a given calamity ... In the best cases the informant remembers an account that involves a calamity."

1.7.2 Names in isiZulu

Generally in this research, names in isiZulu are spelled in accordance with the proposals made by A. Koopman (2002) and by the IBhodi Lezilimi Eningizimu Ne-Afrika (2008). Names in isiZulu are spelled with prefixes in small letters, the only exception being the spelling of personal names (*igama* and *isibongo*), which are written without the prefixes 'u-' (singular) and 'o-' (plural), e.g. Bongani and the Mkhize, instead of uBongani and oMkhize.[21] The maiden name of a married woman is given with the prefix 'Ma-' and may be followed by her husband's surname, e.g. Ntombovu MaNcwane Mkhize. When a group of amalgamated people with different surnames (*izibongo*) is referred to, the prefixes 'ama-' and 'aba-' are used in small letters, e.g. amaKhuze and abaMbo. In area names, the first consonant after a vowel is written with a capital letter, e.g. eMakhuzeni, eMbo, kwaVishavisha.

For the names of rivers, the prefixes 'u-' and 'i-' (sometimes part of 'isi-') are maintained, e.g. the uNompofane River and the iNgwegwe River. In a similar way, the prefixes 'u-' and 'i-' are maintained in the spelling of the names of mountains, e.g. the uNomabhunga Mountain and the iNhlazuka Mountain. The corresponding prefixes 'kwa-' and 'e-' are used for areas surrounding a specific river or mountain, e.g. kwaNompofane, kwaNomabhunga, eNgwegwe and eNhlazuka. Some area names contain a locative suffix in correspondence with the pronunciation, for example, eMntungwaneni, the area around the uMntungwana River, eNdaleni, the area around the iNdala River, and eMaromeni, the area around a Roman Catholic Mission (*amaRoma*).

However, when geographical names are part of the established name of an organization or a village, the spelling of these geographical names is not adjusted according to the above-mentioned rules. As a result, the following 'conflicting' names can be found: iNdala River and eNdaleni area besides Indaleni Mission and Indala High School. Similarly, the following 'conflicting' names are used: the iNkumane Mountain and the eNkumane area besides the Reformed Mission Enkumane; and the iLovu River besides the Mid-Illovo Village.

Also in quotations, geographical and personal names have not been changed. So the name Umkomaas River (used in a quotation) and the name uMkhomazi River can be found side by side, referring to the same river. In a similar way, names like King Tshaka and Zihlandhlo (used in quotations) can be found besides King Shaka and Zihlandlo.

1.7.3 ENkumane, Groot Hoek and Groothoek

The names eNkumane, Groot Hoek and Groothoek more or less indicate the same area. Since 2000, eNkumane is the name of a Ward of the Richmond Municipality and consists of an area of about 25 square kilometres directly west of the iNkumane Mountain. However, in this research, the name eNkumane is used to also include an area directly east of the iNkumane Mountain (eNgwegwe) and an area directly south of eNkumane on the southern banks of the uMkhomazi River, an additional 25 square kilometres. The reason for this extension is that, over

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[21] A. Koopman (2002) does not explicitly refer to a rule for the use of the personal prefixes 'u-' and 'o-' in a English context, but usually leaves them out. Inadvertently, he uses 'uNtombenhle' besides 'Gugulethu' in the same sentence (idem, p.22).

the last 50 years, the people in this wider area of about 50 square kilometres share a common history with the Reformed Mission Enkumane.

In 1851, about 15 square kilometres of the eNkumane area was granted by the Government as the farm Groot Hoek with title deed no.1000 set aside for commercial farming. Groothoek (one word) is the name of a Government Trust Farm, established in 1940, consisting of Groot Hoek (title deed no.1000), Dartnell (no.3689), Mqolombene (no.1054) and Inhlazuka View (no.11068).

1.7.4 Church Denominations, their Councils, Universities and Missions

Although generally, the non-English names of church denominations and local churches have been maintained and are written in *italics*, an exception is made for the spelling of the names of one South African denomination, the *Vrye Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* and two Dutch church denominations, the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (Vrijgemaakt)* and the *Nederlands Gereformeerde Kerken*. Because these names are mentioned often in this research, they are translated in English. The name 'Free Reformed Churches' is used for the *Vrye Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* and for the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (Vrijgemaakt)*.[22] The name 'Netherlands Reformed Churches' is used for the *Nederlands Gereformeerde Kerken*. It must be noted that, in the Reformed tradition, a local church consisting of a group of believers with its own church council, is seen as a complete representation of the church. Accordingly, the denomination Free Reformed Churches consists of several local churches, including for example the Free Reformed Church in Kampen. In a similar way, the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid Afrika* consist of several local churches, including for example the *Gereformeerde Kerk in Pietermaritzburg*.

The Dutch names for Church Councils and Synods have been translated: Church Council (for: *Kerkenraad*), Regional Council (for: *Classis*, and for: *Regionale Vergadering*), Provincial Synod (for: *Provinciale Synode*), and National Synod (for: *Nationale Synode*, and for: *Landelijke*

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[22] In this research, the name '*Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (Vrijgemaakt)*' has been translated with 'Free Reformed Churches' or with 'Free Reformed Churches in the Netherlands'. Yet, it must be stated that these churches themselves translate their name in English with 'Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (Liberated)', e.g. B. Wielenga, 2004. There are two reasons to deviate from this common practice. In the first place the word 'Liberated' has a strong political connotation in South Africa and accordingly, can be confusing. The second reason to use the name Free Reformed Churches in this research, is that the *Vrye Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*, the sister churches of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (Vrijgemaakt)*', translate their name in English with 'Free Reformed Churches in South Africa'. For these reasons the translation 'Free Reformed Churches' seems to be appropriate and clear in a South African context.
The only reason why the name Free Reformed Churches might be confusing is the fact that, in Canada and in the United States of America, the name 'Free Reformed Churches' is used for sister churches of the '*Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*', while the sister churches of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (Vrijgemaakt)* in North America are called the 'Reformed Churches in Canada and America'. Because, in this research, the Reformed Churches in Canada and America play no role, this possible confusion is neglected here and the straightforward name 'Free Reformed Churches' is used to indicate the 'church family' formed by the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* (Vrijgemaakt) and the *Vrye Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*. Where necessary, the additions 'in The Netherlands' or 'in South Africa' are used. When the name Reformed Church is used in singular, usually, the Church name is followed by 'in' and by the name of the place where the specific congregation can be found, for example, the 'Free Reformed Church in Kampen'.

Vergadering). Occasionally, the name Council is used as the equivalent of Synod, e.g. in the combination 'the Regional, Provincial and National Councils'. Of the Universities initiated by the different Reformed Churches in The Netherlands, the name of the *Vrije Universiteit* in Amsterdam, is used in its common translation Free University, as opposed to the two theological universities in Kampen: the *Theologische Hoogeschool* of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* and the *Theologische Hoogeschool* of the Free Reformed Churches.[23]

The word 'congregation' is used as the indication for especially Protestant local groups of believers, e.g. the Reformed congregation in eNkumane. When used with a capital, Congregation, it indicates a Roman Catholic order of religious persons bound by a common rule or vow, e.g. Congregation of Missionaries of Mariannhill.

The names of the missionary projects described extensively in this research are written as follows: the Indaleni Mission, the Springvale Mission and the St Bernard Mission. Their church denominational classifications are not seen as part of their names. For the mission project which is at the centre of this research the following three names are used: Kampen Mission, Reformed Mission and Reformed Mission Enkumane. The term Kampen Mission refers to that part of the missionary project which is situated in the city of Kampen, in The Netherlands. It includes the initiative, the supervision and the fund raising for the project under the responsibility of the Church Council of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen (since 1979, the Netherlands Reformed Church in Kampen), represented by its local Mission Board in Kampen. The term Reformed Mission stands for the name under which the Kampen Mission was established in the present day Richmond District in KwaZulu-Natal. The term Reformed Mission Enkumane stands for that part of the Reformed Mission which works from the Mission Station in eNkumane.

1.8 Bible Quotations

Generally in this research, Bible quotations are taken from the *Good News Bible - Today's English Version* (Bible Society of South Africa, 1979, in the edition of 1996) and the *IBhayibheli eliNgcwele* (Bible Society of South Africa, 1959, in the edition of 1977). In some cases, reference is made to the *IBaible eliNgcwele* (Bible Society of South Africa, 1893, in the edition of 1974) or a self-made working translation is used.[24]

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[23] As a result of the Dutch tertiary education law of 1987, both theological schools in Kampen received the status of 'university' and, accordingly, changed their names into 'Theologische Universiteit'.

[24] The *IBaible eliNgcwele* in its first edition of 1883 was published by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The translation was thoroughly revised for the edition of 1893. Although difficult to read, this translation is still in use in several Zionist Churches and in the Iblandla lamaNazaretha.

Part 1

GROOT HOEK / ENKUMANE: THE AREA AND ITS HISTORY

Chapter 2: Groot Hoek

2.1 Introduction

Part 1 (chapters 2 to 9) of this research describes the history of the area under study over the last two centuries. Chapter 2 describes this history from the perspective of the farm Groot Hoek. Chapter 3 deals with the perspective of a local 'Indian' shopkeeper whose shop was a link between the commercial farms surrounding the area and the local population of eNkumane. The chapters 4 and 5 give a description from the perspective of the local population. Chapter 6 describes the interwoven history of the farm and the local population during the first half of the 20th century and the area's history after the Government bought Groot Hoek in 1940. Part 1 is closed with a description of the eNkumane area around the turn to the 21st century (chapters 7 and 8). It will be asserted in these chapters that historical trends in the eNkumane area over the 19th and 20th century reflect those of the present KwaZulu-Natal as a whole. During the 19th century, the area was impacted by at least three major developments: the concentration of power in the north around the beginning of the century, the arrival of settlers of European origin during the first half of the century and the loss of independence and increasing poverty among the rural population during the 1870's.

By the beginning of the 19th century, a process of political centralisation had taken place in the northern parts of the present KwaZulu-Natal, leading to the formation of the Zulu Kingdom by King Shaka and his successors King Dingane and King Mpande.[1] This process was probably initiated by rapid population growth, lack of resources and expanding international trade.[2] As the process became increasingly militant, displaced people started to move in a southwesterly direction. Some of them arrived at the uMkhomazi River[3] in eNkumane, where their descendants still live today.

The second development, probably accelerating the first one, was the influx of settlers of

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[1] King Shaka lived from 1787 until 1828; King Dingane from 1795 until 1840; King Mpande from 1810 until 1872.

[2] J. Wright & C. Hamilton, 1989, p.59-60.

[3] The origin of the name 'uMkhomazi' is unknown. Some writers analyse the name on the basis of the isiZulu lexicon, while others suggest that the name might have been introduced from outside South Africa. A. Koopman (2002, p.130) states that the name of the uMkhomazi River is derived from the noun *umkhomazi* (= female whale), referring to "the well-known story of Shaka and his warriors being fascinated by the sight of female whales playing with their calves in the shallow waters of the estuary." Yet, it must be taken into account that, during the 19th century, the name was consequently spelled as 'Umkomanzi'. Therefore, V. Moodley (1984, p.34) suggests that the name uMkhoma(n)zi must be explained as "gatherer of waters" (*-kha amanzi* = to draw water). This explanation parallels the explanation of the name uMsunduzi/e River as "pusher (of water)" (*-sunduza* = to push forcefully). One of the seven rivers with the name uMsunduzi/e runs through Pietermaritzburg (A. Koopman, 2002, p.137-8). However, this analysis was not supported by interviewees in this research, as they use the term *ukukha amanzi* for drawing water with an instrument, for example, a jug, which cannot be said of a river.
The name 'uMkhomazi' might also have been introduced from outside the present South Africa by, for example, the abaMbo referring to the 'inKomazi River' in the present Mozambique where their place of residence had been until the 16th century. According to Bryant (1929, p.316-317), the 'inKomazi' is a "tributary of the Crocodile or Menyisa, entering the Delagoa Bay." Moreover, 'Mkomazi' is the name of a tributary which enters the Pangani River at the Mkomazi Village about 20 Km west of Korogwe, Tanzania.

European origin during the first half of the 19th century. Some, mainly British settlers, entered via Port Natal (Durban). Others, Dutch speaking 'Trekkers', arrived from the West, around 1838, coming from the Cape Colony under the leadership of Piet Retief and Gerrit Maritz. In 1838, they established the Republic Natalia and its capital Pietermaritzburg. From there, the southern part of the present KwaZulu-Natal was surveyed and granted to farmers and speculators, especially after, in 1843, the British Government annexed the new republic. The annexation was followed by a planned colonization, which brought about 5000 immigrants from Britain to Natal between 1849 and 1852.[4] About 1000 of them were directed to the Richmond district by Joseph Byrne's 'Emigration and Colonization Company'.[5] Many grants in the district were actually used as farms from the onset, others were bought for speculative purposes.

The third development, during the 1870's, was the growing poverty and the loss of independence by most of the rural population. Partly, this process parallelled similar developments in rural areas elsewhere in the world during the second half of the 19th century, with the advent of industrialisation introducing mechanisation and new farming techniques which undermined the profits of small scale farmers and the need for farm labourers.[6] In a sense, however, this process was also unique to South Africa, the result of the legislative segregation of African, Indian and European settlers and the systematic advantage given to the last group:[7]

1. Private ownership of land was predominantly granted to 'white' settlers, culminating in the Land Act No.27 of 1913,[8] preventing Africans from purchasing land or squatting on 'white' farms.[9]
2. The authority of tribal chiefs was systematically curtailed, for example by the Native Administrative Act of 1875; The chiefs became salaried Government Officials and the appointment of chiefs and their officials had to be approved by the Government.
3. The interests of large scale commercial 'white' farms were systematically protected by the Government, especially after Natal was granted an Independent Government in

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[4] C. Ballard, 1989, p.126.

[5] The background of the 'Byrne migration scheme' was, on the one hand, the attraction of "the developing and expanding Colony of Natal" and, on the other hand, "the circumstances of the British depression of 1848 and 1849" (R.E. Gordon, 1970, pp.1, 12). The aim of the scheme was "to plant the British middle class way of life in the Colony" (idem, p.3). "Between 1848 and 1851 about 2,000 people left England on 20 ships - such as the 'Wanderer', 'King William', the 'Aliwal', the 'Hardie', the ill-fated 'Minerva'" (idem, p.4). Many of them would never arrive in Byrne, as the scheme was badly planned and resulted in "the destitute state and frustrations of the people who so completely placed their confidence in [Joseph Byrne]" (idem, p.12).

[6] G. Mak (1994, p.76), writing about Europe during the second half of the 19th century, blamed the agricultural crisis on improved international trade, mechanisation of labour, and new inventions like margarine (1869) and artificial fertilizers.

[7] J. Lambert, 1989.

[8] Government, 1913: Statutes: Act no.27, of 13th June 1913. According to D. Oakes (1994, p.292): "The law restricted African landownership to the so called 'scheduled areas', about 10,5-million morgen or 7,5 percent of the total land area of South Africa of 142-million morgen." The law was emendated by the "Natives' Trust and Land Act of 1936 [which] increased the maximum African areas to just over 13 percent" (idem, p.292). By 1951, "7,25-million morgen [still] had to be incorporated in term of the 1936 Land Act" (idem, p.378).

[9] The Land Act of 1913 regulated the control over 'native' labourers and tenants, and facilitated commercial farming on grants like Groot Hoek, used as a commercial farm for the first time in 1920.

1893;[10] many 'African' farmers were forced into the position of migrant labourers, or tenant labourers obliged to support 'white' farmers.

4. Devastating locust plagues, drought and rinderpest during the 1890's reduced the number of cattle outside commercial farms by about 85% while the population increased by about 50%; the resulting famine forced many rural people to become migrant labourers.
5. Finally, by levying taxes in money, the Government stimulated migration labour, as rural populations could only acquire currency through earning wages. This labour was much needed in the mining industry, especially since the Kimberley diamond finds during the late 1860's and the gold finds during the 1870's and 1880's.[11]

When, in 1906, the Government introduced an additional poll tax of one pound for every adult male not liable for hut tax, the increasing crisis amongst the rural population exploded in what has become known as the 'Zulu Uprising of 1906'.[12] The suppression of the revolt and the outbreak of east coast fever among their cattle during the same year, resulted in the fact that "few Africans now had the resources to maintain an independent existence."[13] This situation continued throughout most of the 20th century. To meet some of the needs of the growing African rural population, the Government accepted the Native Trust and Land Act 1936,[14] enabling the Government, represented by the 'South African Native Trust', to buy 'white' farms to a maximum of 5% of the total surface of South Africa and transform them into 'Government Trust Farms' for the settlement of displaced 'natives'. One of the farms obtained by the Government under the Land Act of 1936, was Groot Hoek. In 1960, the area was placed under the authority of the Magistrate in eMbumbulu under the Government Homelands Policy. In the year 2000, it became part of the Richmond Municipality.

2.2 The Unused Farm (1851-1920)

Around 1850, most of the present district of Richmond was divided into farms which together formed Ward no.5 of the wider Maritzburg area in the 'Colony of Port Natal'.[15] 'Ward no. 5' ('Richmond') and 'Ward no.6' (present: 'Mid-Illovo') formed the southern part of the Pietermaritzburg area, situated between the uMlazi and uMkhomazi Rivers.[16] One of the earliest

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[10] Referring to the Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-1905, J. Lambert (1989, p.383) concluded that at the end of the 19th century, there was "a rising demand for legislation to prevent Africans from purchasing land or squatting on white-owned land, while white farmers increasingly demanded labour from their tenants in lieu of rent and evicted those who were not prepared to comply with their demands".

[11] J. Lambert (1989, p.383): "In 1903, the Natal Native Trust, which since 1885 had been responsible for the mission reserves, levied a tax of three pounds on every hut, while the government raised the annual hut tax paid by squatters on crown lands from one to two pounds. These measures had the effect of forcing many Africans into the labour market."

[12] J. Guy, 2006.

[13] J. Lambert, 1989, p.397.

[14] Government, 1936: Statutes: Act No.18 of 1936.

[15] NAP: 1862#

[16] During the 19th century, most of the southern part of 'Ward no.6' (present: 'Mid-Illovo'), between the iLovu and uMkhomazi Rivers, was left unsurveyed as it was more densely populated than 'Ward no.5'.

Owners of grant 1000 'Groot Hoek':

period	owner's name	owner's residence	purchase price
1851	Willem Hendrik Boshoff	Pietermaritzburg	49 Pounds
1851-1855	Edward Lorenzo Chiappini & Co.	Cape Town	120 Pounds
1855-1912	William Yates Eldridge & Children	Cape Town	120 Pounds
1912-1915	Harry James Antel	Richmond	2,000 Pounds
1915-1920	Evan Harries	Richmond	2,300 Pounds
1920-1940	Walter & Phillip Nicholson	Richmond	7,492 Pounds
1940-1994	South African Native trust	Pretoria	10,000 Pounds
1994-present	Ingonyama Trust	Ulundi	Nil

grants in Richmond was 'Indaleni', granted to the Wesleyan Mission in 1847 (par.11.5). Many grants were sold under the 'Byrne Immigration Scheme', which around 1850, brought about 1000 settlers from England to the village. In 1851, two grants were surveyed by the Government Surveyor Charles Tibbut Bell at the request of Jacobus Christoffel Boshoff, namely Spitzkop and Groot Hoek.[17] They were situated on the southern border of 'Ward no.5'. The grant Groot Hoek was situated in the southeasterly corner of Ward no.5 laid out between four hill tops: uNomabhunga, iNtabayikhonjwa, iNkumane and iNtabayezimvu, west of the iNhlazuka Mountain. It incorporated a small part of the steep southern banks of the uMkhomazi and stretched out in a northeastern direction incorporating the area around the uNompofane River, a tributary of the uMkhomazi. The total size of the farm was 5,594 acres, about four by five kilometres, most of it steep river valleys. Except for a small part north of the uNompofane River, the farm was hardly accessible, especially during a rainy season. Some substantial arable fields were situated along the uMkhomazi River and along the lower part of its tributary the uNompofane River but the difference in height between the these fields and the more accessible part of the farm was about 600 metres. The higher, eastern part of Groot Hoek, about a quarter of its total size, was more gently sloping, crossed by a small river. It could be reached via its northeastern border, crossing a steep hill. Most of Groot Hoek must have been grassland around 1850, with some bush in geographical faults, around springs and along the uNompofane River. The low parts along the uMkhomazi had a relatively hot climate and were by that time covered with bushveld.

The more western of the two farms, Spitzkop, was named after a mountain marking its south-western corner, the steep cone-like iSandluluba Mountain. The farm was 5,596 acres in size and like Groot Hoek, situated on both sides of the uMkhomazi but it was more accessible. Unlike Spitzkop, which was almost from the start used as a commercial farm, Groot Hoek was just a financial investment during its first 69 years of existence. Between 1851 and 1920 it was

[17] TOP: grant 1001, 1851# (Spitzkop) and TOP: grant 1000, 1851# (Groot Hoek). Another farm with the same name Groot Hoek ('great corner') was situated in Ward 2 of the Pietermaritzburg district, about 30 kilometres north of the city centre east of the road to Grey town (TOP: grant 6094#).

Part of the Boshoff family tree:

Willem Hendrik Boshoff (from Bayonne)
* Martha Maria Cortjie

Jacobus Nicolaas
* Regina Catharina Rogge

Jacobus Nicolaas Snr.
* Aletta Helena Joubert

Jacobus Nicolaas Jr.	Johan Christoffel	Willem Hendrik * Jacomina Louisa Van der Merwe * Anna Catharina Smith	Johannes Stefanus

sold six times, its value rising from 49 Pounds and 19 Shillings in 1851 to 7,492 Pounds and 10 Shillings in 1920.

2.3 The First Owner (1851)

On 1st October 1851, the official grants for Groot Hoek and Spitzkop were issued. The farm Groot Hoek was granted to Willem Hendrik Boshoff. The farm Spitzkop farm was granted to Johan Christoffel Boshoff. On the 8th October 1851, the brothers Boshoff paid the levies for the grants: 49 Pounds 19 Shillings each.[18]

The two brothers were part of the Dutch speaking 'Trekkers' who migrated during the 1830's from the Cape Colony and in 1839, established the republic Natalia and its capital Pietermaritzburg, in what is now KwaZulu-Natal. They were the great-grandsons of Willem Hendrik Boshoff, also called Henri Guillaume Bosseau, an arms manufacturer from Bayonne, in France.[19]

On 18th March 1741, Willem Hendrik Boshoff (from Bayonne) had arrived at the Cape as a member of the crew of the 'Ruyven', a Dutch ship heading for the Dutch colony in Batavia (present: Jakarta, in Indonesia). On board ship, 63 people had died since leaving Holland on 27th October 1740 and another 28 people were ill at the time of arrival at the Cape. Probably Willem Hendrik Boshoff (from Bayonne) was amongst the sick who disembarked. In Cape Town, he was employed by the Dutch East India Company as a blacksmith, locksmith and gunsmith.[20] In 1747, Willem Hendrik Boshoff (from Bayonne) left his position at the East India Company and became a 'Free Burgher' in Cape Town. In 1752, he married Martha Maria Cortjie and settled on the

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[18] TOP: Receipt no.'s 269 and 270 Treasurer-Natal - Deeds of Grant Volume 24 (965-1004): Groot Hoek - Grant 1000; Spitzkop - Grant 1001, undated#.

[19] D. Scogings, 1988, p.11-13. The French village Bayonne was a centre for the manufacturing of small arms. Its name is still known by the word "bayonet".

[20] The Dutch East India Company (1642-1798) held a Dutch Government granted monopoly on the trade in 'The East', especially in the present Indonesia. It controlled several trade and provision stations on the coasts of Africa and Asia, e.g. at the "Cape of Good Hope" (at present: Cape Town).

farm *Duinzight* on the Gouritz River in the Mossel Bay area, where in 1786 he probably died.

There is evidence for the Dutch origin of Willem Hendrik Boshoff, implicating that he had accepted his name 'Henri Guillaume Bosseau' as a secondary derivation.[21] The name Hendrik Boshoff has been recorded several times in the 16th and 17th century as being among the landlords in the area south of the city of Zutphen in The Netherlands.[22]

In 1806, the British Government annexed the Cape, much to the resentment of many 'Free Burghers'. Unpopular measures taken by the British Government, like the abolition of slavery in 1834, wars with the Xhosa and the discovery of new areas, led to the migration of many 'Free Burghers' out of the Cape Colony in what is called the 'Great Trek'. Most 'Voortrekkers' moved via Thaba Nchu into what became the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Others entered what is today KwaZulu-Natal, amongst them Jacobus Nicolaas Boshoff Snr, a grandson of Willem Hendrik Boshoff (from Bayonne) and his four sons.[23]

The Boshoffs had a leading position in the Voortrekker community in Pietermaritzburg and even today one of the streets in Pietermaritzburg is still called 'Boshoff Street'. Yet, unlike other Voortrekkers, they did not leave the city when, in 1844, the British Government annexed Natal. Instead, they maintained their prominent political and economic positions and obtained many properties in and outside Pietermaritzburg, including farms, houses, a bakery and a butchery.[24]

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[21] D. Scogings (1988, p.3-6), without conclusive proof, suggests that Hendrik Willem Boshoff (from Bayonne) was directly related to the Boshoff landlords in the area south of the city of Zutphen, in The Netherlands, who, during the middle of the 17th century, contributed to the development of the paper industry in this area.

[22] According to D. Scogings (1988, p.4), a certain Henrick Boshoff inherited the property *Suideras* in Vierakker in 1504, and in 1611, a his brother's grandson, also called Henrick Boshoff, obtained the manor Coldenhove "its mill as well as its claims in the commons of Dieren, Eerbeek, Loenen, Roosendael and Zuyren as well as the castle Ghijsbertsslach". About the last mentioned Henrick Boshoff, H. Voorn (1964, p.279) wrote (quoting from the 'R.A.G. Arch. Staten Veluwe, resol. Boek Mariendaal - 338): "Henrick Boshoff tho Suyderhuys" (= Suideras?) was summoned in 1610 by the "Staten van Veluwe" as witness in a dispute about watermills in the Eerbeek-Condenhove area. According to Scoggings, a grandson of the last mentioned Henrick Boshoff, also called Henrick Boshoff, inherited the estate of Coldenhove including a paper mill in 1680." According to Voorn (1964, p.279) the corn-watermill in Coldenhove had been transformed into a paper mill around the middle of the 17th century, and was finally sold by the Boshoff family in 1692.

[23] Jacobus Nicolaas Boshoff Snr (born in 1784), a grandson of Willem Hendrik Boshoff (from Bayonne), had four sons Jacobus Nicolaas Jr (born in 1808), Johan Christoffel (born in 1811), Willem Hendrik (born in 1813) and Johannes Stephanus (born in 1821), all born on their father's farm Montagu in the Cape. Their migration from the Cape to the present KwaZulu-Natal illustrates that the 'Great Trek' was not a monolithic exodus. In 1838, Jacobus Nicolaas Snr and his son Johan Christoffel were part of the settlers who moved away from the Cape, and, in 1839, established the Republic Natalia and its capital Pietermaritzburg. Subsequently, they went back to Cape Town to fetch their families, and in 1841, returned in Pietermaritzburg. In 1844, Jacobus Nicolaas Snr's third son, Willem Hendrik, and his family arrived in Pietermaritzburg. Finally, in 1845, after, in 1844, the British Government had annexed the republic of Natalia, Jacobus Nicolaas Snr's fourth son Johannes Stephanus and his family arrived to settle on the Kruisfontein farm near Mooi Rivier.

[24] L.J. Eksteen, 2002a. Jacobus Nicolaas Jr. started his career as a teacher. From 1855 until 1860, he was the (second) president of the Orange Free State. Johan Christoffel became known as a member of the Stadsraad of Pietermaritzburg and as a director of the Natal Bank. Johannes Stephanus Boshoff became a commander of the burghers of Weenen in their fights against the amaZulu.

Tombstone inscription of Willem Hendrik Boshoff in Pietermaritzburg:

WILLEM HENDRIK BOSHOFF
OVERLEDEN DEN 9 NOVEMBER
1863
IN DEN OUDERDOM VAN 50 JAAR
EN SES MAANDEN

Zalig Zyn de dooden die in
den Heere sterven

Zyne stof rust naast aan die van
Zyn Vader

In 1844, Jacobus Nicholaas Snr's son, Willem Hendrik, born on 6th May 1813, arrived in Natal, shortly after the death of his wife Jacomina Louisa van der Merwe in 1842 and his marriage with Anna Catharina Smith in 1843. In total, he had 14 children. He purchased a house in Pietermaritzburg and a farm called Winterhoek, where, in 1858, he introduced Merino sheep. Together with his brothers he bought several other farms as financial investments. Together with Johan Christoffel he bought the farms Spitzkop and Groot Hoek. Together with Jacob Nicholaas Jr, he bought Rensburg and Stanger's Hoek. Apparently they had no intention of farming on these newly obtained properties. For example Groot Hoek was sold within ten days, even before the farm beacons were erected. According to a note by the Government Surveyor Mr. C.T. Bell, the beacons of Groot Hoek were erected on 13th October 1851, while in the meantime, on 10th October 1851, Willem Hendrik had already authorized his brother Jacobus Nicolaas to sell Groot Hoek.

On 9th November 1863 Willem Hendrik died, 50 years old. He was buried in the Voortrekker Cemetery in Pietermaritzburg.[25] On his tombstone the following text is inscribed in Dutch: "Willem Hendrik Boshoff died on 9th November 1863 aged 50 years and 6 months. Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.[26] His dust rests next to his father's."

2.4 The Cape Town Owners (1851 - 1912)

On 27th October 1851 Groot Hoek was resold for 120 Pounds Sterling to Mr. Edward Lorenzo Chiappini, a merchant in Cape Town.[27] Probably, Mr. Chiappini had never seen the site. He acted as co-partner on behalf of the "Firm of Messrs A. Chiappini and Company of Cape Town Merchants". Chiappini & Co bought many big farms in Natal from first owners. In the mid-1850's, they owned at least four farms in the Richmond district (including Groot Hoek and Spitzkop), six farms around Pietermaritzburg, three farms in the Ladysmith-Colenso area and twelve near the coast north of Verulam.[28]

Chappini & Co sold Groot Hoek within four years. On 20th January 1855, Groot Hoek was bought for the same amount of 120 Pounds Sterling by another merchant in Cape Town, Mr. William Yates Eldridge. Eldridge bought the farm as an investment for "William Antonio Eldridge and Johanna Mary Eldridge his minor children now living and for all and every other issue if any which may now or hereafter be born to him the said William Yates Eldridge by his

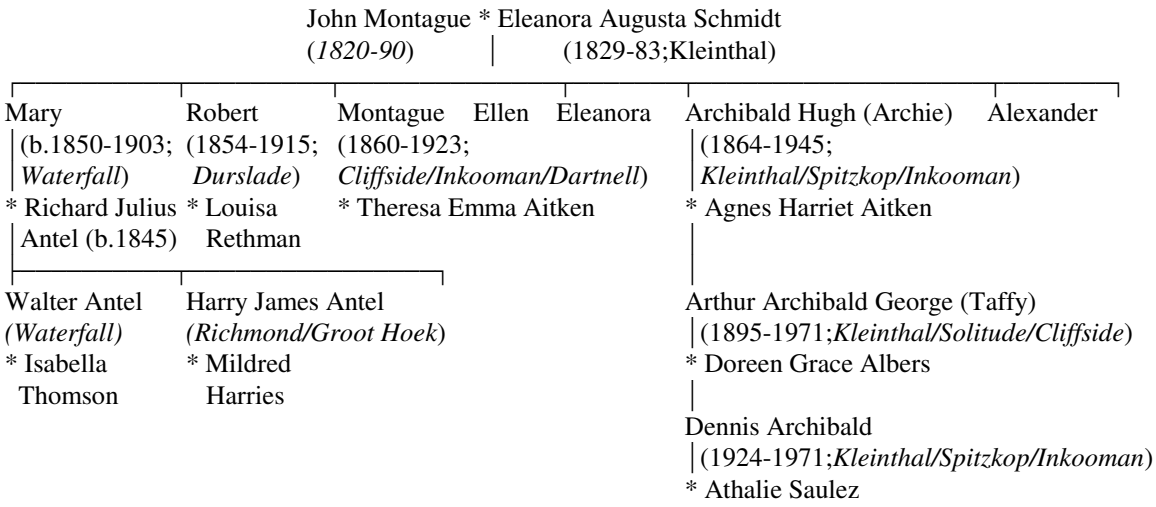
[25] Willem Hendrik Boshoff (1813-1863) was buried next to his father (Jacobus Nicolaas, who died in 1844) on the "Boshoff site" (Perseel 4L) in the "Voortrekker Cemetery" along the Commercial Road in Pietermaritzburg.

[26] A quotation from Revelations 14:13.

[27] TOP: Deed of Transfer 1133, 1851#.

[28] NPA: map M4/74, 1862#.

Part of the Cockburn family tree:



present wife."[29]

Groot Hoek remained the unused trust property of the children of William Yates Eldridge for 57 years. On 8th May 1912, Groot Hoek was sold by Johanna Mary Eldridge , "of Greenpoint, near Cape Town, in the Province of Good Hope, Spinster", for 2,000 Pounds to Harry James Antel "of Richmond, in the County of Pietermaritzburg, in the Province of Natal, Butcher."[30]

2.5 Neighbours: Antel, Cockburn and Schmidt

When, in 1912, Groot Hoek was sold to Harry James Antel, it became part of the neighbouring estates of three interrelated families: Antel, Cockburn and Schmidt.

Harry James Antel was born on the farm Waterfall (present: Karlshaven), just about four kilometres north of Groot Hoek.[31] In 1865, his father Richard Julius Antel, a Prussian deserter of only 20 years old, had arrived in Durban. From 1869-1874, Richard worked as a clerk to the Zulu Border Agent at the Nonoti River. In 1870, in Durban, he married Mary Cockburn.[32] From about 1875 until 1880, Richard worked as schoolteacher in Richmond. Subsequently, he purchased and

[29] TOP: Deed of Transfer 17, 1855#.

[30] TOP: Deed of Transfer 869, 1912#.

[31] Harry James Antel was the son of Richard Julius Antel (1845-1903) and Mary Elonora Erdmutha Cockburn (1852-1903).

[32] S.O. Spencer, 1987, p.127-128. According to C. Coulson (1986, p.206-213), Richard Antel was employed by John Montague Cockburn at his farm Kleinthal as a tutor of his daughter Mary, but eventually became John Montague Cockburn's son in law.

settled on Waterfall.[33]

Harry James Antel's grandfather, John Montague Cockburn, was born in 1820, in Edinburgh. In 1847, he arrived in Durban, as he had "decided to emigrate and try cotton farming in Natal."[34] In 1849, after an initial bankruptcy, he married Eleanore Augusta Schmidt, who, during the previous year, had moved with her parents from Strehla, a village on the Elbe, northwest from Dresden, in Germany, to New Germany in Natal. In 1851, John Montague Cockburn purchased part of the farm Spitzkop, by that time surrounded by unsurveyed land except on its easterly border with Groot Hoek.[35] In 1857, he purchased a 3,000 acres grant directly northeast of Spitzkop and Groot Hoek, which he called Kleinthal. At the same time, the Schmidts, his parents-in-law, purchased a grant north of Kleinthal, which they called Strehla.[36]

John Montague's sons extended their father's estate with several more neighbouring farms.[37] His son Archibald Hugh, who continued to farm at Kleinthal, extended it in a southerly direction with the purchase of the complete farm Spitzkop and in an easterly direction with Holdlodge / Solitude, so that in the end his complex of farms neighboured Groot Hoek along its north-western and north-eastern borders. Another son, Robert Archibald, became a farmer in Durslade, a farm between Waterfall and Groot Hoek, east of Kleinthal and north-east of Groothoek. A third son, Montague Alexander, farmed on Cliffside,[38] a farm on the grant Rosebank, almost 10 kilometres north of Groot Hoek. He purchased two farms on Groot Hoek's eastern border, Dartnell in 1892 and Inkooman in 1893.[39] Moreover, he purchased two farms directly northeast of Groot Hoek, Inhlazuka View-A and Inhlazuka View-No.2, which, in 1910, he resold to the Mariannhill Monastery (par.13.6).[40]

On 17th November 1871, the relatively small farm Dartnell (2,000 acres) had been granted to John George Dartnell.[41] It was situated southeast of Groot Hoek and shared most of its eastern border on both sides of the uMkhomazi River and with 2,000 acres it is only a third of Groot Hoek's size. Like Groot Hoek most of Dartnell was situated on the northern bank of the uMkhomazi River but it was even less accessible. A small part of Dartnell, a flat arable area, was situated on the southern bank of the uMkhomazi. Before, in 1892, it was purchased by Montague

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[33] Early in the 20th century, the farm *Waterfall* was inherited by Richard Antel's son Walter Edward.

[34] S.O. Spencer, 1987, p.127.

[35] According to S.O. Spencer (1987, p.128), "in or around 1849 or 1850 [= 1851], [John Montague] Cockburn had purchased part of the farm Scheepers [= Spitzkop?] in the Inhlazuka district near Richmond from the agent of M.J. Feilden, brother of J.L. Feilden. This was 100 acres in extent and was bounded on three sides by Crown land."

[36] TOP: Grant Strehla 180.

[37] John Montague Cockburn (1820-90) had three daughters and four sons. When his sons Robert Archibald Christian (1854-1915) and Montague Alexander William (1855-1922) were grown up, they bought farms in the direct vicinity of their parents' farm Kleinthal, which was continued by their son Archibald Hugh (1864-1945).

[38] The farm Cliffside is situated on Grant Fielden 930

[39] TOP: Deed of Transfer 832, 1892#; deed of Transfer 1093, 1893#.

[40] TOP: Inhlazuka View-A -grant 5356; Inhlazuka View No.2 - grant 2225.

[41] TOP: Grant 3689, 1871#.

Alexander Cockburn it had already been sold five times.[42]

In 1893, Inkooman was surveyed and granted to William Watts Cato.[43] He resold it within four months to Montague Alexander Cockburn, who actually used it as a farm, in the first instance for grazing but later on as a wattle plantation.

In short, when Harry James Antel bought Groot Hoek in 1912, it was surrounded by the properties of his in-laws, the Cockburn family, on its western, northern and eastern borders.

2.6 The Richmond Owners (1912 -1920)

Harry James Antel, who bought Groot Hoek in 1912, had no intention of farming there. He lived and worked in the Richmond village, first as wagon maker "but when the butchery next door became vacant he bought and ran it."[44] He obtained several properties in the Richmond district. From his father-in-law Evan Harries he purchased part of the Atherstone farm. In exchange, on 11th September 1915, he sold Groot Hoek to Evan Harries for 2,300 Pounds.[45]

Evan Harries also lived in Richmond. He had run a transport service between Ladysmith and the Transvaal until the Anglo-Boer War 1898-1902. After the war he went to Richmond, where he bought at least four farms, Mount Merbec, Greenhill, Dartnell and Groot Hoek. With his wife and children he lived in a ten-bedroomed house on Mount Merbec.[46]

It was Evan Harries who joined the two grants Groot Hoek, bought in 1915 from Harry Antel and Dartnell, bought in 1910 from Montague Alexander Cockburn.[47] He purchased the grants as an investment for his daughter Claudia Emily Reeves, who received the farm from her father as a gift "in consideration of the natural love and affection which he hath for and beareth to his daughter ... and for divers other good and valuable considerations."[48]

Five years later, on 28th September 1920, after marrying the farmer Clifford Evelyn Knox, she sold Groot Hoek-Dartnell to Walter Nicholson (25%) and Phillip William Nicholson (75% undivided share).[49] By then, the value of Groot Hoek alone had increased to 7,492 Pounds 10 Shilling.

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[42] TOP: Deeds of Transfer 183, 1877#; 701,1879#; 480,1881#; 897,1882#; 40,1890#. Notable is the second owner of Dartnell , Herbert Rhodes, who owned it from 1877 until 1899. Rhodes also owned a farm in the kwaNcibi Valley on the western slope of the Sandluluba Hill four kilometres west of Groot Hoek.

[43] TOP: Grant 5186, 1893#.

[44] C. Coulson, 1986, p.212.

[45] TOP: Deed of Transfer 1455, 1915#.

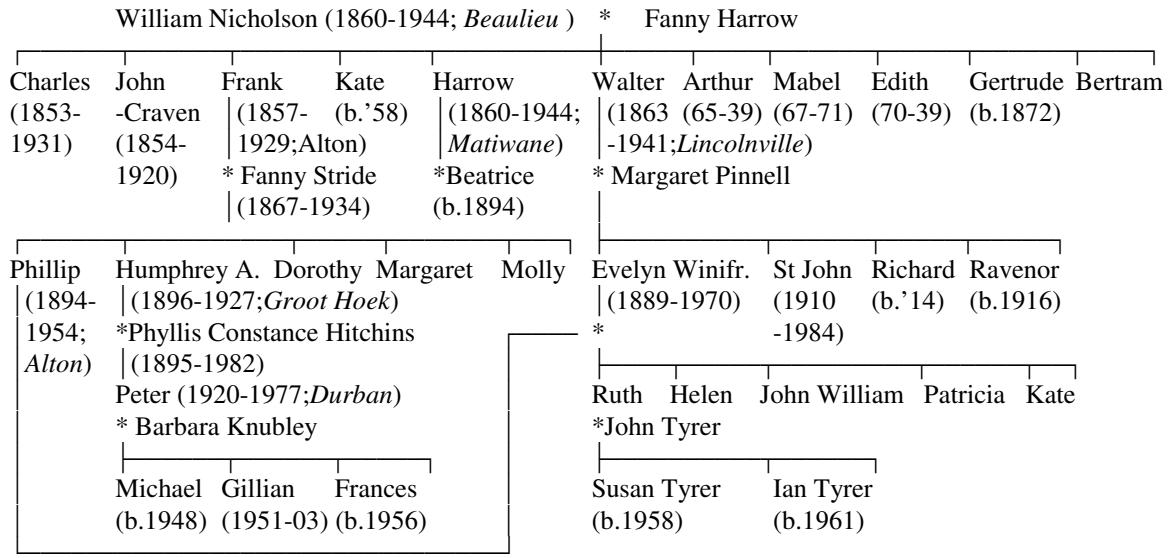
[46] C. Coulson, 1986, p.213. On Greenhill, Evan Harries introduced Black-Wattle trees and in addition he built a wattle extract factory to process the bark. The Black-Wattle tree had been imported from Tasmania around 1840, but Mr. Harries was the first one in Natal to commercially plant Black-Wattle.

[47] TOP: Deed of Transfer 1647, 1910#.

[48] TOP: Deed of Transfer 1456, 1915#.

[49] TOP: Deed of Transfer 4515, 1920#; Deed of Transfer 4516, 1920#.

Part of the Nicholson's family tree:



2.7 The Nicholson Family

The story of the Nicholson family in Richmond starts in 1850 when the brothers John Duggleby and William Nicholson together with their wives moved from Britain to Natal.[50] John and William had left their home, the farm Watton Grange near Driffield in Yorkshire, in the late 1840's, because of the bad economic situation in the area caused by, amongst other things, a bad potato harvest and a cholera outbreak. They moved to Alton in Hampshire where they married the sisters Harriet and Fanny Harrow, planning to start a new life overseas. In 1850, they arrived on board the 'Sandwich' in Natal under the Byrne Immigration Scheme (par.2.2). William Nicholson and Fanny Harrow were granted a site of 40 acres along the iLovu River, just west of Richmond, along the road to Byrne. Their farm Beaulieu[51] neighboured the 50 acres site granted to William's brother John Duggleby. They farmed the two neighbouring allotments as one unit for several years.[52]

William Nicholson and Fanny Harrow had 12 children, amongst others Charles, Frank, Harrow and Walter. Charles Nicholson, the eldest son remained at his parents' farm Beaulieu. Frank Nicholson and his wife Fanny Constance Stride farmed at Alton, a farm north of Richmond. Harrow and his wife Beatrice Rose Stewart started to farm at Matiwane Hoek north of Ladysmith. Walter Nicholson and his wife Margaret Wells Pinnell, initially started to farm at Selborne in Underberg. In 1910, they returned to Richmond and farmed at Lincolnville, directly

[50] C.Coulson, 1986, p.173-176.

[51] TOP: Grant 1412, 1850#.

[52] Later on, John Duggleby and Harriet moved further down the Illovo River to a farm to be called Illovo Mills (now River Lea), where they operated two waterwheel powered mills (J.D.E. Nicholson, 1986; 2002*).

west of Beaulieu.[53]

2.8 Nicholson at Alton

Frank and Fanny Nicholson developed the farm Alton just north of Richmond. The farm was called after the village Alton in Hampshire, where Frank's mother had been born. At Alton, Frank and Fanny had two sons, Phillip William and Humphrey Arthur and three daughters.[54] The house was extended when Frank's brother Harrow and his wife Beatrice joined them in 1921.[55]

Alton was run as a mixed farm with maize, oats and pumpkins, about 800 sheep, pigs and cattle and wattle trees. The farm had a water-powered steel mill for grinding maize and wheat. The mill also had a bone grinding machine to produce bone meal fertiliser.[56] Furthermore, the farm was renowned for its dipping facility, especially against Scab disease, for its irrigated pastures and "Alton soon established a very good name for its fine hams and bacon."[57]

In 1929, after the death of his father Frank Nicholson, Phillip took over Alton and two months later he married his cousin Evelyn Winifred, daughter of his uncle Walter Nicholson.[58] Phillip and 'Eve' married in what was called by a local newspaper: "a quiet but pretty little wedding."[59]

2.9 Humphrey Arthur Nicholson

Humphrey Arthur Nicholson, the second son of Frank Nicholson and Fanny Stride, was born on 25th June 1896 at Alton. During his Secondary School period he was trained as a cadet.[60] In 1913, after his final exams, he joined the City Reserve Rifle Corps of Pietermaritzburg.[61] In 1914, he enlisted as a private soldier in the Natal Carabineers. He took part in the campaign

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[53] Walter Nicholson (1863-1941) and Margaret Pinnell initially farmed at Selborne in Underberg , where they also operated a water-powered mill. They came back to Richmond to farm at Lincolnville after Walter's uncle John Craven had vacated the farm. They had one daughter, Evelyn, and four sons.

[54] Frank Nicholson (1856-1929) and Fanny Constance Stride (1864-1934) had two sons, Phillip William (born in 1894) and Humphrey Arthur (1896) and three daughters, Dorothy (Humphrey's twin sister), Margaret (1899) and Molly (1902).

[55] Harrow Nicholson (1860-1944) and his wife Beatrice Rose Stewart (born 1894) had five children: Leo, Owen, Eileen, Mabel Ella and Stewart. After they received the message that their son Owen (1899-1918), who had joined the Royal Flying Corps, died in the Great War (1914-1918), they gave up farming in Ladysmith and moved to *Alton*.

[56] J.D.E. Nicholson, 2002*.

[57] C. Coulson, 1986, p.181.

[58] ACA: 1929#.

[59] NFA: 1929#. Phillip William Nicholson (1894-1954) and Evelyn Winifred (1989-1970), had three daughters, Ruth (born in 1930), Helen (1934) and Patricia Kate (1939), and one son, John William (1936).

0. Humphrey Nicholson studied during his secondary school period at the Pietermaritzburg College (5 years) and at the private school Michaelhouse (2 years), where he proofed to be an outstanding cricketer and rugby player (J.D.E. Nicholson, 2002*). After his final exams in 1913, he became a member of the "Richmond Rugby Team", which was coached by his father Frank. The team existed only one year, as most of its players were enlisted in the Natal Carabineers in 1914.

[61] TNA: 1916a#; 1916b#..

against the Germans in South West Africa (Namibia), where he had to be hospitalized because of heat stroke.[62] After the war he was decorated with the '1914-1915 Star'.[63]

In January 1916, after the demobilisation of the Natal Carabineers on 27th November 1915, Humphrey sailed for England with the intention "to join an Officers Training Corps."[64] In August 1916, he was admitted as Captain to the 31st Battalion of Royal Fusiliers and in February 1917, he went off to the battlefields of France. On 25th March 1918, as Captain of the 23rd Battalion, he was captured in France by the Germans and deported to Germany.[65] On 13th December 1918, he was repatriated to Scotland. On 6th June 1919, only two and a half months before their return to South Africa , Humphrey married Phyllis Constance Hitchins, who was born 26th June 1895 as the eldest daughter of Mr. R.L. Hitchins, a successful lawyer in Durban. Apparently, the marriage was met with mixed feelings by their respective families, as Humphrey and Phyllis did not return to Richmond or Durban but went to live with Humphrey's uncle Harrow in Matiwane Hoek (par.2.7). There, on 16th December 1920, their son Peter was born.[66]

During the same year, 1920, the news came through that Harrow and Beatrice's son Owen had died in the war. Subsequently, Harrow and Beatrice decided to sell Matiwane Hoek and move back to Richmond. In 1921, Harrow and Beatrice joined Humphrey's parents Frank and Fanny Nicholson at their farm Alton, north of Richmond. Humphrey and Phyllis were given the opportunity to make a new start for themselves on the farm Groot Hoek, bought in 1920 by Humphrey's brother Phillip and their uncle Walter Nicholson, who was also Phillip's father in law.

In 1921, Humphrey, Phyllis and their son Peter moved to Groot Hoek. However, ailing health made their time on Groot Hoek very difficult. Phyllis' hearing deteriorated gradually until she turned almost deaf in about 1924.[67] A few years later, Humphrey's general condition worsened until he died on 4th March 1927. Subsequently, Phyllis returned to Durban, with her six

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[62] DDDC: 1915#.

[63] At the back of the 1914-15 Star, the following text is engraved: "PTE H.A. Nicholson 1SAMR" [= Private H.A. Nicholson 1st regiment South African Mounted Rifles].

[64] TNA: 1916a#.

[65] The war records of Humphrey Nicholson (TNA: 1919a#) contain his handwritten "Statement about the circumstances which led to capture": "On the morning of the 25th March 1918 I was instructed by my Company Commander O.C. Bloy that in the event of the Battalion withdrawing from the present position, Bloy would remain in the sunken road and be responsible for covering fire. Shortly after receiving these instructions a message was sent down from the left Company, stating that the Battalion on our left had withdrawn leaving our flank unprotected. I was ordered by O.C. Bloy to find out exactly what was happening on our left and while I was away with the left Company Commander the enemy started a heavy attack and the battalion was forced to withdraw. I made my way back to the Company's position with as much information as I could gather about the situation on the left, and found the company leaving the sunken road in great haste. I shouted to the nearest men to me to come back and assist in giving covering fire, and about twenty turned back but only one officer and six men reached me. We soon got a Lewis Gun into action and stopped the enemy coming over on our immediate front, but our ammunition gave out and the enemy got through on our left and worked round behind us. Seeing that we were surrounded I told the men that the only thing to do was to remain quiet and see what happened, but we were soon seen, and ordered to surrender by a large party of Germans coming down the road on our left."

[66] ACA: 1921#.

[67] G. Nicholson Watson, 2002*.

year old son Peter, where she was supported by her father and found a job as secretary, compensating for her handicap with lip reading.

Humphrey's death might have been caused by diabetes, a sickness he shared with other relatives, including his son Peter. But in the Nicholson family, the story is told that his death was the tragic result of injuries he had suffered during the war. Humphrey is remembered as a very strong sportsman, renowned for his cricket and rugby playing during his secondary school period and winner of the title of heavyweight champion of the British Army.[68] It is believed by his relatives that, because of his outstanding health and physical fitness, he was chosen during his captivity as subject of medical experiments. Otherwise treated well, the experimental injections would have taken their toll on his kidneys and liver.[69] The story is difficult to confirm, as no records of medical experiments on British prisoners of war are known for the period 1914 until 1918.[70] Moreover, in Humphrey's (medical) war records no reference is made to any maltreatment during his captivity.[71]

After the war, Humphrey was posthumously decorated with two military medals, the 'British War Medal' and the 'Victory Medal'.[72]

2.10 The Farm in use (1921-1927)

On 28th September 1920, Phillip William Nicholson (at Alton) and his uncle Walter Nicholson (at Lincolnville) purchased the adjoining farms Groot Hoek and Dartnell.[73] They bought the two farms as a common property. Phillip owned 75% and Walter 25% of both farms. They left the combined farms to Phillip's brother Humphrey who tried to grow cotton on it. Groot Hoek and Dartnell had never been used as commercial farms before. The recently implemented Land Act of 1913 made commercial farming near a 'native' location more attractive for a 'white' farmer (par.2.1).

Around 1920, there was much ado amongst Richmond farmers about cotton.[74] The

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[68] J.D.E. Nicholson, 2002*.

[69] G. Nicholson Watson, 2002*.

[70] After their repatriation to South Africa, the suspicion was raised in some newspapers that some prisoners of war had been injected by the Germans with the TB-bacillus (NN, 1919). These rumours were never confirmed.

[71] In a "Proceedings of a Medical Board" dated 7th March 1919, reference was made to a minor infliction suffered by Humphrey Nicholson after repatriation, for which no treatment was thought to be necessary (TNA: 1919b#). No reference is made to any infliction suffered by him during his capture.

[72] The "British War Medal" was awarded for overseas service, and the "Victory Medal", with its famous reading at the back "THE GREAT WAR FOR CIVILISATION", was awarded to all personnel who had been on active service for at least 28 days during the 1914-1918 war (I. Angus, 1973, p.32).

[73] TOP: Deed of Transfer 4515, 1920#.

[74] J. English, 2002*.
According to Cottonsa (2009), "In 1846 a certain Dr Adams brought seed from America and started growing cotton in the Amanzimtoti district in Natal." Several cotton planting projects in Natal around 1850 are mentioned by H. Brooks (2008, p.303) who concludes: "In no case, however, with a success sufficiently marked to establish cotton planting as an acceptable industry." Theophilus Shepstone (from 1843 until 1855, 'Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes' in Natal and, from 1856 to 1876, 'Natal's Secretary for Native Affairs') stimulated the Zulu population in Natal to plant cotton in order to establish their economic independence but according to environmental and economic

valleys along the uMkhomazi River are dry and hot enough for cotton farming, while plenty of water is available for the seed to germinate. Already during the 1860's, cotton had been grown on nearby farms along the uMkhomazi River.[75] During the 1920's, a new attempt to grow cotton was made by Ari McKenzie on the farm Progress, also on the banks of river uMkhomazi, about 30 kilometres upstream from Groot Hoek. The experiments lasted for only one or two seasons, until beetles destroyed the crop.[76]

The farmhouse built at Groot Hoek, was a copy of the farm house at Alton. It was built close to the main bend in the already existing road that crossed the high part of Groot Hoek leading to the neighbouring Inkooman farm. It was a rough building of about nine by fifteen metres with a concrete verandah of nine by three metres. The main door led from the verandah to a lounge with a plank floor. From the lounge a door led to a kitchen with a concrete floor (to the left) and another door to a bedroom with a wooden floor (to the right). Turning right, entering the bedroom, one found another door on the left side leading to a small bathroom. The walls of the building were made of mud bricks plastered with cement. The obtuse gable roof was covered with corrugated iron as was the verandah, supporting the roof with four timber poles.

Close to the farmhouse, in a southwesterly direction, Humphrey planted crops like maize, potatoes and sweet potatoes to be sold locally, possibly in the shop on the neighbouring Inkooman farm. From the fields a road led in a southwesterly direction to the banks of the uNompofane River, about 600 metres lower than the farmhouse. There, Humphrey planted cotton and grazed cattle. Close to these fields, he allowed labour tenants to occupy sites and, in 1923, a local *induna* was appointed on the farm: Mkayeni Mkhize.[77]

The Dartnell part of the farm was left completely unused apart from two fields on the southern bank of the uMkhomazi, which were rented out to local tenants, who each paid a rent of three Pounds a year.[78]

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factors, also this attempt failed (M.A. Schnurr, 2009).
According to Cottonsa (2009), "Between 1860 and 1870 cotton was planted on a relatively large scale in both Natal and the Cape Colony due to the demand for this fibre which had arisen as a result of the American Civil War [1861-1865]. After 1870 the large scale production of cotton in South Africa came to a virtual stand still and was only continued at the start of the twentieth century." During the 1920's, new attempts were made to plant cotton and, in 1924, African Explosives erected a ginnery at Umbogintwini, south of Isipingo.

[75] C. Coulson, 1986, p.164-165. In 1866, on the farm Hilltop, about four kilometres west of Groot Hoek, on the northern banks of the uMkhomazi River, the brothers William and Joseph Harcourt grew cotton. During the years 1870/71, in the kwaNcibi Valley, just south of Hilltop, on the opposite banks of the uMkhomazi, the brothers Herbert and Cecil (1853-1902) Rhodes grew cotton
According to V. Woodley (1984, pp.35, 39), during 1860's, "with cotton growing being encouraged by the Government, English settlers acquired or leased land in the Ncibi Valley of the Umkomaas River [directly west of *Groot Hoek* and directly north of the Springvale Mission]... Although some cotton growers reaped as much as 272 kg of cotton to half a hectare, growing mealies between the rows of cotton, the venture terminated because of blight, bollworm and grasshoppers."

[76] J. English, 2002*.

[77] NAP: 1942#; see chapter 4: "Part of the Mkhize family tree ④".

[78] B. MaNcwane Mfeka, 2002*; N. MaMkhize Mpanza, 2002*.

2.11 Farming plan

At the beginning of the 20th century, commercial farms in the Richmond District were characterized by mixed farming. For example in 1918, Archibald Hugh Cockburn, farmer at Kleinthal directly north of Groot Hoek-Dartnell (par. 2.5), brought the following items to a 'farmers day' in Richmond: horses, cattle, pigs, dogs, poultry, white and yellow maize, beans and marmalade.[79] The range of products at Groot Hoek was much more restricted. The farm only started to operate in 1921 and, moreover, the farm was hardly accessible and in rainy periods even completely isolated.

The farming plan at Groot Hoek-Dartnell might have been comparable to those at nearby farms like Inkooman (east of Groot Hoek-Dartnell) and Gulubie View (about five kilometres north-east of Groot Hoek-Dartnell, bordering Umlazi). Huge parts of these inaccessible farms were unsuitable for any form of farming, some parts were suited only for grazing, on other parts ploughing was possible but transport was a problem in itself. Consequently, the farmers grew several products like maize and sweet potatoes which were sold in local farm shops and one durable commodity that might be transported when road conditions were favourable. For Inkooman and Gulubie View that commodity was wattle. During the first half of the 20th century wattle bark, the raw material for tanning, was in demand by, for example, a company called 'Natal Tanning Extract' in Pietermaritzburg. The commodity on Groot Hoek-Dartnell was cotton which, probably, was transported to the nearest ginnery in Umbogintwini, south of Isipingo, established in 1924. An ox-wagon pulled by sixteen oxen was used by each farmer to bring his wattle or cotton to the railway station in Richmond, a return trip of four days.

2.12 The Farm run down (1927-1940)

On 4th March 1927, Humphrey Nicholson died, aged only 30 years. His wife and son left Groot Hoek and went to Durban. On 30th July 1934, Phillip bought the 25% share on Groot Hoek-Dartnell from Walter Nicholson for 1,498 Pounds 10 Shillings.[80] He then became the sole owner of the farm. Phillip did not farm on Groot Hoek himself, as he lived far away on Alton north of Richmond. Moreover, the recession in the thirties and the inaccessibility of the area made it very unlikely that the farm could still be used as a commercial unit. Phillip decided to divide the arable parts of the farm into smaller units and rent it out to tenant farmers, who came from outside Groot Hoek-Dartnell. He built a cattle dip on the farm to control cattle diseases and also to monitor the number of these animals owned by the tenants. He still came to Groot Hoek but mainly to collect rent and to collect labourers for his farm Alton. "For Phillip Groot Hoek was just a labour farm."[81]

Eventually, Phillip decided to sell Groot Hoek-Dartnell. A proposal to sell the farm to its inhabitants for one cow per family failed.[82] Then, Phillip took advantage of the Native Trust and

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[79] N.N., 1918.

[80] TOP: Deed of Transfer 2324, 1934#.

[81] D. Bruce, 2002*.

[82] C.J. Dladla, 2002*; G. MaMkhize Phungula, 2002*; M.J. Ngcongo, 2002*.

Land Act of 1936 and sold Groot Hoek-Dartnell to the Government for 10,000 Pounds, the equivalent of 1000 head of cattle.[83]

2.13 Trust Farm (since 1940)

On 28th March 1940, Groot Hoek-Dartnell was sold to the Government South African Native Trust for 10,000 Pounds.[84] The South African Native Trust had been constituted as a body corporate in 1936.[85] In accordance with the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, the Trust had the task to extend the living area for 'non-whites' with a maximum of 5% of the total land surface of South Africa by buying 'white' farms and transforming them into national Government controlled Trust Farms for 'native' tenants.

In 1940, Groot Hoek-Dartnell and Inhlazuka View were bought by the Trust and joined with Qolombene, a provincial Natal Native Trust Farm since 1927. The four grants together were called 'Trust Farm Groothoek'. Groothoek did not include eMbuthweni and eMngeneleni, the private properties of the Mkhize *amakhosi*.[86] Neither did it include Inkooman. The Trust Farm was U-shaped surrounding Inkooman, the private property of the Cockburn family.

The inhabitants of the Trust Farm Groothoek were tenants of the Government, represented by the 'Native Commissioner' in Richmond.[87] A Government Surveyor was sent to the Trust Farm to divide the former commercial farm into smaller units for subsistence farming. Subsequently, an agricultural officer was sent to stay in the former Nicholson farmhouse to assist the local population in subsistence farming. He fenced the borders of the Groothoek with barbed wire and organized the payment of a yearly rent of two Pounds to the Government. Around 1950, he was replaced by Zulu-speaking agricultural advisers, employed by the Commissioner of Native Affairs in Richmond, to control migration, repair the fence around the Trust Farm, to control the springs and to advise tenants in agricultural matters.

During the 1960's, the character of the Trust Farm changed to that of a rural area within the borders of the homeland-to-be 'KwaZulu'. Officially Groothoek was still a Government Trust

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[83] For the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 see: Government, 1936.

[84] TOP: Deed of Transfer 1418, 1940#.

[85] Government, 1936, Section 4 Act 18.

[86] EMbuthweni and eMngeneleni (par.4.6) are two small areas on the northern banks of the uMkhomazi River, granted as a private property to *inkosi* Mqolombeni in 1908, probably in return for loyalty to the Government during the Zulu uprising of 1906; TOP: grants WS 7 7365, 1908#; and WS 8 7366, 1908#.

[87] By The Native Administration Act No.38 of 1927 (Statutes, 1927), it was regulated that the Department for Native Affairs should appoint a "Governor General", who would be "the supreme chief of all natives" (section 1). On a provincial level the Governor General would be represented by the "Chief Native Commissioner" and on a local level by the "Native Commissioner".
By law, the Governor General had the right "to appoint [and depose] any person as chief or headman in charge of a tribe or location" (section 2.7). Furthermore, it stated that "The Governor General may authorize any native chief recognised or appointed under sub-section 7 of section *two* to hear and determine civil claims arising out of native law and custom by native against native resident within the area of jurisdiction brought before him" (section 2.12). Apart of representing the Governor General, the Native Commissioner functioned as judge in the case of "any offence committed by a Native" (section 2.9).
About the complicated position of the Native Commissioner, see J. Johnson, 2006.

Farm. But as part of the National Government Homelands Policy, the responsibilities for the Trust Farm were transferred by the Commissioner of Native Affairs in Richmond to the Magistrate in eMbumbulu, the nearest administrative centre of the homeland-to-be, which became self-governing in 1977.

During the 1960's, several new families entered Groothoek, especially displaced farm labourers, moved in terms of the Group Areas Act of 1950. “Nearly two million blacks were ‘relocated’ in the 1960's ... in terms of the Group Areas Act.”[88] Most of those who entered Groothoek, came from neighbouring farms. The Nicholson’s farmhouse functioned as a Primary School from about 1955 until 1965, when it was relocated. What remains of the farmhouse are the foundations, close to kwaGogo along the main road through eNkumane.

[88] P. Joyce, 1990, p.45.

Chapter 3: Inkooman Shop

3.1 Labourers and Passengers from India

From November 1860, contract labourers from India were brought to Natal under the indenture system which had been in operation in other parts of the British Empire since 1842.[1] About two-thirds of the indentured immigrants came from Tamil- and Telugu-speaking districts of Southern India, one-third predominantly from the Hindi-speaking districts of the North. The majority belonged to lower castes suffering continuous economic stress in India in the course of the 19th century. In Natal, most of these contract labourers, derogatorily called 'Coolies', were employed for a fixed period of five years on sugar cane farms on the Natal coast around Durban, or on other plantations. After the five year period they were allowed a new fixed contract eventually with another employer, or a free passage back to India. Since about 1880, many of them found employment in the Natal Midlands and in Northern Natal in the building of railways, as coal-miners or in the wattle industry. A total of 152 184 indentured Indian labourers entered Natal between 1860 and 1911. Only about a quarter of them actually returned to India.

After 1870, a second group of immigrants from India arrived in Natal. Most of them were traders and craftspeople coming from the province of Gujarat on India's west-coast. As they paid for their own passage, they were called 'Passengers'. As many of them were Muslims, they were also referred to as 'Arabs'. Initially, most of them made a living as hawkers and traders in and around Durban, but from about 1885, they could also be found in Pietermaritzburg and other villages in Natal, especially along the railway lines, serving the needs of the indentured and ex-indentured population. They extended their activities to the African population, so that "by 1900 the bulk of the African trade was in their hands."[2]

3.2 Restricting Laws

In 1893, Natal was granted 'responsible government' within the British Empire, giving it the opportunity to make laws independent of the British Government. Amongst the new laws accepted by the Natal Parliament in the period 1893-1897 were several discriminatory ones against immigrants from India. For example, the Immigration Law Amendment Act No.17 of 1895, which imposed a residential tax of three Pounds on all indentured immigrants who wanted to stay in Natal after their five-year contract had expired. Laws that hit especially the passengers and traders were the Indian Restriction Act and the Dealers' Licences Amendment Act of 1897. From 1897 on, immigrants were required to be able to understand a European language and be in possession of at least 25 Pounds, while local authorities got the right to grant or withhold traders' licences without the possibility of appeal. In reaction to this repressive legislation the Natal Indian Congress was established on 22 August1894 followed, after the South African War (1899-1902), by the establishment of the newspaper 'Indian Opinion' in 1903. Mohandas K. Gandhi, who later became the symbol of Indian protest in South Africa, substantially contributed to both

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[1] J. Brain, 1989, p.249.

[2] J. Brain, 1989, p.259.

projects.[3] But neither Gandhi's policy of passive resistance 'satyagraha', nor his visit to London in 1909 to protest against the proposed discriminatory constitution of the Union of South Africa (established in 1910), nor his protest march from Newcastle (Natal) to the Transvaal in 1913, nor violent protests by Indian communities were able to prevent South Africa from becoming a divided society characterized by segregation of ethnic groups and based on racial laws. Evidently, the laws were there to protect 'white' interests. Nevertheless for some vagrant 'passengers' the Urban Areas Act of 1923 gave some relief. They were finally allotted an urban area to go to. But what might have seemed an advantage in the beginning, turned out to be a process of separation of Indians and Africans in the following years, culminating in the Group Areas Act of 1950, which intended to restrict ethnic groups to their own residential and trading areas.[4]

3.3 Indian Migrants in Richmond

'Labourers' and 'Passengers' arrived in Richmond after 1880.[5] One of the first indentured immigrants in Richmond was Majles Sing a labourer on the farm Illovo Nek. Other indentured labourers worked on the new railway line between Pietermaritzburg and Richmond, which was constructed in 1897. On 15th December 1897, it was officially opened. During the festivities one of the prominent farmers and a member of the Natal Legislative Council, Joseph Baynes told a reporter: "Natalians must remember that Richmond will not become a terminus".[6] It was expected that the Pietermaritzburg-Richmond railway would become part of a railway line from Pietermaritzburg via Richmond and Ixopo to Cape Town.[7] This plan never materialized.

Expanding farms and the construction of the railway brought Indian labourers to Richmond and some of them came to stay, adding new family names to the Richmond community, like Gudar, Kisten, Govender, Pondhooi, Naidoo, Ramsarran and Singh. Consequently Richmond also became attractive for 'Passengers', amongst them Adam and Essa Moosa.

3.4 Adam, Essa & Co. (1895 - 1912)

Both Adam and Essa Moosa were born in Sansrode, a village in the Bharuch District in the Province Gujarat on India's west coast.[8] Their relationship is not clear. They were probably cousins but referred to each other as brothers. Moreover, their exact dates of birth are unknown. Adam was probably the eldest of the two for he would marry first. Essa, born around 1883,[9] was

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[3] Mohandas K. Gandhi, 1869-1948.

[4] B.J. Barker, 1994, p.376.

[5] C. Coulson, 1986, p.112.

[6] C. Coulson, 1986, p.89.

[7] R.O. Pearse (1981, p.166): "Joseph Baynes and Shofield maintained that Ixopo's natural market was Pietermaritzburg, and that therefore the railway should go from Pietermaritzburg, via Richmond and so through Ixopo and then (hopefully) on to the Cape."

[8] MFA: 1907#.

[9] MFA: 1939#.

only about 12 years old when they boarded as passengers for Natal. The two 'brothers' arrived in Durban in 1895 and headed for Richmond to become traders. As they failed to get a trading licence, they worked in Richmond for three years as hawkers, until they were asked by Montague Alexander Cockburn to run a farm shop on his farm Inkooman about 30 kilometres from Richmond (par.2.5). In 1893, Cockburn had bought the farm and, subsequently, he had obtained the grazing rights on it from the local *inkosi* Ngangezwe (par.4.12), who was probably unaware that the land had been sold. It might be supposed that Cockburn got the grazing rights in return for the opening of a shop.

The Inkooman shop was built close to the 'native location' Umlazi, separated from it by the iNkumane Mountain and close to the residence of the local *inkosi*, whose homestead was situated about 600 metres down hill on the banks of the uMkhomazi River. In 1898, Adam and Essa started their trading store on the remote Inkooman farm. They worked, lived and slept in the shop, a building of corrugated iron with a gabled roof, 10 by 13 metres in size, including a verandah on either long side of the building. The main door was situated on the northern side of the building, along the footpath to Umlazi. The verandah on the south side overlooked the uMkhomazi Valley.

Adam and Essa were doing exceptionally well on Inkooman. In 1907, their firm was officially registered in Richmond as "Adam, Essa & Co. of Nkumande", a registration that had to be renewed yearly.[10] In 1909, Adam Moosa decided to travel back to Bharuch to marry. In order to apply for travelling documents, he got two letters of recommendation. One letter was written by the owner of *Inkooman*, Montague Cockburn, stating that Adam Essa was known to him as his tenant, running a shop on and farming on Inkooman.[11] The second letter was written by his brother Robert Archibald Cockburn on the neighbouring farm Durslade.[12] This letter stated that "Adam Mussa and Essa Mussa" were known to him as storekeepers of the firm 'Adam & Essa' since 1885, that they had been trading on Inkooman since 1898 and that they owned the following: "goods, a wagon span of oxen, cart, a few cows and one horse". In 1909, Adam Moosa left for India where he married Pulee Vallee in the village of Kothi, in the Bharuch District. In 1910, he returned to Inkooman alone, leaving Pulee behind as she was three months pregnant.

After the return of Adam to Inkooman, Essa Moosa also went back to India to marry. He left Natal on 17 May 1912 and married Bai Amina Asmal Vally (= Vali) during the same year. She was a daughter of Asmal Vali Maka, born around 1891 in Samni, another village in the Bharuch District. In order to re-enter Natal together with his wife, Essa Moosa had to write a letter to the "district magistrate of Baroach" requesting a marriage certificate. In his letter, dated 23rd November 1912, Essa Moosa refers to himself as "a storekeeper in cloth etc. in the island [= farm?] Inkuman in Natal."[13] Apparently the sale of farm products was not the main priority for Adam, Essa & Co.

After receiving the necessary documents, Essa Moosa set off for Natal early in January

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[10] MFA: 1907#.

[11] MFA: 1909b#.

[12] MFA: 1909a#.

[13] MFA: 1912#.

1913, together with his wife Bai Amina Vali and with Pulee Vallee, Adam Moosa's wife and their daughter Fathima. In the meantime, Adam Moosa made the necessary preparations to receive them. An affidavit by Adam Moosa has been preserved, written on 21st January 1913, in Durban,[14] stating that Pulee Vallee and her child Fathima were on their way to Natal and that the mother was his legitimate and only wife and that the child was his legitimate and only daughter. In this affidavit, Adam refers to Essa and himself as Hawkers in Richmond between 1895 and 1898 and as "Adam & Essa storekeepers in Inkomani since 1898". Two days later, Adam was reunited with his wife and child, for whom he had to pay 40 Pounds 3 Shillings 1 Pence to the solicitors Gooddricke and Laughton (Durban), who arranged their admission papers.[15] Essa Moosa was charged a similarly huge amount (39 Pounds 1 Shilling 4 Pence) for re-entering together with his wife Amina.[16] So together Adam and Essa Moosa had to pay about 80 Pounds (the value of about 8 cows) to re-enter the country together with their wives.

3.5 Adam, Essa & Co. (1913-1924)

With the arrival of their wives, Adam and Essa had to reorganize their business. They planned to extend the Inkooman shop, east of Groot Hoek and applied for a second shop about four kilometres northeast of Groot Hoek on the farm Durslade owned by Robert Cockburn, about four kilometres north of Inkooman (par.2.5).

On 5th February 1913, Robert A. Cockburn granted 'Adam & Essa' a lease contract allowing them to run a shop for five years on Durslade against a yearly rent of 50 Pounds, the equivalent of five cows. He stated in the contract: "I am willing to lease to you a stand for a store on my farm Durslade, the stand to be 4 acres."[17] Adam and his wife probably went to Durslade to run the second shop and to live there.

Adam & Essa were also allowed to extend their shop on Inkooman. On 6th May 1913, the owner of the Inkooman farm, Montague Cockburn gave the firm 'Adam & Essa' permission "to erect one or more extra rooms on the farm Inkomani to be used as living rooms."[18] The permission specifies the already existing properties of Adam & Essa on Inkooman: "part of the counters and shelves" inside the shop, and the following outbuildings: "the stable, the Kaffir House and the Iron on the Mealie House."

According to the Land Act of 1913 (par.6.1), which had turned Inkooman into a 'white' area, Adam and Essa were no longer allowed to work and live on the farm. However, Montague Cockburn continued to lease the shop to them and in 1916, he offered them a new lease contract.[19] In this contract, he referred to himself as "the owner of Inkumani with a country store". The contract specifies that "the farm Inkumani with the store" are leased to Adam & Essa for the period of 5 years against a yearly rental of 84 Pounds, the contract expiring on 31st March

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[14] MFA: 1913a#.

[15] MFA: 1913c#.

[16] MFA: 1913d#.

[17] MFA: 1913b#.

[18] MFA: 1913e#.

[19] MFA: 1916#.

1921. About his own rights he stated:

"That the Lessor [= Montague Alexander Cockburn] retains the right to plant Wattle or Gum Trees, should he so wish on any part of the farm not required by the lessees [= Adam & Essa] for cultivation. The trees now growing on the farm to remain the property of the Lessor, with the exception of the orchard [= the fruit trees planted by Adam & Essa close to the shop]. And further the Lessor has the right to go to the farm and cut and bark the said trees when he wishes. And the Lessor has the right to graze a limited number of cattle on the farm."

For several reasons the 1916 contract is interesting. In the first place it explicitly mentions the presence of 'natives' on Inkooman. The fact that the contract gives Adam & Essa the right to collect rent from them, might suggest that Montague Cockburn failed to collect the rent himself, as they probably had no intention of paying any rent to anybody (par.7.2). In the second place, the contract refers to the possibility of planting Gum Trees, a produce which became popular in the Richmond district only during the 1950's. Informants remember that Inkooman has always been planted with Wattle and Gum Trees. In the third place, the contract makes clear that Adam & Essa operated independently from the farm owner. Actually they grew their own produce like maize, vegetables and fruits, and sold more durable produce like blankets and (western) clothes. Finally, informants remember that Mishani (= Essa Moosa) bartered with the local population. For example, he collected animal bones, brought by local children to the shop in return for a spoon of syrup.[20] The bones were sold in Richmond to be processed into fertilizer.

It might be concluded that the farm owner saw Inkooman as a timber plantation. From his point of view, the presence of a shop in the most southern part of the farm was in the first place a gesture of goodwill towards the local people, some of whom even lived on the farm. By opening the shop, the farmer probably hoped to improve the relationship with them. The financial profit, in the form of the rent received, would certainly have been an extra incentive to maintain it.

3.6 Leaving the Shop

During the 1920's, Adam, Essa & Co. faced new challenges. In 1922, shortly before his death, Montague Cockburn separated Inkooman into two grants. Most of it was reserved for forestry, while the most southern part of the farm, the shop area, became a separate grant.[21] In 1923, both grants were inherited by Montague's brother Archibald Hugh Cockburn (par.2.5). During the same year, the Urban Area Act of 1923 was accepted by Parliament. This law made it easier for people like Adam and Essa Moosa to obtain trading licences in places like Richmond and Pietermaritzburg. Subsequently, around 1924, Adam Moosa and his family left for Pietermaritzburg, Essa Moosa and his family, his wife and five children, moved to Richmond, where three other children were born.[22] In line with the Urban Area Act of 1923, the Richmond Town Board, established around 1920, decided "that the Indian Community would occupy that

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[20] L.M. Mntungwa Nxele, 2002*.

[21] TOP: Grant 10104, 1922#.

[22] Essa Moosa and his wife Bai had five children on Inkooman. Their names were Ayesha, Ahmed, Howahbeebee, Ally, and Fathima. Another three of their children were born in Richmond (Fielden Street): Suleman, Marriam and Ismail.

part of the Township west of Chilley Street down to the Illovo River."[23] In 1924, Essa Moosa got a licence as a general dealer for a shop on the corner of Nelson Street and Chilley Street, the main shopping street in Richmond.[24] He remained a respected citizen of Richmond and a faithful follower of Islam and he was known for the healing qualities of his prayers, until his death on 10th March 1938.[25] His son Achmed, who in the meantime had opened a shop on the farm Craigside, continued to run the shop in Richmond.[26]

In 1924, Essa Moosa left the Inkooman shop to an assistant. Probably until about 1933, he continued to maintain both shops.[27] He even bought a small truck for the provisions.[28] It is remembered that, because of the bad condition of the road, the tyres of the truck were sometimes filled with grass to deal with multiple punctures.[29]

Around 1933, the shop on Inkooman was taken over by somebody from Mid-Illovo, who is only known to me by his Zulu name 'Gramseli', probably a close relative of Essa Moosa. He did not live on Inkooman but until 1949, he ran the shop as a general dealer from his home in Mid-Illovo. He is remembered for the sale of avocados (*amakotapeya*), mangoes (*omango*), maize (*umbila*) and peanuts (*amatongomana*), which were grown in the shop's garden.[30]

3.7 The Shop closed down

By the time the Group Areas Act of 1950 became law, it was virtually impossible for a person classified as 'Asiatic' to live or run a shop on Inkooman, a 'white area'. So the southern part of the farm including the shop were leased in 1949 to a person classified as 'white', Samuel Howard Brokensha, also from Mid-Illovo. He already ran a shop in kwaTomi (= Gulubie View; par.6.5), about 10 kilometres along the road in a northeastern direction, also bordering Umlazi. Unfortunately, "Mr. Brokensha was compelled to move to Pietermaritzburg in September, 1951 due to his wife's serious ill health."[31] Therefore, he tried to transfer the lease contract and sell the business, but the only applicant he found was Bhanprakas Jahwir Singh, who was registered as 'Asiatic'. Supported by Brokensha, Bhanprakas Singh made an application in 1954 to the Land Tenure Advisory Board in Pietermaritzburg "for a permit under section 8 of the Group Areas Act, as amended, authorising him to enter into agreement of lease with a member of the White group in respect of a portion, 5 acres in extent, of the farm Inkoman No.2 No.10104."[32] The permit was refused by the Board after receiving negative advice from the Native Commissioner

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[23] C. Coulson, 1986, p.112.

[24] MFA: 1924#.

[25] MFA: 1938#.

[26] MFA: 1933b#.

[27] The licence for the Inkooman shop was extended at least to 1928; MFA: 1921#.

[28] MFA: 1928#.

[29] I. Moosa, 2002*.

[30] L.M. Mntungwa Nxele, 2002*.

[31] NAP: 1954a#.

[32] NAP: 1954b#.

in Richmond, which was motivated as follows:[33]

1. "I wish to point out that the portion of the farm "Inkomaan" referred to (No.2 No.1014) is virtually surrounded by Native Areas.
2. I feel that the granting of a permit to occupy to the applicant will nullify all attempts by the Native Affairs Department to close the Native Areas to all but natives.
3. I have discussed the matter with the local Police, who state that the presence of members of the Asiatic group in an area virtually surrounded by Native Areas will be a potential danger-spot and also provide a gateway to the Native Areas which is difficult to control.
4. Under these circumstances and bearing in mind the prevalence of illicit trading in dagga, liquor and firearms, as well as the riots a few years ago, I cannot but state that the application is viewed with extreme disfavour by this office."

Not being able to find a 'white' tenant, and being refused an 'asiatic' one, Brokensha had to continue to run the shop himself. He was assisted by a 'Zulu' shopkeeper, Mr. Mhlabe from Table Mountain, near Camperdown, who worked in the shop until the lease contract for Inkooman was transferred to Morris Osborn, a farmer living on Nkobeni, south of Richmond.[34] Morris Osborn struggled to make the shop profitable and finally had to close it around 1961, when the Cockburn family sold Inkooman to the forestry company Timberit Forests LTD,[35] later on, incorporated into Masonite Africa LTD, which still uses the farm as an Eucalyptus (Blue Gum) plantation. The Inkooman shop and the neighbouring buildings were knocked down leaving the foundations until today.

[33] NAP: 1954c#.

[34] T. Marwick, 2002*.

[35] TOP: Title Deed 9524 on the combined grants 5186 & 10104, 1964#.

Chapter 4: Mkhize and Ngcongo

4.1 Introduction

The central part of Groot Hoek situated north of the uMkhomazi River is locally known as eNkumane, called after the 861 metres high mountain about one and a half kilometres east of Groot Hoek. In 1851, the Government Surveyor Mr. Charles Tibbut Bell surveyed the grant around the river uMkhomazi and its tributary the uNompofane. He drew the eastern border of the grant just west of some Mkhize homesteads. He must have realised that this grant would be the most eastern possible site for a commercial farm in the area, as further to the east, the banks of the uMkhomazi were more densely populated. Directly northwest of Groot Hoek, he surveyed a second grant, Spitzkop. He remarked about Spitzkop: "No natives at all;"[1] about Groot Hoek:

> "...5994 Acres ... arable land about three to four hundred Acres ... chiefly grazing ... about 1000 head of cattle through the year ... Whether any Natives reside: Three to four kraals. Whether any and what objections are made to the grant: None."[2]

Apparently, Mr. Bell overlooked the fact that most of Spitzkop and Groot Hoek was in use as a hunting area.[3] Probably, the homesteads observed by Mr. Bell in the most northern corner of what he planned to be Groot Hoek, belonged to the Mkhize and Ngcongo, who had arrived in the area at least ten years earlier. From the start, Groot Hoek was a border area under dispute.[4]

The origins of the people, who previously arrived in eNkumane, are to be found in KwaZulu, around the upper part of the uThukela River. At the beginning of the 19th century, Southern Africa and especially the northern part of what is called today KwaZulu-Natal, was disrupted by major social and political upheavals (par.2.1; 11.4).[5] The upheavals resulted in several migrations crossing the uThukela River in a southern direction, a process which culminated around the period 1820 until 1840. Locally the migrations were called "the rolling down in grass baskets" (*ukuginqika ngesilulu)*.[6] Many people who were part of the migrations, finally settled around and in between the rivers uMlazi and uMkhomazi. The memories about

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[1] TOP: Grant 1001, 1851#.

[2] TOP: Grant 1000, 1851#.

[3] The tributaries to the uMkhomazi River running through Spitzkop and Groot Hoek in a southern direction have names referring to hunting, such as: *iNgwempisi* (= leopard-and-hyena), *iNyanyana* (= young buck?), *iMadoba* (= fisherman), and *uNompofana* (= young eland). Alternatively, the name 'uNompofane' may refer to people who lived in the uMkhomazi valley around the year 1800 (JSA-III, 1982, pp.213, 219). According to J. Lagendijk's (1971, p.80), 'uNompofane' means 'rather poor'. At present, part of the original hunting area is incorporated in a commercial game reserve where even vultures (*amanqe*) may be spotted.

[4] All grants north and west of Groot Hoek, described around 1850, were given European names, Spitzkop (Afrikaans), Durslade (English) and Kleinthal (German). All grants east of Groot Hoek, described at the later stage, were given isiZulu-names like Inkomaan, Mqolobene, Inhlazuka and Umlazi. These areas were more densely populated. The character of Groot Hoek as a border area may be illustrated with the fact that in 1898 a shop was opened right on Groot Hoek's eastern border, in Inkomaan, to trade with local people living further east and south (chapter 3).

[5] B.J. Barker, 1992, p.88-91.

[6] JSA-II, p.281.

what happened subsequently in the area can be put in chronological order around six commonly remembered historical events. Older people clearly remember a locust plague that took place just as the maize started to grow. Probably, the event took place in September or October around the year 1918. In the second place, the arrival of a cotton farmer is well remembered. This event took place in 1921 (par.2.10). In the third place, another locust plague is remembered just before the maize started to flower. The locusts ate all the leaves but to the amazement of the people, the maize got flowers after the locusts left and that year yielded good crops.[7] The story is told that the locusts had arrived by boat, as they came from a easterly direction and as two huge ships had been moored in the Durban harbour around the same time. This probably took place in November or December 1933.[8] Several older people also remember the arrival of the first agricultural advisers in the area. This probably happened in or just after 1950 (par.6.6-7).

Subsequently, the arrival of the first Reformed Missionary in 1959 and finally the first general elections in 1994, are common points of reference. Most memories recalled during oral interviews could be dated in relationship to one or more of these six historical events and in relationship to one of the Mkhize *amakhosi* ruling at the time.

4.2 Zihlandlo and Sambela Mkhize

One of the most prominent family names in the eNkumane area is Mkhize. The Mkhize relate their history back to the times of King Shaka who defeated the abaMbo *inkosi* Zihlandlo and his father Gcwabe,[9] as recorded by James Stuart (JSA): "Tshaka attacked Zihlandlo ka Gcwabe, where he got the praise: 'He ate two sweet-reeds, one being Zihlandhlo, the other Gcwabe, but spat out only one leaf', i.e. because he did not kill but merely caught them."[10] Instead of being killed, Zihlandlo was promoted to one of the highest positions in the empire. "Zihlandhlo was a favourite of Shaka's, together with Magaye kaDibandhlela"[11] and he used to be called by King Shaka 'my younger brother' (*umnawami*[12]). The story is told that one day, King Shaka failed to capture the cattle of one of his enemies as the cows were kept in a stronghold, surrounded by a wall on a steep mountain. King Shaka failed to get the cows but Zihlandlo managed to bring the cattle down to King Shaka, proving that he surpassed King Shaka (*uZihlandlo wamedlula uShaka*[13]). In different versions of the story different enemies are mentioned[14], but the message of the story is clear: Zihlandlo Mkhize was one of the top military

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[7] B. Ngcongo, 2002*.

[8] The dates are estimated on basis of the age of the interviewees at the time of the event.

[9] G. MaMkhize Phungula, 2003*; King Shaka lived from 1787 until 1828.

[10] JSA-I, p.186.

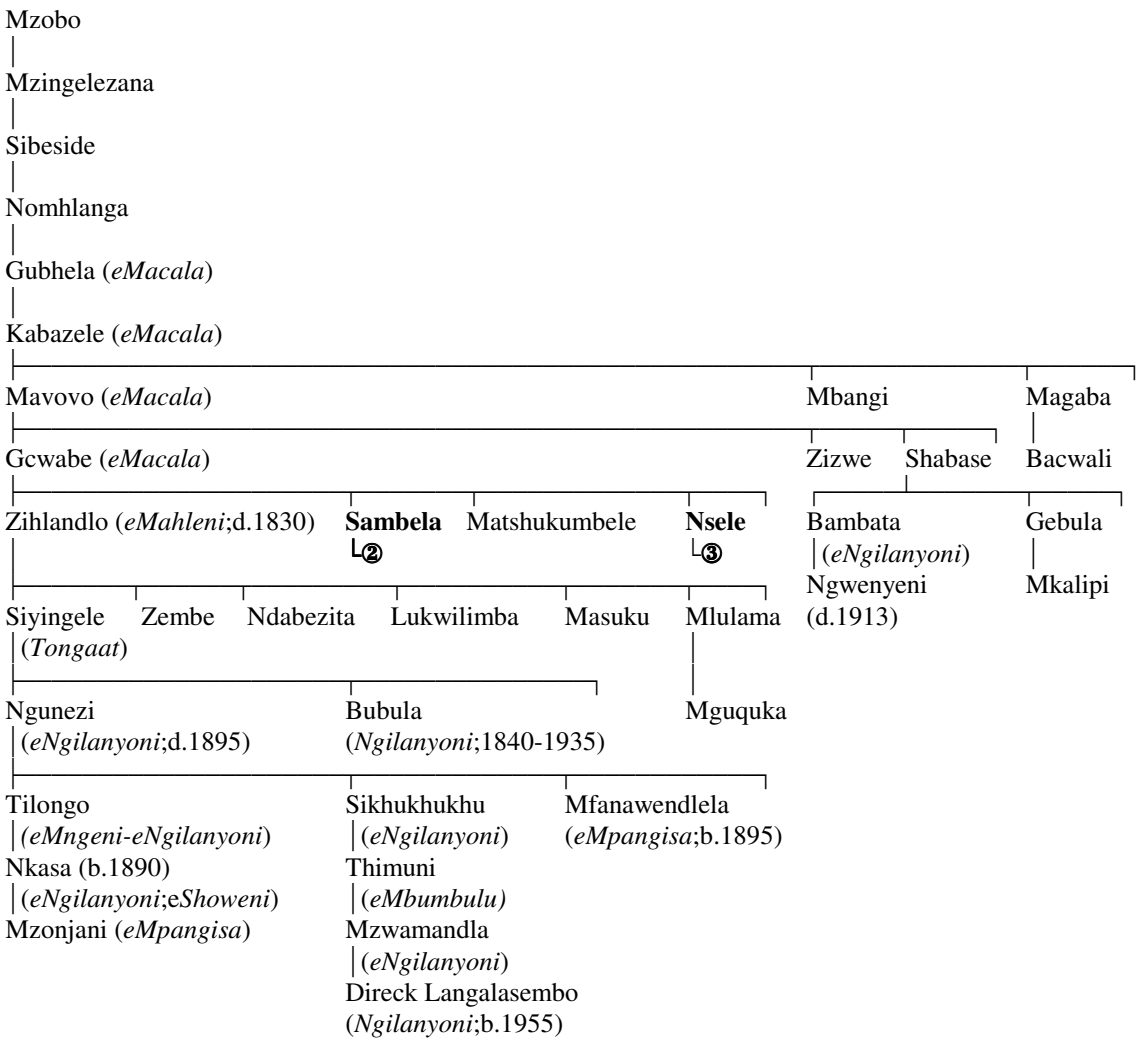
[11] JSA-II, p.192.

[12] JSA-III, p.6; F. Mkhize, 2002*; Bryant (1929; p.405).

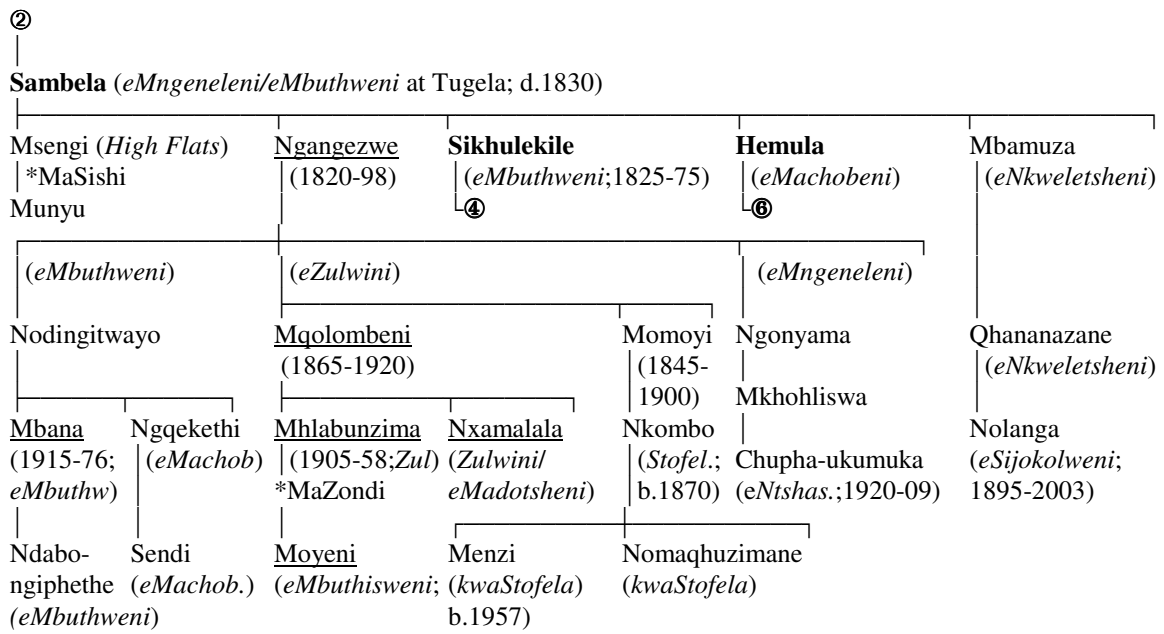
[13] F. Mkhize, 2002* and G. MaMkhize Phungula, 2003*. In some versions of the story, it is told that King Shaka wanted to kill Zihlandlo, because he became jealous of Zihlandlo's cleverness (*uZihlandlo wanenqondo enkulu*), and he was afraid that Zihlandlo might kill him one day (D. Mkhize, 2004*). A.T. Bryant (1929, p.410): "Zihlandlo was rapidly developing into a strong, though unintentional, rival to Shaka".

[14] Mbokodo Mkhize mentioned "Dhlaba of the Mzondi people" as the enemy; JSA-III, p.6.

*Part of the **Mkhize** family tree (compare Mbokodo Mkhize (JSA-III,1982,p.2), ①:*



*Part of the **Mkhize** family tree ②* (the names of *amakhosi* and acting chiefs are underlined):



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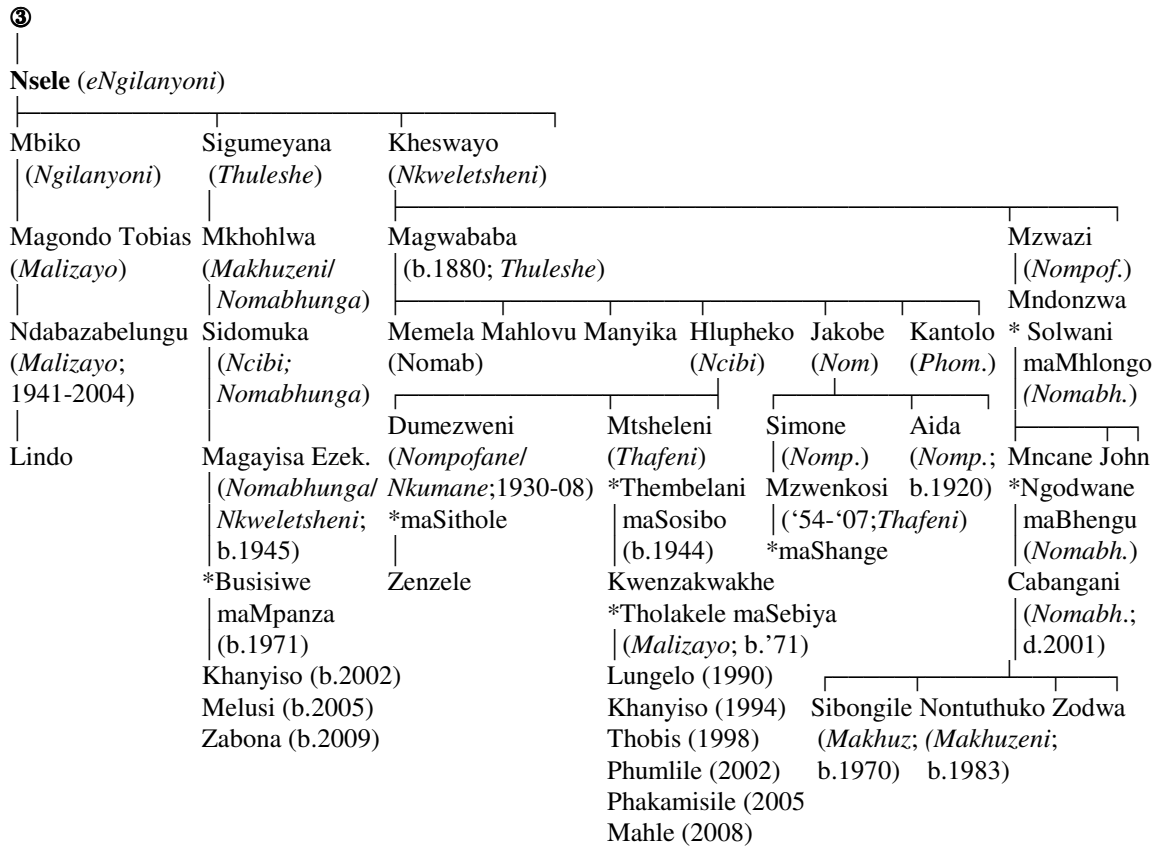
*Part of the **Mkhize** family tree ③:*



*Part of the **Mkhize** family tree ④:*

④

Sikhulekile
(*eMbuthweni*-hill; 1830-75)

- Mbokodo (b.1850)
- **Muziyonke** ⑤
- Mkayeni (*eMbuthweni/kwaNompofane*)

Mphezulu (*Mses./Sigang/Nkum.*)
- *MaRadebe
  - Mseshi (*Mseshi*)
    - Mayinti
    - Ngabayena
  - Sintombi
- *MaMyeza
  - Batshelwa (*eMbuthweni/kwaMseshi/Hlokozi*)
    - *Balekile
      - MaMntungwa
        - Ngakanani (*Hlokozi*)
        - Gezephi (*Nkum.*;'42-'08)
        - Ndodo (*Hlokozi*)
        - Bonakele
        - Hlekisile
        - Ndabekhona
        - Mbhekwa
        - Lingani (*Hlokozi*)
        - Nhlalayenza (*Amanzimtoti*)
  - Nokuvela
- *MaMhlongo
  - Mdabuli (*Mseshi/kwaGogo*)
    - *Majoyini Elina
      - MaGaselo
        - Mbhini
        - Qondimpi
        - Thenjiwe
        - Baphindile
        - Mphendukelwa
        - Legina
        - Musa (*Nqutu*)
  - Khalima

Gqwathaza (*Sigang/Nkum.*)

Goqwana

Victor (*Machobe*)
- Jubhili (*Machobe*)
  - Sindi (*Mac*)
    - *MaKunene
      - Ntibindi
        - Busisiwe
          - Gabha

Sonile (*Mbuthw/Nompof./Ngilanyoni*)
- Hlolimpi (*Ngilany./Nompofan.*)
  - Mate (*Nompof./Machobeni Ngilanyoni*;d.1994)

Twayini Stambu (*Mseshi/kwaGogo*)
- *MaNdlovu
  - Ntombisizi (1923-2007)
    - Frieda Nzobani Bethi Nora Khombisile

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*Part of the **Mkhize** family tree ⑤:*

⑤

Muziyonke
(*eMbuthweni*-hill)

Gidinkomo
(*eKabunga*)

- Nhlakomuzi (*Nompofane*; d.1990)
  - Ncanyana
  - Zikhetile
  - Maxwell
  - Thuleleni
  - Gile
  - Nununu (*Thafeni*)
  - Nginga
  - Hlaleni
- Gatiti (*Nompof.*)
  - *MaMsomi - - - - - - - - - -
    - Fano (*Nompofane*;'29-'08)
      - Mnkatsheni
- Mathias (*eThafeni*)
- Mbizeni
  - *MaNgcongo
    - Xolani
      - Landeni
        - Ntontoza (*Thafeni*)
- Bhekezizwe
- Baluzile
- Malolo

leaders of King Shaka. *Inkosi* Zihlandlo's brother Sambela became his military officer. *Inkosi* Zihlandlo lived on the banks of the uThukela around the junction with its tributary the iNsuze River, about twenty kilometres northeast of Kranskop.[15]

When, in 1828, King Dingane assassinated his half-brother King Shaka, he also eliminated the king's prominent councillors and *amakhosi* including Zihlandlo.[16] "When Tshaka was assassinated, Dingane caused Magaye, Zihlandhlo, Matubane and Sambela to be put to death, men who had ruled with Tshaka. Inkosi Zihlandhlo and Sambela, his younger brother, were killed in Zihlandlo's homestead esiMahleni... Sambela was of the uluTshwele (regiment), an ibuto of Zihlandhlo... Sambela and Zihlandhlo were killed by Dingane... Zihlandhlo had his kraal at esiMahleni about Macala."[17] "Zihlandlo was killed at Makedama's place in the amaKabeleni country (near Kranskop) on the right bank of the Thugela. That is where his grave is."[18] "Sambela was the first attacked and killed off. Zihlandhlo was murdered some time afterwards. When Sambela was attacked the impi fought for three days; on the fourth day Sambela was killed... Zihlandhlo had practically no people with him where he was killed, for no battle was fought."[19]

Sambela had built several homesteads close to Zihlandlo's homestead eSimahleni. Sambela's main homesteads were called eMngeneleni and eMbuthweni.[20] After Sambela and Zihlandlo were killed their eMacala area was granted by King Dingane to Ndhlela kaSompisi who was in charge of the king's *impi* against the Mkhize.[21] A major part of *inkosi* Zihlandlo and Sambela's relatives fled and moved southwards to the northern banks of the uMkhomazi River, where they rebuilt eSimahleni on the mountain iNgilanyoni (Umlazi).[22] About ten kilometres further to the west, upstream, eMngeneleni and eMbuthweni were rebuilt.

4.3 The Mkhize before Zihlandlo and Sambela

From about 1750 to 1820, probably five generations of the Mkhize lived around the junction of the uThukela River and its tributary the iNsuze, under the leadership of Gubhela,

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[15] A.T. Bryant (1929, p. 406) mentioned Zihlandlo's "eNyakenye kraal on the northern side of the Tukela, although at the time the eMbo people were already in occupation of both banks". Zihlandlo's *umuzi* 'esiMahleni' was situated on the southern banks of the uThukela, opposite the junction with the uNsuze.

[16] P. Colenbrander, 1989, p.86. King Dingane lived from 1795 until 1840.

[17] JSA-II, p.193.

[18] JSA-II, p.205; about the different places Zihlandlo and Sambela were killed, probably at different times, M.M. Fuze (1922, 1979, p.74) remarks: "Zihlandlo was killed in the Dimane homestead, and Sambela in the Kwanini homestead."

[19] JSA-III, p.7; Bryant (1929, p .412-414) mentions as the date for Sambela's death: 1830; Zihlandlo would have died two or three years later.

[20] JSA-II, pp.192,199; JSA-III, p.17.

[21] JSA-II, pp.199,205; JSA-III, p.11.

[22] JSA-II, p.59; possibly, also the name 'uMkhomazi' was introduced by the abaMbo, referring to the 'inKomazi', according to Bryant (1929, p.316-317) a "tributary of the Crocodile or uMenyisa, entering the Delagoa Bay", a residence area of the abaMbo until the 16th century (par.2.1).

Kabazele, Mavovo, Gcwabe and Zihlandlo.[23] This may be confirmed with the following quotation from several of James Stuart's sources. "The graves of Gcwabe and Kabazele and Gubela are at Macala, i.e. on that side of Macala which looks to the Insuze river."[24] "Kabazele's and Gubela's graves are above the Nsuze. Gcwabe's is at the foot of Macala."[25] "Mavovo, Kabazele and Gubela are said to be there."[26] Several of these personal names are retained by the Mkhize as praise names (*izithakazelo*). Most of the interviewees in eNkumane know three praise names for sure: Kabazele, Mavovo and Gcwabe. The name 'Kabazele' is still commonly used to greet members of the Mkhize family.

Records about the Mkhize before Gubhela are not very clear. They suggest a period between 1650 and 1750, of four or five generations of Mkhize living in Swaziland, before they moved in the direction of the uThukela.[27] As Swazis the abaMbo are also called 'amaLala'.[28]

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[23] The names and the historical sequence of the first eight Mkhize *amakhosi* is not sure, as can be illustrated with the sequences given by M.M. Fuze (1922, 1979, p.20) and by A.T. Bryant (1929, opposite p.314) as alternatives for the sequence given in the main text.

According to M.M. Fuze:	According to A.T. Bryant:		According to the main text:
Gubhela	Langa	(d.1688)	Mzobo
Kubone	Ndlozela	(d.1706)	Mzingelezane
Mngebelezane	Sidweba	(d.1724)	Sibeside
Dlozela	Mdladla	(d.1742)	Nomhlanga
Sibeside	Gubela	(d.1760)	Gubhela
Mavovo	Mavovo	(d.1778)	Kabazele
Kabazele	Kabazele	(d.1796)	Mavovo
Gcwabe	Gcwabe	(d.1814)	Gcwabe

P.M. Mkhize (2003*) lists five *amakhosi*: "Langa - Ndlozela - Mavovo - Kabazele - Gcwabe".
According to Mbandeni Dlamini (Bryant,1929,opposite p.314, p.406) Mavovo was the father of the brothers Kabazele and Mbangi, the father of Magaba. According to Mbokodo Mkhize (JSA-III, 1982, p.2), Kabazele was the father of the three brothers Mavovo, Mbangi and Magaba. Yet compare JSA-III, 1979, p.90: "Zihlandlo kaGcwabe kaKabazele kaMavovo kaGubela". The fact that the praise name 'Kabazele' is more generally used than 'Mavovo' might suggest that Khabezele was senior to Mavovo. This might be (in)validated by further research into the spreading of the praise names Kabazele and Mavovo. A few stories are known about Mavovo, but none about Kabazele. The stories point at Mavovo as the leader of the Mkhize, when they arrived for the first time at the uThukela River. One of the stories refers to a girl, who on her way to marry Mavovo Mkhize, happened to marry Mavovo Cube, but after all was fetched by Mavovo Mkhize to become his second wive (A.T. Bryant, 1929, p.404; JSA-III, 1982, p.2).

[24] JSA-II, p.205.

[25] JSA-II, p.199.

[26] JSA-III, p.6.

[27] For the Swaziland period the following sequences have been recorded about the period 1650-1750.
According to Mbandeni Dlamini (Bryant, 1929, opposite p.314, p.406):
Langa - Ndlozela - Sidweba - Mdladla - Gubela
According to Mbokode Mkhize (JSA-III, p.2):
Mzobo - Mzingelezana - Sibeside - Nomhlanga - Gubela
Piyanensa Marcus Mkhize (2003*) mentioned only:
Langa - Ndlozela ("the father of Mavovo")
About the migration into Swaziland, A.T. Bryant (1929, p.403) wrote: "In 1589 early Portuguese found the abaMbo folk dwelling southwards of Delagoa Bay and northwards of the St Lucia Bay ... a century or more later, the tribe

"The Embo people are amaLala. [Later on,] they lived near the amaCunu [at the uThukela River]."[29] "The eMbos are Swazis, real Swazis. The Pondos were the first to come from Swaziland. The abaMbo came on last... They first built on the north side of the Tukela. [Later on,] they settled at the [u]Mkomazi when the Boers came to Natal."[30]

Most probably, the name 'Mkhize' had been in use as a praise name before the Mkhize arrived in Swaziland. It has also been supposed that the name 'Mkhize' has never been the name of a person but is a praise name, 'abaMbo' being the tribe's proper name. "Mkhize is the address-name (*isithakazelo*) of the [aba]Mbo people."[31]

4.4 Migration to the uMkhomazi River

After the death of Zihlandlo and Sambela, the Mkhize did not migrate as one unit, they spread in different directions. Or as recalled in an old children's song:[32]

Thin' abaMbo savela kude	We abaMbo came from far
Ngaphesheya koThukela	From the other side of the uThukela
Sachitheka	We spread
Sachitheka imvencane	We spread like lambs

It is even incorrect to state that the Mkhize started to move from the uThukela in a southward direction only after the death of Zihlandlo and Sambela. Several Mkhize had moved southwards already during the early 1820's, whether ordered by King Shaka, or on the run from him.

H.C. Lugg records that, during the early 1820's, Zihlandlo's son Siyingele had crossed the uThukela and lived on the coast north of Durban: "In King Shaka's time the tribe was settled along the north coast towards the Tugela under the control of their former Chief Siyingela... He lived near Tongaat and when, in 1825, Henry Francis Fynn was attempting to make his first visit to Shaka, it was Siyingela who provided him with food and shelter for several weeks whilst arrangements were being made for him to visit Shaka."[33] Some of the interviewees in this research believe that King Shaka himself sent some Mkhize to stay in the area around Durban,

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broke up and a considerable portion of it marched away inland, there, in the laps of centuries, to grow into the Hlubi, Dlamini and Mkhize clans."

[28] JSA-I, p.118; G.MaMkhize Phungula, 2003*; contrary to A.T. Bryant (1929, p.313), who makes a difference between Tonga Nguni (including Mtetwa, Lala en Debe) and eMbo Nguni (including Mkhize and Dlamini).

[29] JSA-I, p.90.

[30] JSA-I, p.118.

[31] JSA-I, p.276; A.T. Bryant (1929, p.403) supposes that the family name *(isibongo)* 'abaMbo' refers to the place of origin, whereas the praise name *(isithakazelo)* 'Mkhize' refers to the founding hero of the Mkhize. He translates the name 'Mkhize' as "travels in drizzling rain" (idem, 1929, p.403). In a similar way, M. Mkhize (2002*) states that the name 'Mkhize' was given by King Shaka to the abaMbo, because they preferred to live in a higher area, where they would enjoy a fertile drizzle (*umkhizo*).

[32] G. MaMkhize Phungula, 2003*.

[33] H.C. Lugg, 1974, p.65. Harry C. Lugg worked as Court Interpreter, Magistrate and finally as Chief Commissioner of Native Affairs in Natal. From 1923 until 1928, he was Magistrate in Richmond (C. Coulson, 1986, p.123). In this position he was responsible for the 'Native Affairs' in the areas occupied by Zihlandlo and Sambela Mkhize's descendants.

possibly as reward for a major victory by the Mkhize against Dlaba Mzondi.[34] Some specifically mention Congella as the area where Mkhize were sent to stay close to the British settlement.[35]

Another migration during the 1820's was led by Bacwali and Mtinkulu Mkhize, two grandsons of Kabazele.[36] Deserting from King Shaka they crossed the uThukela and settled in the Ixopo District, south of the uMkhomazi River.

After Zihlandlo's and Sambela's death, another southward migration of Mkhize took place. They passed Durban and finally settled between the uMlazi and the uMkhomazi Rivers. Others left King Dingane at a later stage to follow this earlier migration movement. "Later they came and joined the main portion of the tribe where it is now."[37] One of Stuart's sources gives the honour of leading the Mkhize into the area along the uMkhomazi River to Zihlandlo's heir Siyingele.[38] But according to H.C. Lugg, Siyingele had already left KwaZulu during the early 1820's.[39] In reality, it was most probably Bambatha Mkhize (Zihlandlo's cousin and one of his *izinduna*) who led the first Mkhize to the iNgilanyoni Mountain at the uMkhomazi River. Some sources recall that Bambatha was accompanied by Sambela's eldest son Msengi, who, after arriving at the uMkhomazi River, left Bambatha and went westwards, more upstream.[40] One of James Stuart's sources recalls the migration of Zihlandlo's and Sambela's descendants to the uMkhomazi River as follows: "Siyingele, heir of Zihlandhlo, fled and settled about the Umlazi, Camperdown etc. [But] Bambata ka Tshabase ka Mavovo etc. and [his brother] Gebula [both cousins of Zihlandlo and Sambela] were the two who first pushed on ahead, accompanied by people, to find a place on which to live. They brought with them [= later they were followed by]

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[34] F. Mkhize, 2002*; JSA-III, p.6.

[35] C.J. Dladla (2002*) supposes that the name of the area, 'Congella', is derived from King Shaka's warning *Khangela amankengane!* (Behold the foreigners!).

[36] JSA, III, p.19.

[37] JSA-III, p.7.

[38] "Zihlandhlo's chief son was Siyingela. This man crossed into Natal and went to live on the Mkomazi [River] at Ngilanyoni hill between Ilovo [River] and the Mkomazi [River]. They there rebuilt Esimahleni kraal which had previously existed at Macala" (JSA-II, p.205).This version was recalled by one of the informants, the present *inkosi* in eNkumane, M. Mkhize (2002*).

[39] H.C. Lugg, 1974, p.65.

[40] "Bambatha ka Tshabase of the Embo people, *induna* to Zihlandhlo at Esimahleni (Zihlandhlo's *ikanda*), escaped in Dingane's reign when Zihlandhlo was put to death by him. He came to live on the Mkomazi. Not many tribesmen followed then, but when Mpande crossed into Natal many joined Mbambata. They, however, came with a chief, Siyingele ka Zihlandhlo, who became the chief of all" (JSA-III, p.270). "Bambatha ka Tshabase, *induna* of Zihlandlo, was the first to cross over, also Bacwali ka Magaba, also Msengi, the eldest son of Sambela (who followed Zihlandhlo in age). They left their district (the Embo district near the Insuze) and came into Natal. Bambata and Bacwali lived near Richmond, on the left bank of the Umkomazi [= eNgilanyoni]. Msengi went [westwards] and lived at the eNhlazuka hill. (Mqolombeni is their as chief now)" (JSA III, p.42).
A.T. Bryant (1929, p.414) supposes that it was Msengi "who took up the reins and led the way. With three or four hundred eMbo families and a number of the allied Ndlovus led by Mpongo."
The leading roles of Bambatha kaShabasa and Msengi kaSambela during the migration is supported by interviewees in the present research, Bambatha settling at the iNgilanyoni Mountain, and Msengi moving westwards to the iNhlazuka Mountain (G. MaMkhize Phungula, 2003*; M.J. Ngcongo, 2003*). It can be doubted whether Bacwali took part in the migration. Probably, Bacwali had left KwaZulu already during the 1820s (JSA, III, p.19), and settled in the Ixopo district.

Siyingele and Msengi [Sambela's eldest son]. Ngangezwe [Sambela's heir] was too young. He was taken to his maternal uncle... When a piece of ground to live on was found in Natal, Msengi sent messengers to fetch Ngangezwe... On his arrival Msengi built a kraal at eMpendweni. Later Ngangezwe left Msengi's kraal and built his own at Embuthweni."[41]

4.5 Descendants of Sambela and Nsele

Most of the Mkhize presently living in eNkumane are descendants of Sambela and Nsele Mkhize. Based on the information given by the interviewees, it may be concluded that Sambela's sons Msengi, Sikhulekile, Hemula and Mbamuza never settled at eNgilanyoni but moved westwards from eNgilanyoni along the northern banks of the uMkhomazi and, later on, were followed by their younger brother Ngangezwe, Sambela's heir.

The exact movements of Msengi and his brothers are not directly clear in James Stuart's records. Different accounts are given as to the place they turned to: eMpendweni,[42] eNhlazuka [43] and eFabe hill west of Pietermaritzburg.[44] The Name 'eMpendweni' has no clear reference today. It may refer to eMphandwini around Folweni. But this is unlikely, as it would mean that Msengi went back in a northern direction after arriving in eNgilanyoni. For the same reason it is unlikely that Msengi settled in eFabe. Some sources suppose that 'eMpendweni' may refer to eMpandeni', a rather unknown mountain ridge in the eNhlazuka area. This 'eMpandeni' ridge, about 10 kilometres west from eNgilanyoni, joins the eNkumane mountain on its eastern side and overlooks the banks of the uMkhomazi, where probably Msengi (or 'Mbusengi'[45]) settled. The place was called 'eMngeneleni', after one of the homesteads of Msengi's father Sambela at the uThukela River. Msengi moved on, after his brother Ngangezwe had arrived. He crossed the uMkhomazi southwards, heading for the area presently called Highflats. Maybe, Msengi was chased away by Ngangezwe,[46] or Msengi himself decided to move on after stealing Ngangezwe's cattle.[47] Anyhow, there was a quarrel between the brothers that was never solved. After Msengi's death, the life of his son Munyu was threatened by Ngangezwe, so Munyu "bolted off as hard as he could go, fearing Ngangezwe might... carry his threat into execution."[48]

Mbamuza, Sikhulekile and Hemula Mkhize moved on, after they had arrived with their brother Msengi in eMngeneleni. Mbamuza built his homestead opposite eMngeneleni on the other side of the uMkhomazi (in eNkweletsheni), a distance of about three kilometres in a southwesterly direction. Sikhulekile moved on along the banks of the uMkhomazi for about three

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[41] JSA-III, p.7.

[42] JSA-III, p.7.

[43] JSA-III, p.42; A.T. Bryant (1929, p.414) wrote: "Msengi (along with Mpongo and his Ndlovus ...) selected for himself a spot near the enTlazuka [= iNhlazuka] mount, near the Mkomazi; and there this section of the clan still remains".

[44] JSA-III, p.10.

[45] G. MaMkhiza Phungula, 2003*.

[46] G. MaMkhize Phungula, 2003*.

[47] P. Mkhize, 2003*.

[48] JSA-III, p.20.

kilometres in a westerly direction to build his homestead on a hill called eMbuthweni, named after another of Sambela's homesteads at the uThukela. Hemula moved about eight kilometres in a northerly direction and built his homestead in the hills, about 600 metres above the uMkhomazi River, in an area called eMachobeni.

The Mkhize brothers did not arrive alone at the uMkhomazi. Amongst the people who accompanied them, were some Ngcongo, Vezi, Ndlovu and others. "[Sambela had] killed (Nomanaka kaNgcongo)... He killed him and took over his people. These are the people that at this stage are so numerous a section of [Ngangezwe's son] Mqolombeni's kraal... [Sambela also] attacked the Vezi people, killed him and took over his people. It is they who are there with Mqolombeni... [Sambela also] attacked Mpongo kaZingelwayo of the Ndhlovu people... He killed him and... took over a portion of Mpongo's people."[49] Amongst the Ngcongo the memory is kept alive that they arrived in eNgilanyoni at the uMkhomazi River together with Bambatha Mkhize before some of them moved westwards with other families including Mkhize, Gwamanda and Mtshali (par. 4.9 - 4.10).[50]

During the 20th century, Sambela's descendants were followed by some of Nsele Mkhize's descendants. Nsele Mkhize was Zinhlandlo's and Sambela's only brother who arrived in eNgilanyoni. After Nsele's death, his sons left eNgilanyoni and moved southwards to eThuleshe (present: Highflats). When, during the 1920's, eThuleshe started to be used as a commercial 'white' farm, Nsele's descendants returned to the uMkhomazi River but more upstream. Some settled in kwaNcibi and kwaNomabhunga on its southern banks, others in eNkumane on its northern banks.

Illustrative is the story of Nsele's son Sigumeyana. Sigumeyana Mkhize left eNgilanyoni after Nsele's death. He crossed the uMkhomazi and settled in eThuleshe, where he died as a tenant labourer. Sigumeyana's son, Mkhohlwa Mkhize, became a tenant labourer on a farm in kwaNcibi on the southern banks of the uMkhomazi. Unhappy with the conditions on the farm, especially the rule that their children had to assist on the farm without being paid, Mkhohlwa moved his family to the neighbouring kwaNomabhungu, the most western part of the eMbo heritage area. Leaving his family behind, he worked in Johannesburg. Mkhohlwa's son, Sidumuka Mkhize, followed the migrant labour pattern set by his father. He also built his house on the uNomabhunga Mountain and worked as migrant labourer in Mayville, at the Durban Combined Dairy (*ekhombenedeli*). He only saw his family during his yearly two week holiday. Finally, his family had to collect his corpse when he died after suffering from serious stomach pains. The migrant labour pattern was followed by Sidumuka's son, Magayisa Ezekiya Mkhize. Magayisa built his own house on top of the uNomabhunga Mountain. Leaving his family behind he lived and worked in Durban, first as a gardener, later on as a security guard, until he fell sick with TB. He returned home to kwaNomabhunga, where he stayed, too weak to go back to work, until his house was struck by lightning that killed his wife. Magayisa left kwaNomabhunga and got a place to stay with his sister, who had married into a Mntungwa family in eSijokolweni. From there he married Busisiwe Mpanza and settled in eNkweletsheni.[51]

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[49] JSA-III, p.10.

[50] MJ. Ngcongo, 2002*; B. Ngcongo; 2002*.

[51] M.E. Mkhize, 2003*.

Amakhosi in eNkumane:

1. Ngangezwe Mkhize	*inkosi*	1840 - 1898
2. Mqolombeni Mkhize	*inkosi*	1898 - 1919
3. Muziyonke Mkhize	acting chief	1919 - 1925
4. Nxamalala Mkhize	acting chief	1925 - 1939
5. Mhlabunzima Mkhize	*inkosi*	1939 - 1958
6. Mbana Mkhize	acting chief	1958 - 1976
7. Moyeni Mkhize	*inkosi*	since 22/03/80

4.6 *Inkosi* Ngangezwe Mkhize

The Mkhize continued to be accepted as *amakhosi* by the people who arrived with them. Zihlandlo's homestead eSimahleni, rebuilt at the uMkhomazi, became the centre of the Ngilanyoni Embo Tribal Authority. In a similar way Sambela's heir Ngangezwe rebuilt his father's homesteads eMngeneleni and eMbuthweni as the centre of the Vumukwenza Embo Tribal Authority, overseeing also Camperdown and Alexandra on the South Coast of Natal.[52] *Inkosi* Ngangezwe married more than 14 wives[53] and in total, had 27 sons.[54] His houses stretched out along the northern bank of the uMkhomazi in a westerly direction for about 3 kilometres with three major homesteads, called eMngeneleni (east), eZulwini (centre) and eMbuthweni (west). The central eZulwini homestead became the house of Ngangezwe's heir, Mqolombeni. The homesteads eMngeneleni and eMbuthweni were situated in the midst of huge fields surrounded by meanders of the uMkhomazi River.

Inkosi Ngangezwe is remembered as a powerful ruler. He attacked and finally defeated *inkosi* Dingiswayo Mbhele of the amaDumisa people in a fight over the border between their areas.[55] Through this victory Ngangezwe extended his authority south of the uMkhomazi from eNkweletsheni westwards to the uMntungwane River, a tributary to the uMkhomazi, that formed the border with the amaKhuze people (par.12.2). Some of the amaDumisa integrated with the abaMbo. Others joined the amaKhuze, or withdrew from the uMkhomazi into the neighbouring hills to an area still known today as kwaDumisa. Part of the vacated area in eNkweletsheni was granted by Ngangezwe to some Ndlovu, who had left KwaZulu together with the Mkhize.[56] Another part was occupied by Ngangezwe's brother Mbamuza (par. 4.5).

Inkosi Ngangezwe's power was curtailed by the growing influence of the Natal

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[52] JSA-V, p.252. In total, there are six EMbo Tribal Authority areas between the uMlazi and uMkhomazi Rivers: eMbo-Thimuni, eMophela, eMpangisa, eMbumbulu, eNgilanyoni and kwaVumukwenza Embo Tribal Authority .

[53] B. Ngcongo, 2002*.

[54] JSA-III, p.4.

[55] Some interviewees think that the amaDumisa had arrived in the area long before the abaMbo (N. Mpanza, 2003*). Others think that they arrived together at eNgilanyoni, but that the amaDumisa had crossed the uMkomazi in a southerly direction, and had spread there, until some of them reached the uMkhomazi again, more to the west, where they clashed with Sambela Mkhize's descendants (M.J. Ngcongo, 2002*).

[56] N. Mpanza, 2003*.

Government.[57] In 1898, *inkosi* Ngangezwe died and was buried in front of his main homestead in the eMbuthweni fields. His three homesteads were divided. His son Ngonyama took eMngeneleni, Ngangezwe's heir Mqolombeni took eZulwini and Nodingitwayo took eMbuthweni. The houses in the eMngeneleni and eMbuthweni fields were abandoned and rebuilt in the nearby hills overlooking the fields.

4.7 Sikhulekile Mkhize

About 400 metres above *inkosi* Ngangezwe's most western homestead, eMbuthweni, his brother Sikhulekile built his homestead on the southern slope of the eMbuthweni Hill.[58] A further area of about ten kilometres along the uMkhomazi River northwest of eMbuthweni to the place where the uMtungwane joins the uMkhomazi river, was used by the Mkhize as a hunting-ground. The western landmark in this hunting-ground is the steep uNomabhunga Mountain. The mountain is surrounded by a meander of the uMkhomazi River, which closes it in on its western, northern and eastern side and by the uMtungwane River, which approaches the uNomabhunga from the south to where it joins the uMkhomazi west of the mountain.[59]

Around the uNomabhunga the southern banks of the uMkhomazi are very steep but its northern banks, more gently sloping, were an ideal hunting area, crossed with small rivers like the uNompofane, the iMadoba, the iNyanyana and the iNgwempisi. In 1851, most of the area was surveyed and granted for commercial farming with the grants named Groot Hoek and Spitzkop (par. 2.2). Moreover, in 1871, another 200 acres of hunting ground between eMbuthweni and Groot Hoek were surveyed and granted to John Dartnell (par. 2.6). As a result, on the government map, the eMbuthweni hill was cut in two from north to south, the western part of the hill including Muziyonke Mkhize's homestead, granted as part of the private property Dartnell, the eastern part of eMbuthweni including the fields for the time being left un-surveyed. Most of the area in use by Sikhulekile Mkhize's family was surveyed and granted as private farmland, but as these farms were actually not in use, the matter initially did not have much impact on the Mkhize. Even around 1900, Sikhulekile's grandsons felt free to build their houses in Groot Hoek-Dartnell, for example Gidinkomo in Kabuga, the most western part of the eMbuthweni Hill, in the centre of Dartnell and Mphezulu in the higher parts of Groot Hoek.

4.8 *Inkosi* Mqolombeni Mkhize

The people who, during the 19th century, left KwaZulu and settled at the uMkhomazi River, might initially have thought that is was possible to continue their traditional life here but things changed dramatically in the time of Ngangezwe's heir Mqolombeni. *Inkosi* Mqolombeni ruled under the supervision of the Native Commissioner in Richmond, from whom he received a

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[57] JSA-III, p.20: "Ngangezwe was obliged [by the Government] to refrain from putting people to death."

[58] Sikhulekile Mkhize lived from 1825 until 1875.

[59] Possibly, the name "Nomabhunga" refers to one of Khabazele Mkhize's homesteads kwaMpunga (JSA-III, p.1), or, alternatively, the name is derived from "Nomabunga kaNkowane, chief of the Mpofane-people", who "long ago" lived in the uMkhomazi valley, more to the east, close to the iNgilanyoni Mountain (JSA-III, p.219).

salary for his services to the Government. Mqolombeni's first known report to the Commissioner was taken down in 1901, the last one in 1919, shortly before his death. The reports mainly deal with the names of *izinduna* and *amapoyisi* appointed by *inkosi* Mqolombeni. The reports mention that, in 1919, *inkosi* Mqolombeni was in charge of 429 homesteads including 1262 adults, divided over Vumukwenza, Camperdown and Alexandra at the South Coast.[60]

In 1906, the Government took two significant steps in controlling the area: the implementation of the Poll Tax and the erection of a barbed wire fence along the western border of the Umlazi Location to prevent the spreading of cow diseases like East Coast Fever. The Poll Tax became payable for the first time on 1st January 1906 for all males over the age of eighteen years who did not pay hut tax. Refusal to pay the tax by people in the Zwartkop Location, west of Pietermaritzburg, led to an armed conflict between police, army and 'rebels' between Pietermaritzburg and Richmond, escalating into the 1906 Zulu Uprising that spread all over the Natal Midlands.[61]

It took the police, assisted by the Royal Natal Carabineers three weeks to capture 24 'rebels' and restore order in the Richmond area. The 'rebels' were sentenced in Richmond and twelve of them were executed. "Sentence was carried out by firing squad on the outskirts of Richmond, on 2nd April 1906."[62] The incident was devastating for the relationship between farmers, Government and the inhabitants of locations. At the same time *amakhosi* got the opportunity in this period to prove their loyalty to the Government. Tilongo and Sikukuku Mkhize, *amakhosi* in Umlazi, were convicted for their role in the unrest and deported to St. Helena.[63] Bulula Mkhize on the contrary had proved to be loyal and was rewarded by being appointed over a part of Tilongo's people in the eastern part of the Umlazi Location. Also *inkosi* Mqolombeni had apparently proved to be loyal. He was granted private ownership over part of his area, the eMngeneleni and eMbuthweni fields.[64]

During the same year 1906, the western border of the Umlazi Location from the uMlazi River to the uMkhomazi River was fenced off from the neighbouring farms. As the fence reached the uMkhomazi east of the iNgwegwe River, a tributary to the uMkhomazi, it cut off many Mkize, Ngcongo, Sishi and others from Umlazi. In fact, their area became a buffer zone between

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[60] Inkosi Mqolombeni (1898-1919) ruled in "Camperdown", "Upper Umkomanzi", and "Alexandra", south of Durban (NAP: CNC 85A & 86A). Mqolombeni and his successor Muziyonke (1919-1925) ruled over about 21% of the 5901 'natives' in the Richmond district.
According to the document "District Headmen 1901-1942" (NAP: 1942#), in 1919, the following chiefs ruled under the authority of the Native Commissioner in Richmond:

chiefs	tribe	kraals	adults	chiefs	tribe	kraals	adults
Muziyonke Mkhize	Embo	429	1242	Gindunge	Dhlamini	166	897
Bubula Mkhize	Embo	367	1091	Lazarus Mtamkulu	amaKolwa	191	269
Mziwakeni Tkhuzi	amaKuze	407	989	Sidala	Mtembu	57	125
Langalaka	amaFunze	250	673	Mguquka (Camperdown)	Embo	41	73
Mafokla	Dhlamini	245	542				

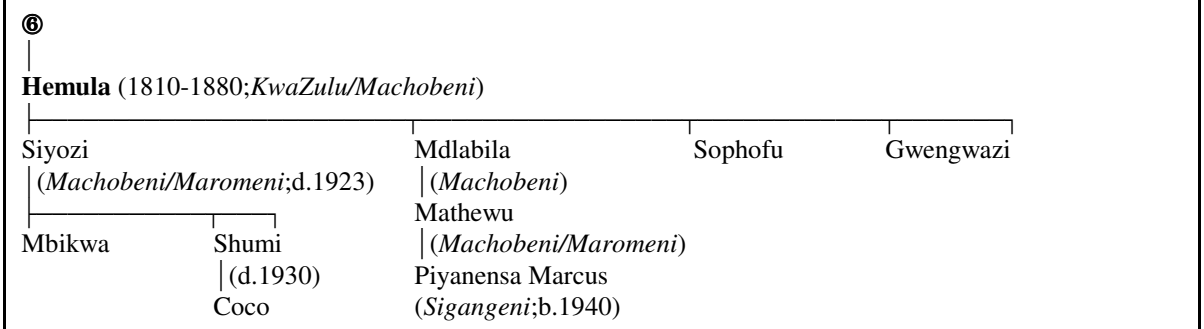
[61] J. Guy, 2006.

[62] C. Coulson, 1986, p.141; P. Sutton, 2002.

[63] H.C. Lugg, 1974, p.65.

[64] TOP: Grant 7365, 1908#; Grant 7366, 1908#.

Part of the Mkhize family tree ⑥:



the Umlazi Location in the east and the 'white' farms in the west.

Subsequently, the Natives Land Act of 1913 accepted and passed by the national Parliament denied 'natives' the right to live in 'white' areas. The law directly affected the living area of the Mkhize. In as far as they lived on Spitzkop or Groot Hoek-Dartnell, designated 'white' areas, the Mkhize lost all their rights as heirs. In these 'white' areas their status changed to that of tenants. Their status in the 'buffer zone' had to be sorted out, but before this was finalized, Mqolombeni died and was buried in 1920 in his homestead eZulwini in the centre of the disputed zone. His cousin Muziyonke was chosen as acting chief.

4.9 Hemula Mkhize

Around 1840, Hemula Mkhize built his homestead in the eNkumane area about eight kilometres north of the uMkhomazi River, in eMachobeni (par. 4.5). Hemula arrived in eMachobeni together with the families of four Ngcongo brothers (par. 4.10), a certain Dlamini, Mashabane (others: Ntolwane) Gwamanda and Mgudwane Mtshali.[65] They continued to stay in close contact with their relatives at the uMkhomazi River as can be illustrated by the fact that *inkosi* Mqolombeni chose Hemula's son Siyozi as his *induna yasekhaya*, responsible for the organisation of meetings and feasts held by the *inkosi*.[66]

Most of eMachobeni was privately owned by the Cockburn family (par. 2.5), who around 1920, instructed several inhabitants of eMachobeni to leave the area (par. 4.10). Some of them, like Siyozi Mkhize, found refuge at the neighbouring St Bernard Mission (*eMaromeni*; par.13.7). An exception was made by the Cockburn family for the family of Hemula's son Mdlabila Mkhize, who was a well-to-do person in eMachobeni. When, in 1942, after Mdlabila's death, his family was finally removed from the farm, they owned several homesteads, about 150 head of

[65] P. Mkhize, 2003*; M.J. Ngcongo, 2002*.

[66] NAP: 1942#, 24/2/30. After Siyozi's death in 1923, the position of *induna yasekhaya* was granted to his son Shumi. And after Shumi death in 1930, the position was granted to Shumi's son Coco.

cattle and Mdlabila's son Mathewu even owned a car, although at that time it had broken down.[67] One of the reasons for the removal of Mdlabila's family from the farm was Mathewu's refusal to contribute cows 'to the Second World War', as requested by the farmer Arthur Cockburn. With a few days notice, the Mkhize had to sell their properties and break up their family, which got scattered over different areas, including kwaMpofane (directly west of eNgilanyoni), eMbumbulu and Mid-Illovo. Mathewu moved his homestead to the St Bernards Mission where he was baptized.

4.10 Ngcongo in eMachobeni

Like the Mkhize, the Ngcongo also recall their history back to the times of King Shaka. During that time, they lived at the uMlalazi River close to the present village Eshowe. They had probably been defeated and subdued by Sambela Mkhize (par. 4.5). Around 1830, many of them migrated with the Mkhize from KwaZulu to eNgilanyoni at the uMkhomazi River. Four brothers, sons of Mkhulu Ngcongo decided not to settle in eNgilanyoni but to move with Sambela Mkhize's descendants in a westerly direction along the uMkhomazi River, from where they diverted in a northerly direction to settle in eMachobeni, together with Hemula Mkhize (par.4.9), Ntolwane Gwamanda and Mgudwane Mtshali.[68]

EMachobeni was an area of about five kilometres from west to east and three kilometres from south to north, with lots of hunting and grazing grounds around it. Most of it was situated just north of the hunting-ground along the uMkhomazi west of eMbuthweni (par. 4.7). The western landmark of eMachobeni is the iNtabeyezimvu Mountain, about five kilometres north of the uNomabhunga Mountain on the northern side of the uMkhomazi. In the east, eMachobeni is marked by an area with grey sandstone (*amachoba*[69]).

After the Ngcongo had arrived in eMachobeni, their area was divided by Government surveyors over four grants: Groot Hoek (1851), Spitzkop (1851) and Kleinthal (1868) and Holtlodge (1868). The last three grants were bought by the Cockburn family. The Natives Land Act of 1913 subsequently defined these grants as 'white' area, so that the Ngcongo and others, who considered themselves heirs of eMachobeni, officially lost their rights in the area. About ten years after the implementation of the Land Act of 1913, the Cockburn family ordered most inhabitants of eMachobeni to leave the higher parts of their farms Spitzkop and Kleinthal and Holtlodge and to resettle as tenants close to the uMkhomazi River or its tributary the iNgwempisi, or to leave the farms altogether. The Ngcongo refused to resettle within the farm and moved from eMachobeni in different directions. The Ngcongo living in Groot Hoek were not directly affected, as their area was not owned by the Cockburns.

Some Ngcongo left eMachobeni and moved even deeper into Groot Hoek (par. 4.11). Others moved with Nophonya Ngcongo in a southeasterly direction and settled in eNtakeni just

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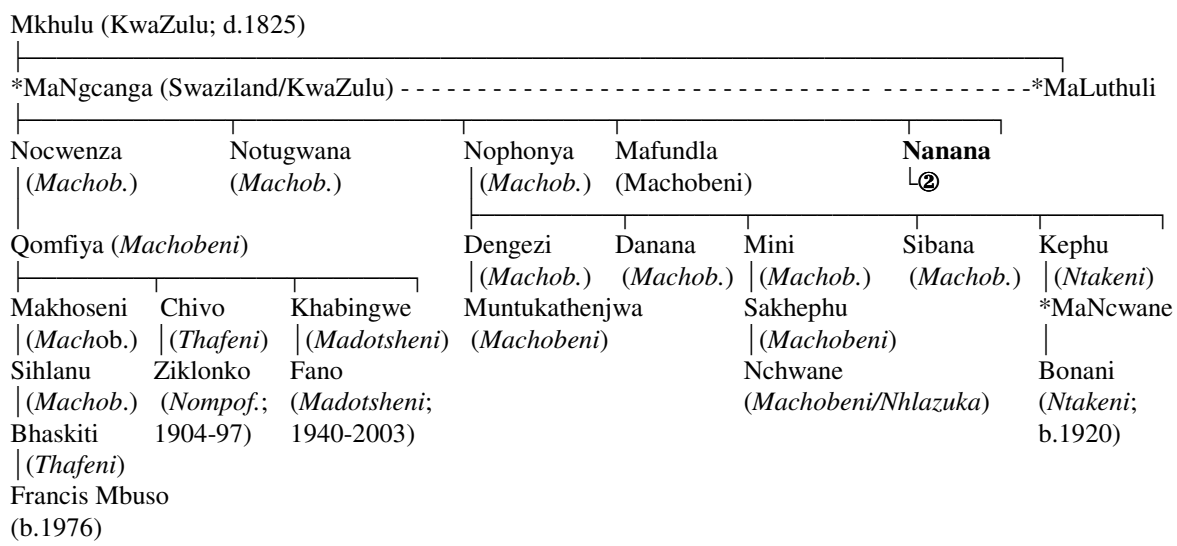
[67] P. Mkhize, 2003*; M.J. Ngcongo, 2002*.

[68] M.J. Ngcongo; 2002*; P.M. Mkhize; others mention Mashobane Gwamanda, the father of Zuzonke; B. Ngcongo, 2002*.

[69] The name eMachobeni is also found in the Ithala Game Reserve (between Pietermaritzburg and eMbumbulu), where a hill is called eMachobeni.

*Part of the **Ngcongo** family tree ①:*



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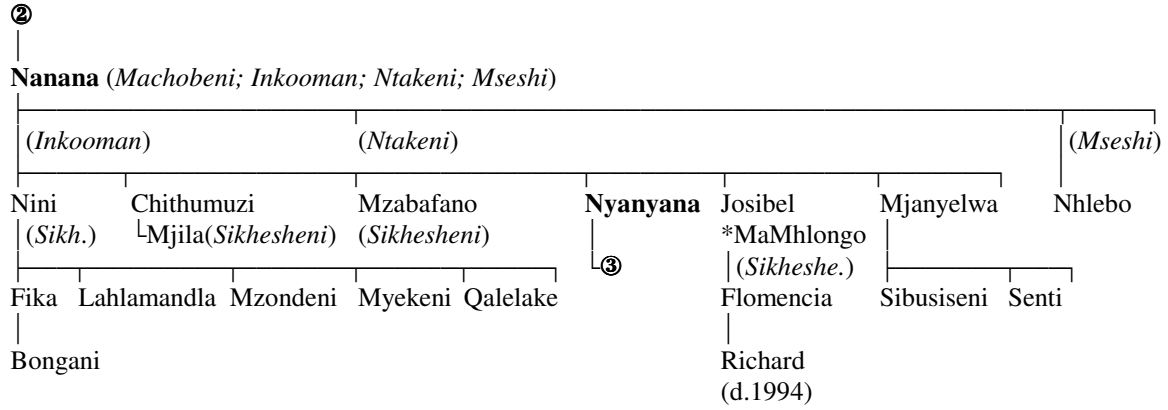
*Part of the **Ngcongo** family tree ②:*



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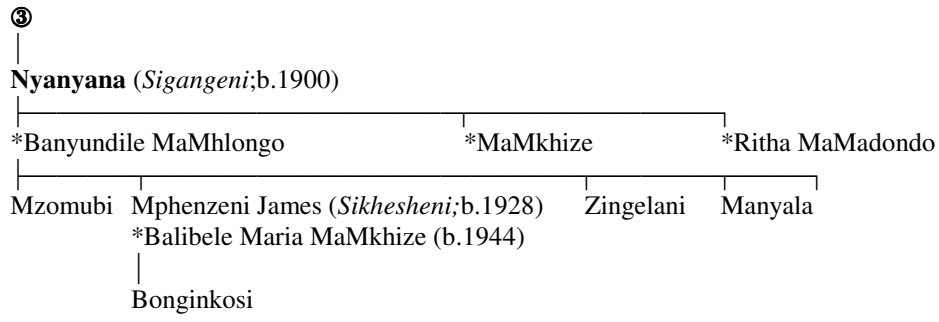
*Part of the **Ngcongo** family tree ③:*



north of eMngeneleni, close to the border with the Umlazi Location. For this move they got permission from *inkosi* Mqolombeni Mkhize who had married one of Nophonya Ngcongo's sisters.[70] When in 1927, the Natal Native Trust claimed eNtakeni as part of the Mqolombene Native Trust Farm, this group of Ngcongo had to accept the status of tenant for two Pounds a year. As a result, for example Nophonya Ngcongo's son Sakhephu became a tenant in his new living area eNtakeni, while he was working as a labourer for the farmers Hashi and Madokozo (= Archibald and his son Arthur Cockburn) in eMachobeni, his original living area.

Others, like Ntolwane's son Zuzonke Gwamanda, moved during the late 1910's further east and settled in eNgwegwe (Umlazi). Notugwane Ngcongo and others moved from eMachobeni in a southerly direction, crossing the uMkhomazi River to settle in eMakhuzeni.

4.11 Nanana Ngcongo

Contrary to what might be suggested in par.4.10, not all forced migrations out of eMachobeni took place around 1920. For example, the descendants of Hemula Mkhize were summoned to leave the area as late as the 1940's (par.4.9). Others, like Nanana Ngcongo, had migrated from eMachobeni already during the 19th century. During the time of the border war between the amaDumisa and the abaMbo (par.4.6), Nanana Ngcongo left eMachobeni together with his seven wives, 24 children and 'thousand' cows.[71] Accompanied by Mgudwane Mtshali and his family they moved a few kilometres southwards. The Mtshali settled in eSigangeni (Groot Hoek). Nanana Ngcongo moved on to kwaBoyana, which, in 1893, was incorporated into the newly surveyed Inkooman (chapter 3).

Four of Nanana's wives settled in kwaBoyana. Nanana and his three other wives moved on, about one hour's walk further south in the eNtakeni valley. Two of his wives settled in eNtakeni, close to the uMkhomazi River, but Nanana, afraid of getting involved in clashes with the amaDumisa, moved on along the uMkhomazi in a westerly direction, up to the place (later on called eMseshi in Dartnell) where the uMpungana stream enters the uMkhomazi. There his seventh wive settled. Nanana returned to kwaBoyana (Inkooman), where he continued to live as a subsistence farmer. Nanana's sons built their own houses in different parts of eNkumane but none of them managed to make a living as a subsistence farmer. Most of them held jobs as cleaners in hotels on Durban's South Coast and two of them found jobs in and around Johannesburg. During the 1920's, when Groot Hoek-Dartnell was in use as a commercial farm, the Ngcongo had to accept tenants' contracts and they were subsequently forced to move their houses down to the banks of the uMkhomazi River and its tributary the uNompofane but during the 1940's, when Groot Hoek-Dartnell was transformed into a Government Trust Farm, they were allowed to move back to the higher parts of Groot Hoek (chapter 6).

For example, Nanana's son Nyanyana worked most of his life in Durban in a hotel on the Marine Parade, visiting his three wives only once a year during his two week holidays in December.[72] From Durban he used to travel by train to Camperdown and from Camperdown by

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[70] B. Ngcongo, 2002*.

[71] M.J. Ngcongo, 2002*.

[72] M.J. Ngcongo, 2002*.

bus to Mid-Illovo, from where he used to walk about 40 kilometres to eNkumane. Sometimes he walked all the way back to Durban in two days, placing his stick at night in the direction in which to continue before sunrise. During the 1940's he rebuilt his house in eSigangeni (Groot Hoek).

Like his father Nyanyana, also Mphenzeni Ngcongo, born in 1928, became a migrant labourer. For a short period he was employed at Magalela's (Phillip Nicholson's) farm Alton (par.6.2). In 1947, Mphenzeni left eNkumane and found work as a cleaner in the Imperial Hotel in Durban. Here he was invited by a 'white' man (*umlungu*) to work as a waiter in Johannesburg. When he lost that job, Mphenzeni found work as a guard in the 'General Hospital' in Johannesburg for about four years. Around 1952, after a stay of a few months in eNkumane, he returned to Durban, where he worked as a guard in the Edward Hotel. Around 1955, he returned to eNkumane. He married and built a house in eSikheshini (close to the former farmhouse), where his only son Bonginkosi was born. Around 1960, he left again for Durban. The Durban 'town board' allocated him a job at UIC Electrical, where he continued to work until his pension in 1991. In the meantime, his son Bonginkosi had found work at the Toyota factory in Durban. In 1996, Bonginkosi Ngcongo was chosen as councillor of the Richmond Municipality to represent the eNkumane area (par.7.2). After the elections in 2002, he became Mayor of Richmond.

4.12 Heirs, Tenants and Labourers

During the first half of the 19th century, the ancestors of several Mkhize and Ngcongo families migrated from KwaZulu to the banks of the uMkhomazi River in eNgilanyoni. From there, around 1840, some of them moved westwards along the uMkhomazi until they arrived in and around the eNkumane area. They took the area as their heritage (*isabelo*) under direct control of their Mkhize *amakhosi*. Possible earlier inhabitants were chased out (Dumisa people; par. 4.6) or had previously moved out (Mpofane people; par.4.7). Probably, it was during the 1920's that they fully realised that most of their supposed heritage (*isabelo*) had been claimed as commercial farmland (*ipulazi*) or had been designated as Government 'farm' area (*ipulazi likahulomeni*).

Before the implementation of the Natives Land Act-1913, the use of land still seemed to be negotiable. A well remembered example is the use of the grant Inkooman.[73] In 1894, Montague Alexander Cockburn (par.2.5), who had bought Inkooman in 1893, negotiated with *amakhosi* Ngangezwe and his son Mqolombeni Mkhize the right to graze his cattle in the area (par.3.4).[74] The mere fact of the negotiations between *inkosi* Ngangezwe Mkhize and the farmer confirmed the character of the area as heritage (*isabelo*) under authority of the *amakosi*. They gave the farmer the right to use Inkooman. Although the negotiations were not documented, it may be assumed that the farmer, in exchange for the grazing rights, had to give rewards. Probably, these rewards came in the form of a shop (chapter 3), employment and the right of the Mkhize *amakhosi* to appoint *izinduna* on the farm.

After the Land Act of 1913 had become law, the grants Groot Hoek-Dartnell, Inkooman and Spitzkop were, by definition, exclusively 'white' areas. The commercial farmers felt free to use the areas as they liked. And the people living within the boundaries of the grants had to

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[73] B. Sithole, 2002*; F. Mkhize, 2002*.

[74] Ngangezwe was *inkosi* from 1840 until 1898; his son Mqolombeni Mkhize from 1898 until 1920.

accept the status of tenants. Most of them were forced to move their houses down to the uMkhomazi River and its tributaries. Without further negotiations Inkooman was turned into a plantation. In 1927, the border of the *isabelo* was pushed further eastwards, when the Natal Provincial Government surveyed the area in between Groot Hoek-Dartnell and Inkooman on the west side and the Umlazi Location on the east side and granted it partly as Mqolombene to the provincial Natal Native Trust,[75] and partly as Inhlazuka View-11062 to Alfred Fawcus.[76] The people living within the boundaries of Mqolombene became tenants to the Natal Provincial Government represented by the Commissioner of Native Affairs in Richmond. The inhabitants of Inhlazuka View-11062 became tenants to Mr. Fawcus, who improved the area by building a cow dip which is still in use today (chapter 5).

The Land Act of 1913 facilitated commercial farming and accordingly farm labourers were attracted. Many received the status of labour tenants with the right to live on a farm in return for six months labour per year. This also was the case on the farm Groot Hoek-Dartnell, which started to be used as a commercial farm in 1921 with a special focus on labour intensive cotton growing. Its farmer Skova (= Humphrey Nicholson) allowed several people, including Mkhize and Ngcongo, to settle as labour tenants around his fields close to the uNompofane, a tributary to the uMkhomazi River.

Acting chief Muziyonke Mkhize (1920-1925) held himself responsible for these labour tenants and appointed his *izinduna* to oversee them. The right to appoint *izinduna* on commercial farms in this area was respected by the magistrate in Richmond. For example, on 23rd November 1923, the Commissioner of Native Affairs H.C. Lugg wrote in his records: "Acting Chief Muziyonke reports having appointed Mkanyeni Dhlamini as an induna over the young men living on [the] Kleinthal [farm] and neighbourhood. He also reports having appointed Sisayi Ishange in a similar capacity at the Ngwempisi [River] in lands owned by A.H. Cockburn. He asks that these two men be allowed to carry Knob Kerries. Approved."[77]
Although contrary to the Land Act of 1913, during the 1930's, Magalela (= Phillip Nicholson), the owner of Groot Hoek, attracted tenants farmers to live on the farm, because he saw no possibilities to exploit Groot Hoek as a commercial farm after the death of his brother in 1927. He divided the higher parts of the farm and rented it out to people from outside the area, like Dladlas, Mzizis and Sitholes (chapter 6).

In 1940, all inhabitants of Groot Hoek became tenants to the National Government. The 1936 amendment of the Land Act of 1913 led to the replacement of the provincial Natal Native Trust by the national South African Native Trust, which had to extend the living area for 'natives'. In 1940, during the reign of *inkosi* Mhlabunzima Mkhize, Groot Hoek-Dartnell and Inhlazuka View were bought by the National Government from Magalela (Phillip Nicholson) and Fawcus. The farms Groot Hoek, Dartnell, Mqolombene and Inhlazuka View-11062 were placed under the responsibility of the Commissioner of Native Affairs in Richmond. The Commissioner of Native Affairs joined the farms to become one government Trust Farm, called 'Groothoek', a buffer zone between 'white' commercial farms to its west and north and the Umlazi Location to

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[75] TOP: Grant 11054,1927#.

[76] TOP: Grant 11062,1927#.

[77] NAP: 1942#: entry 23/11/1923; A.C. Lugg was a Native Commissioner in Richmond from 1923 until 1928.

its east (chapter 6). Agricultural advisers were appointed to stimulate the inhabitants of Groothoek to use the Trust Farm for subsistence farming. Several Mkhize- and Ngcongo-families used the opportunity to return to eSigangeni and eSikheshini in the higher parts of Groothoek.

During the 1960's, during the reign of acting chief Mbana Mkhize, the Government changed the Trust Farm into a more densely populated rural area by allowing more people to immigrate.[78] Many new immigrants (like Shange, Mntungwa and Njilo) had been labour tenants on neighbouring farms. They continued to work as paid labourers on the surrounding farms or they tried to find work in factories in Johannesburg or Durban. The Mkhize and Ngcongo, integrating with the new immigrants, lost their specific position as original heirs of the area. Nevertheless, the Mkhize *amakhosi* kept their responsibility for the people in the area. Whether they still had a claim on the land became a matter of confusion and dispute.

[78] Chief Mbane Mkhize ruled from 1958 until 1976. He is married five wives: MaNcwane (the mother of Mqondeni, Ndabongiphethe and Kholwa), MaFulela, Mambele (the mother of Bongizonlo), Somantshi Ndlovu (the mother of Khipha) and MaNdlovu. He was one of the last people in the area who owned a large amount of cattle (about 160 head) and goats (about 200).

Chapter 5: Other 19th Century Immigrants

5.1 Introduction

The Mkhize, Ngcongo and others migrated into eNkumane and occupied areas mainly on the northern banks of the uMkhomazi River (chapter 4). Around 1850, the Ncwane, Sishi, Gumede and others entered the area and occupied the banks of the uMkhomazi, south and east of eNkumane, followed, by the immigration of Mfeka and Mpanza, who had already arrived in the nearby eMbuthisweni (Umlazi) around 1840.

Before or during the time of King Shaka, the Ncwane and Sishi joined the amaZulu. They probably originated from Basutoland[1] before they settled in eMabulalweni in kwaZulu.[2] Possibly, the Ncwane and Sishi descended from the Qwabe people.[3]

The separate histories of the Mfeka and Mpanza, before their arrival at the uMkhomazi, is not clear. James Stuart suggests that the Mfeka descended from the Tuli people.[4] They were scattered, some of them living close to the kwaZulu coast.[5]

5.2 Komfiya Zulu Ncwane

The Ncwane trace their history back to Komfiya the son of Nogandaya Ncwane. Together with the three brothers Situnga, Ngini and Magutshwa Sishi, Komfiya defected from the Qwabe people to join King Shaka.[6] Komfiya had married one of their sisters.[7] The four men were prominent warriors during the reigns of the kings Shaka, Dingane and Mpande.[8] Komfiya must have been born shortly before the year 1800, because he was member of King Shaka's 'Mgumanqa Regiment'.[9] Komfiya was also known as 'Zulu' a name received from King Shaka.[10] King Shaka allowed Komfiya to build his own homestead, called eNtshaseni.[11] This homestead was situated on the Ndondakusuka Hill on the northern approaches of the Lower uThukela.[12]

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[1] JSA-III, p.215.

[2] JSA-III, p.213-215: Manxeba and Lujabu are Ncwane *amakhosi* remembered to have been buried in emaBulalweni.

[3] JSA-II, p.174,183; JSA-III, p.210. The name 'Qwabe' is not part of the *izithakazelo* (praise names) of the Ncwane and Sishi. It is only used by the Gumedes, some of whom arrived together with the Ncwane and Sishi at the uMkhomazi River.

[4] JSA-II, p.268.

[5] JSA-II, p.278 refers to the Mfeka living along the coast north of Durban as 'fish eaters'.

[6] JSA-III, p.225.

[7] JSA-II, p.183.

[8] King Shaka ruled from 1815 until 1828, King Dingane from 1828 until 1840 and King Mpande from 1840 until 1872.

[9] JSA-III, p.210.

[10] JSA-II, p.101: "[The name 'Zulu'] was given him by Tshaka. This man was Komfiya"; idem, p.180: "Zulu moved to Shaka's place where he became an *inceku* responsible for smearing Shaka's hut floor."

[11] JSA-II, p.180.

[12] JSA-III, p.329.

*Part of the **Ncwane** family tree ①:*

During the reigns of kings Shaka and Dingane, Komfiya lived at eNtshaseni together with his more than forty wives.[13] Apparently, Komfiya was one of the most feared warriors of King Shaka, who honoured Komfiya with the words: "The son of Nogandaya has surpassed all men."[14]

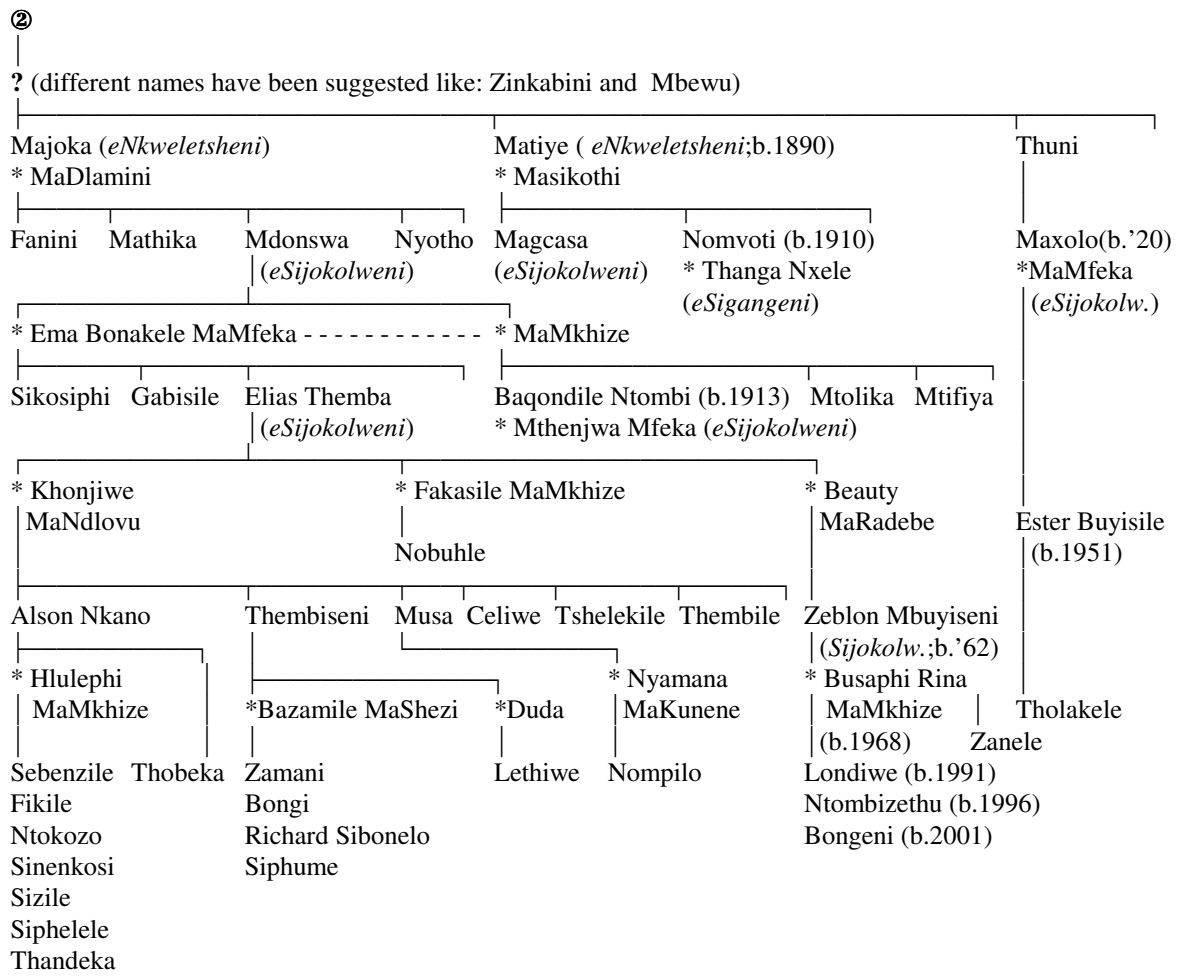
During the reign of King Mpande, Komfiya and the three Sishi brother were part of the army which, led by Ngini Sishi, attacked and defeated the abakaMandlakazi. King Mpande gave the victors the right to carry the praise name "Qwabe" that belonged to the abakaMandlakazi. "But today only the Gumede carry this name."[15] Probably the Gumede left the abakaMandlakazi and joined the Sishi after the fight. Later on, Ngini Sishi had a son, whom he called 'Mandlakazi'.

[13] JSA-II, p.182; JSA-III, p.215; JSA-III, p.210: "80 wives".

[14] JSA-II, p.181.

[15] M. Sishi, 2002*.

*Part of the **Ncwane** family tree ②:*



5.3 Ncwane and Sishi going south

In October 1839, the Ncwane and Sishi took part in Mpande's defection from King Dingane, called "the breaking of the rope" (*ukugqatshukwa kwegoda*): "Zulu kaNogandaya crossed into Natal with Mpande"[16] but subsequently they also left Mpande. The split from Mpande might have been the result of an internal power struggle: "Komfiya Zulu deserted from Mpande when this king started killing off the bigger *izinduna* like Mpangazita kaMncumbata. Zulu feared being killed, so he ran off."[17] Another reason for falling into disgrace might have been Komfiya's marriage with Nongobosi, the daughter of Vimba. King Mpande hoped to marry

[16] JSA-I, p.102; Duminy, 1989, p.95.

[17] JSA-II, p.102.

Nongobosi and was offended by Komfiya's marriage with her.[18]

Led by Komfiya, the Ncwane, Sishi and others (e.g. the Gumede and Ngobese) left King Mpande and moved on in a southerly direction. They found a temporary living place at the uMlazi River and finally, got special permission by Theophilus Shepstone to move further south to the uMkhomazi River.[19] Probably during the 1850's, they settled on the banks of the uMkhomazi River. The Ncwane rebuilt their house eNtshaseni on the southern banks of the uMkhomazi, opposite the Mkhize who lived predominantly on the northern banks. At that time, the southern banks were still unoccupied: "Nothing but buffalo and hyenas were there."[20] From here, the Ncwane moved in different directions. For example during the beginning of the 20th century, the brothers Majoka and Matiya moved further upstream upwards to the neighbouring area eNkweletsheni and some of their children moved even further upstream to eSijokolweni (Groot Hoek-Dartnell).

The Sishi and Gumedes, who arrived at the uMkhomazi River during the 1850's, built opposite eNtshaseni on the banks of the eNgwegwe River, a northern tributary to the uMkhomazi. They settled in between the Mkhize who lived upstream in eMngeneleni and those who lived downstream the uMkhomazi in eNgilanyoni. The following family histories may illustrate the lives of the Ncwane and Sishi in eNtshaseni and eNgwegwe.

5.4 Gabangaye Ncwane and Ngampusu MaGumede

After the death of his father Komfiya Zulu Ncwane, Mkhehlengane became *inkosi* of the Ncwane. One of his sons, Gabangaye (1880-1934), married Ngampusu Gumede, who was probably born on the other side of the uMkhomazi, in eNgwegwe. They built their own house in eNtshaseni, where they had two children, a son, Kungabangaye and a daughter, Ntombovu.

Because of the obligation to pay rent (hut tax) to the Magistrate in eMzinto and because of the growing poverty in the area, Gabangaye had to look for work, which he found in Johannesburg. He came home only once in three years during a month's holiday but he regularly sent goods and food to his family. The deliveries were announced by letter, as the goods had to be collected at the Mathikane store, about three kilometres from Mid-Illovo. From there the goods were taken on people's heads and by donkey, across the steep iLovu Valley, via the iNhlazuka Mountain, down into the iNgwegwe Valley across the uMkhomazi River, to arrive finally in eNtshaseni, a journey that took about six hours one-way.

Gabangaye's family lived in relative prosperity, with a herd of about thirty head of cattle and many goats, until in 1933 after a period of below average rainfall, the uMkhomazi Valley

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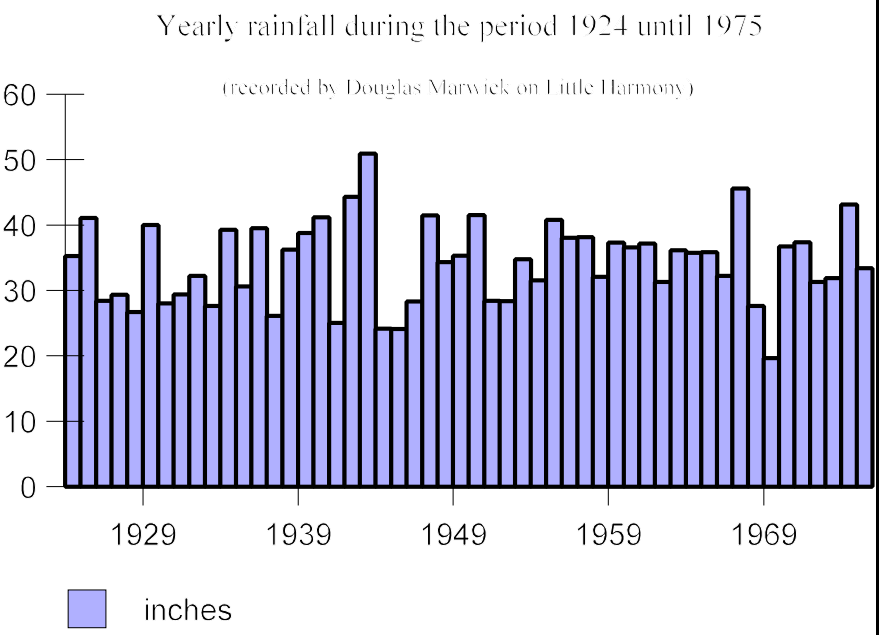
[18] JSA-II, p.181; iIt is unclear whether Nongobosi was the sister of Mahazane, Komfiya's principal wife, or whether Nongobosi and Mahazane were one and the same person.

[19] JSA-II, p.182; Theophilus Shepstone was the 'Diplomatic Agent and Secretary for Native Affairs' from 1845 until 1876.

[20] JSA-III, p.214.



Rainfall about 20 km from eNkumane along the road to Richmond (average: 33.6 inches per year).

was struck by a heavy locust plague.[21] Although the maize continued to grow after the locust left, all their cows and most of their goats died because of starvation. They had to buy new cows outside the uMkhomazi Valley but failed to rebuild their herd. Shortly after the locust plague, Gabangaye died, leaving his wife with their two teenage children. They were dependent on their fields, where they planted amongst other things: maize, beans, pumpkin and sorghum. Increasing poverty became a common problem for the people in eNtshaseni, who finally lost their traditional independence to the Dlamini *amakhosi* residing in Bulwer.[22]

5.5 Mandlakazi Sishi

After the death of his father Ngini Sishi, Mandlakazi Sishi became *induna* of the people in eNgwegwe, a position he held until he died in the time of *inkosi* Hlabunzima Mkhize.[23] Mandlakazi was respected by the Mkhize *amakhosi*. Two of his four wives were born Mkhize. By this time the position of *induna* had hardly any political significance. The loss of economic independence at the end of the 19th century forced Mandlakazi to look for work elsewhere. He found a job in Durban, where he trained as a cook. The quality of his work was so much appreciated that he was chosen to go to 'England' together with two other men from his area, one only known by his family name, Zuma. After a few years the three men returned and were

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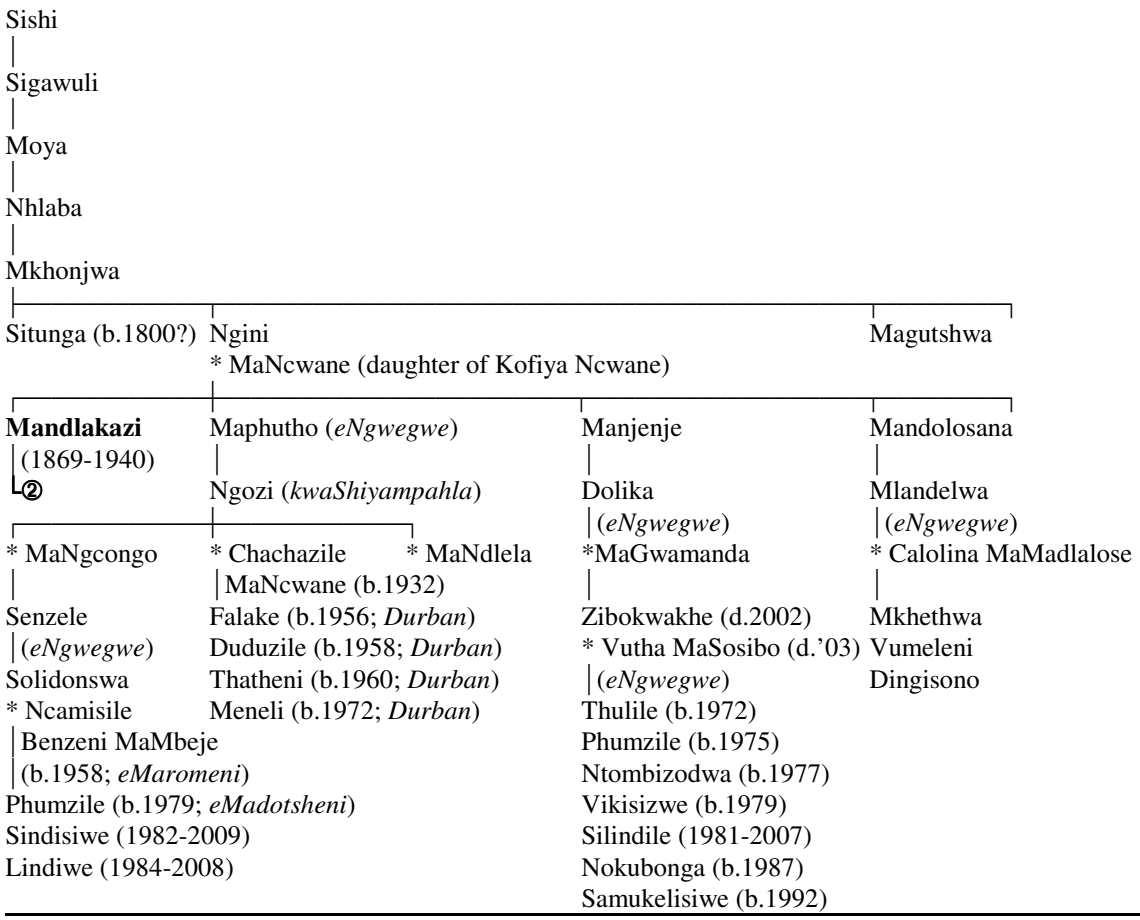
[21] Without referring to a general economic crisis during the early 1930's, Ntombovu MaNcwane Mkhize (2003*) blames the local poverty during this period on a lack of rain. Actually, the year 1933 was the eighth year in succession of a period with below average rainfall in the eNkumane area (except the year 1929). According to the statistics collected on the nearest observation post, the farm Little Harmony, the average rainfall over the period 1924 until 1975 was 34.2 inch. The average rainfall over the period 1926 until 1933 was 30.20 inches (respectively: 28.2 / 29.3 / 26.7 / 40.0 (in 1929) / 28.0 / 29.4 / 32.2 / 27.6 inches). The combination of minimal rainfall and a locust plague had a devastating effect especially on cattle. The season 1933/1934 still yielded a good maize crop.

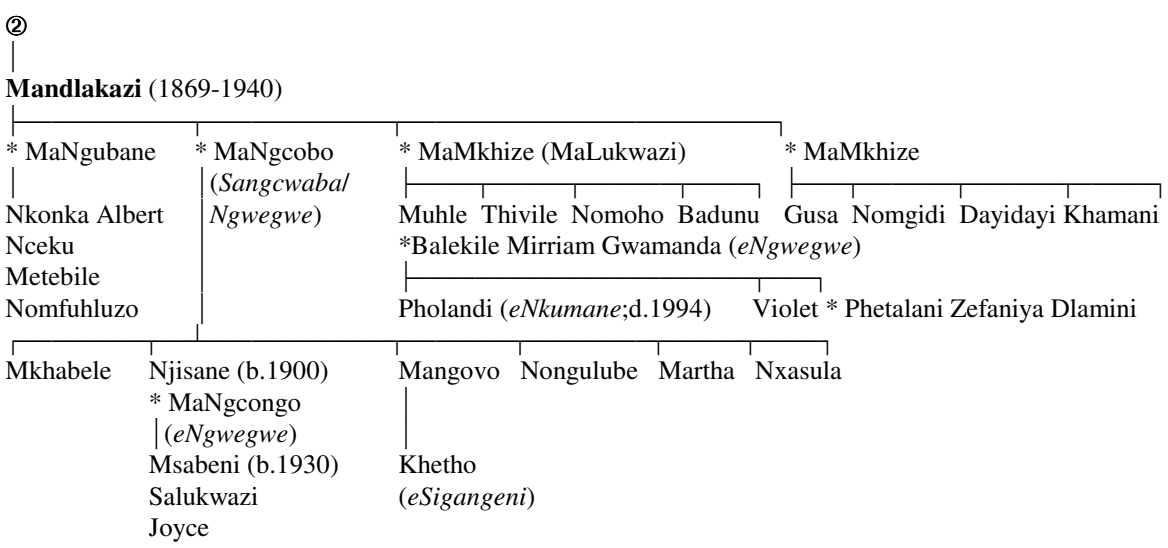
[22] N. Mkhize MaNcwane, 2003*.

[23] M. Sishi, 2002*; Mandlakazi Sishi lived from 1869 until 1940.

*Part of the **Sishi** family tree ①:*



*Part of the **Sishi** family tree ②:*



granted a gift on top of their wages. The third person got a piece of land; Zuma got an extra amount of money; and Mandlakazi Sishi was granted a gun 'for the snakes'.[24] The achievement is still remembered by Mandlakazi's descendants in their *isithakazelo* (praise name) *Beqangalephesheyakwezilwandle* ("they-jumped-across-the-oceans").

As far as interviewees in Ngwegwe remember, they have always held the position of tenants in their area. During the time of Mandlakazi, in 1906, a barbed wire fence was erected, running north-south from the uMlazi to the uMkhomazi River. At the uMkhomazi it split Ngwegwe off from Umlazi, east of it. For the people in eNgwegwe it was clear that they were not living as free people on inherited land (*isambelo*) but as tenants on a farm (*ipulazi*). Actually, the eNgwegwe area was surveyed in 1927 and granted as Inhlazuka to Alfred Fawcus.[25] What the official status of its inhabitants was before 1927 is unclear. As from 1927, they saw themselves as tenants of 'Fokseni' (= Alfred Fawcus). Fawcus controlled their cattle via a newly erected cow dip and collected rent.[26] In 1940, just before the death of Mandlakazi Sishi, Fawcus sold the area to the South African Native Trust, who joined it with Mqolombene and Groot Hoek-Dartnell, west of it, to form to Trust Farm Groothoek (chapter 6). The inhabitants of eNgwegwe were now due to pay their yearly rent to the Commissioner of Native Affairs in Richmond , who had it collected at the former farmhouse in Groot Hoek. Moreover, they were subjected to restrictions on the number of domestic animals. Each homestead was allowed only one horse, one donkey, five head of cattle and five goats. Things changed for the worse during the 1940's. Due to a lack of rain, the crops were no longer sufficient to feed the people in the area. They had to buy yellow maize from the commercial farms around. The yellow maize was not found to be a good replacement for the white maize people were used to growing themselves. People also needed more money to buy food, and so men had to leave the area and work on the surrounding farms, or they left for cities such as Durban and Johannesburg. The poverty persisted until today.[27]

5.6 Yiya Mfeka

Two more families, the Mfeka and Mpanza, must be mentioned as part of the southward migration from kwaZulu to the banks of the uMkhomazi, during the first half of the 19th century. They arrived together on the southern banks of the uMkhomazi and finally settled in eSijokolweni. Here they keep the story alive that they left kwaZulu under the leadership of Yiya Mfeka.

Probably, Yiya Mfeka was a descendant from Tusi kaMyeba, who ruled the Mfeka near the present Pinetown in the 18th century.[28] The family relationship is confirmed by the fact that Tusi is still one of the *izithakazele* (praise names) of the Mfekas. Until today, Yiya is remembered as one of King Shaka's warriors. During one of the battles, Yiya was wounded by a

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[24] M. Sishi, 2002*.

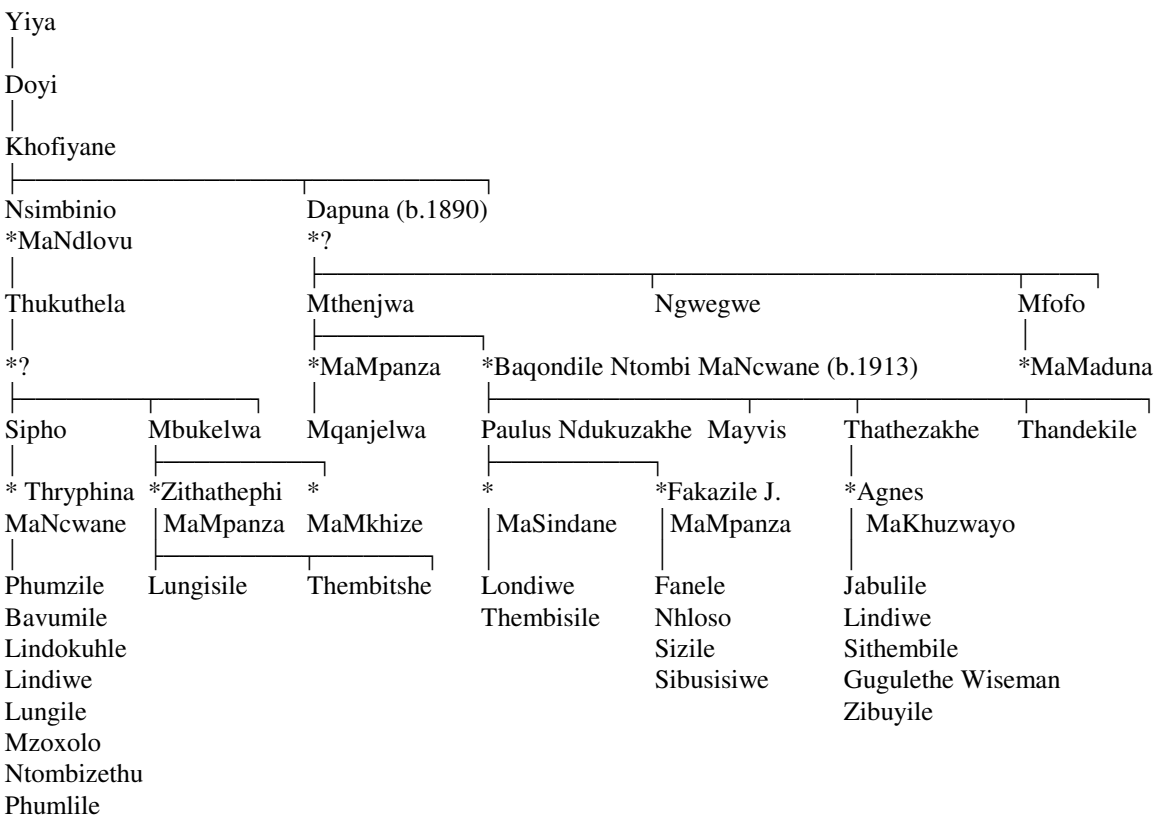
[25] TOP: Inhlazuka View, grant 11062,1927#.

[26] B. Ngcongo, 2002*.

[27] M. Sishi, 2002*.

[28] JSA-II, p.278.

*Part of the **Mfeka** family tree:*



spear in his shoulder. As the king had ordered his warriors not to be wounded in the back,[29] Yiya feared execution and left kwaZulu. According to the story, “he was rolled down in a grass basket” (*wehlika / wagingqa ngesilulu*).[30] The Mfeka family takes for granted that Yiya was literally rolled out of kwaZulu in a grass basket but, as the expression is a general indication for the migrations between 1820 and 1840 from kwaZulu in a southerly direction (par. 4.1), it can only be assumed that Yiya’s desertion took place during the same period.

On their way south, the Mfeka came across a young boy called Mbhongo Mpanza. They liked the boy, who had a nice appearance (*bathola endleleni omusha omuhle*).[31] They took him with them and together they arrived in eMbuthisweni (Umlazi) where Yiya built a homestead for his nine wives. Mbhongo returned temporarily to kwaZulu and came back with some of his relatives, especially Siphako and his son Nkone Mpanza.

During the 1860's, the Mfeka and Mpanza went down to the uMkhomazi River to join the

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[29] JSA-II, p.87.

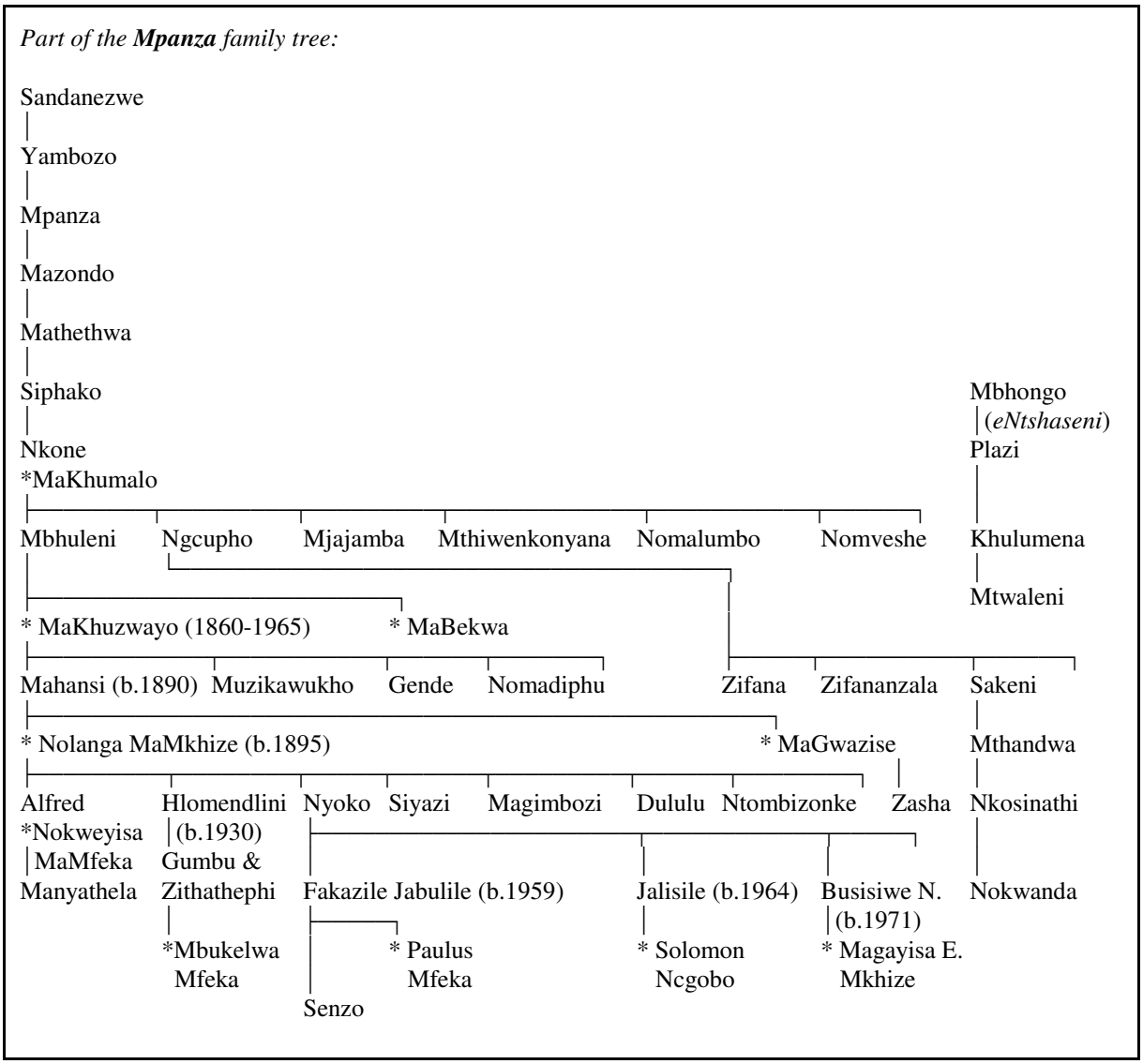
[30] J.Mfeka; 2002*.

0. N. Mpanza; 2003*.

Ncwane in eNtshaseni. From here, the Ncwane, Mfeka and Mpanza spread along the southern bank of the uMkhomazi, especially in a westerly direction as far upstream as eSijokolweni (Groot Hoek-Dartnell). Illustrative in this respect is the family history of Mahansi Mpanza and his wife Nolanga Mkhize.

5.7 Mahansi Mpanza and Nolanga MaMkhize

Mahansi Mpanza was born east of eNkweletsheni, in kwaDumisa. His wife Nolanga, a granddaughter of *inkosi* Ngangezwe Mkhize, was born in eNkweletsheni, west of eNtshaseni. After their marriage, they lived for a few years in kwaDumisa, until they moved westwards to eSijokolweni, together with their two eldest children and one cow, accompanied by Mahansi's brother Muzikawukho. During the 1920's, they settled as tenant farmers in eSijokolweni east of Dapuna Mfeka, just within the borders of the farm Groot Hoek-Dartnell. Like other tenant



farmers they had to pay three Pounds a year to the farmer Skova (= Humphrey Nicholson; par.6.2). Dapuna Mfeka, who lived just outside Dartnell, paid a rent of three Rand to a farmer from Ixopo, locally known as Msalishi.

Despite setbacks such as, a locust plague around 1933, Mahansi's household produced enough food to feed his family of seven children during the period 1920 until 1950.[32] They produced maize, beans, potatoes, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, cabbages, peanuts, spinach, cauliflower, citrus and bananas. They also produced buck hides and had plenty of milk and meat from their cattle. Mahansi's herd grew up to 90 head of cattle in the late 1940's. Moreover Mahansi himself earned money in Johannesburg working for the South African Railways (*kwaloliwe*).

Unfortunately during the 1950's, the relative prosperity in eSijokolweni faded, the general impression being that this was because of a lack of rain.[33] The growing poverty forced all men to leave the area and look for work, which most of them found in Durban as cleaners, cooks and guards. The situation turned even worse during the 1960's. New families started to enter the area, such as, for example, Mbanjo Sabela's family, coming from a farm in Ixopo. Furthermore, the Government implemented a restriction on the number of cows per household. A maximum of five head of cattle were allowed per household with penalties of two Pound per extra cow per year. In 2002, no cow was left in the late Mahansi Mpanza's homestead and ploughing was done by hoe.

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[32] N.Mpanza MaMkhize, 2002*.

[33] N. Mfeka, 2002*; N. Mpanza MaMkhize, 2002*; N. Mpanza, 2003*; on the basis of the rainfall statistics obtained on the farm Little Harmony situated about half way between Groot Hoek and Richmond it was not possible to confirm that there was an extreme lack of rain during the 1950's.

Chapter 6: From Farm to Trust Farm

6.1. Introduction

The development of Groot Hoek-Dartnell from a commercial farm into the Government Trust Farm Groothoek was part of South Africa's process of racial segregation legalised by several national laws. The use of Groot Hoek-Dartnell as a commercial farm had been facilitated by The Natives Land Act of 1913.[1] The Act restricted Africans' ownership rights to just over seven percent of the land area of South Africa. "The Natives Land Act provided the base for territorial separation of white and African in rural areas and was derived from the recommendations of the South African Native Affairs Commission. It effectively froze existing 'tribal' areas... for exclusive African occupation... The Act also undermined the rights of African sharecroppers on white farms, but preserved labour tenancy."[2] As Groot Hoek-Dartnell was a non-native area according to the Land Act of 1913, the two joint grants were legally protected against claims by its local inhabitants and it became easier for a 'white' farmer to use them as a commercial farm. This actually happened during the 1920's, while, during the 1930's, the farmer allowed tenant farmers from outside the area, to occupy sites on the farm.

The emendation of the Land Act of 1913 by The Native Trust and Land Act 1936 facilitated the extension of the area occupied by 'natives' with a maximum of five percent of the total land area of South Africa.[3] The emendation regulated the creation of the 'South African Native Trust', a Government organisation responsible for the purchasing of 'white' farms to change them into buffer zones of subsistence farming between commercial 'white' farms and 'native' locations. In 1940, under the Land Act of 1936, the South African Native Trust bought Groot Hoek-Dartnell and joined it with Mqolombene and Inhlazuka View 11062, the grants directly in between Groot Hoek-Dartnell and Umlazi. Since 1927, Mqolombene had been a provincial 'Natal Native Trust Farm'. The newly established Government Trust Farm Groothoek was placed under the control of the Commissioner of Native Affairs in Richmond. It formed a buffer zone in between 'white' farms to its west and north and the Umlazi Location to its east.

Several more laws, such as The Black Urban Areas Act of 1945, The Population Registration, Immorality and Group Areas Act of 1950 and The Act for the Promotion of Bantu Self-government of 1959 facilitated the governmental 'Homelands' policy, the transfer of former locations into more or less independent satellite states of South Africa.[4] During the 1960's,

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[1] Statutes: Act. No.27 of 1913.

[2] Barker, 1994, p.316. Only a view interviewees were aware of the existence of the Land Act of 1913, which protected 'white' farmers on farms such as Groot Hoek-Dartnell, e.g. P.M. Mkhize (2003*): "In 1913, the Government started to allow farmers to buy farms."

[3] Statutes: Act.No.18 of 1936.

[4] The ten Homelands planned by the South African Government were meant to be independent self-governing states distinguished by their own language and ethnic identity. During the 1970's, four of these Homelands accepted independence: Transkei in 1976, Bophuthatswana in 1977, Venda in 1979 and Ciskei in 1981. Six more accepted self-governance but never became independent states: Lebowa in 1972, Gazankulu in 1973, Gwaqwa in 1974, KwaZulu in 1977, KaNgwane in 1977 and KwaNdebele in 1981. Most of the Homelands consisted of several small non-neighbouring areas. For example, KwaZulu Natal consisted of about 26 areas scattered all over the province

through forced removals, many people were relocated by the Government in preparation for the creations of the Homelands. The Homelands policy was the reaction of the South African Government to the process of decolonisation all over the continent of Africa and on the growing population pressure in its urban areas. In 1959, the foreign minister Eric Louw explained the policy to the General Assembly of the United Nations: "The Act for the promotion of Bantu self-government provides the means for different territories to progress along the road towards self-government."[5] The policy included the forced removal of at least 3,5 million people throughout South Africa over a period of 25 years. "During the 1960's... at least 1 820 000 Africans were removed from their homes or... ordered to leave urban areas."[6] During this period, Government Trust Farms, such as Groothoek, saw a sudden influx of displaced people, most of them labourers removed from surrounding commercial farms, eager to find a place to stay.

Socio-economically speaking, the result of this development was that, around 1970, the population of the original Groot Hoek-Dartnell consisted of three different strata: heirs, tenant farmers and (displaced) labour tenants. The first group, the 'heirs', consisted of people whose ancestors had arrived during the 19th century and saw Groot Hoek-Dartnell as part of their inheritance (*isabelo*). Around 1970, many of them held jobs in far off cities such as Durban and Johannesburg. The second group, the 'tenant farmers', consisted of people who were allocated a piece of arable land (*insimu*). Some had arrived during the 1930's with permission of, or even invited by the 'white' owner of Groot Hoek-Dartnell, others arrived during the 1940's or later with permission of the Government. The third group consisted of an incoherent group of 'labour tenants' and 'dwellers'. Some of them, those who had entered during the 1920's and 1930's, had been 'labour tenants' to the Nicholson farmers who worked either on Groot Hoek or on the Nicholson's farm Alton (par.2.8). Others arrived after the Government bought the farm in 1940. Most of them entered after 1960, when the Government opened the area for displaced farm labourers. In fact they became mere 'dwellers' looking for temporary jobs on neighbouring farms or in cities like Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg.

6.2 Nicholson Farmers

The period of commercial farming on Groot Hoek is well remembered by several older people in the area. According to their memories, four farmers worked on the farm, but in total five different names are recalled: Madevu, Magalela, Magxuma, Menwayi and Skova. It was common knowledge that they came from Richmond and some people even remember their family name Nicholson. Although different accounts are given about their mutual relationships, the following identifications seem to be justified.

Natal. As a result of the Homelands policy the position of the Commissioners of Native Affairs was dissolved and their responsibilities transferred to the newly created position of Magistrates in the Homelands to be. For example, in 1960, the responsibilities for the Government Trust Farm Groothoek were transferred from the Commissioner of Native Affairs in Richmond to the Magistrate in eMbumbulu. In 1994, the ten Homelands were fully reintegrated into South Africa.

[5] B.J. Barker, 1994, p.425.

[6] B.J. Barker, 1994, p.425.

*Zulu names given to the **Nicholson** farmers on Groot Hoek-Dartnell:*

Madevu = Frank Nicholson (1857-1929)

Magalela = Phillip (1894-1954)

Skova =Humphrey Arthur (1896-1927)

Agricultural Advisers from Richmond thought to be Nicholson farmers:

Magxuma = Nondwayizo

Menwaye (= Van der Merwe?)

Madevu (‘ who-has-a-moustache’), to be identified with Frank Nicholson, who is correctly remembered as the father of two of the other four.[7] It is unclear whether he was actually involved with the Groot Hoek-Dartnell farm, or that labour tenants living in Groot Hoek-Dartnell, remember him from their work on the Nicholson farm Alton. Magalela (‘who-gives-hard-blows’), to be identified with Frank Nicholson’s son Phillip, is remembered very well as he used to collect labourers from Groot Hoek-Dartnell to work on his farm Alton in Richmond. Skova (‘owl’) is rarely remembered but, probably, he is to be identified with Humphrey, the second son of Frank Nicholson. A few informants positively identify him as the one who planted *ugamphokwe* (cotton) along the lower part of the uNompofane River.[8] More informants do remember Magxuma (‘ who-jumps’) and Menwayi (‘scratcher’) as farmers who lived and farmed on Groot Hoek.[9] Probably, Magxuma and Menway were the nicknames of Government Officials appointed by the Commissioner of Native Affairs in Richmond during the 1940's with the task to transform the private Groot Hoek Farm into the Government Trust Farm Groothoek.[10]

Interesting is the position of Menwayi (‘the-scratcher’). Several interviewees remember him as the last person in the Nicholson period, and took for granted that he was a farm manager. His name Menwayi was given to him because of his habit to sit down on the verandah in the afternoon and ask local girls to scratch his back.[11] In fact, Menwayi was a Government official sent by the Commissioner of Native Affairs to transform the Nicholson farm into a Native Trust Farm during the 1940's.[12] He organised the Trust Farm Groothoek until isiZulu speaking Agricultural Advisers (*abalimi*) started to run the Trust Farm after 1950.

According to most informants who remember this period, the Nicholsons were welcomed as farmers in Groot Hoek-Dartnell. But the impression can not be avoided that some people were

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[7] E. Mkhize, 2002*.

[8] M.J. Ngcongo, 2002*.

[9] E. Mkhize, 2002*; C. Mntungwa, 2002*.

[10] If this supposition is correct Magxuma (‘who-jumpes’) and Nondwayizo (‘the-long-legged-one’) were the same person, the Government Official who worked on the Trust Farm in 1940. Some interviewees (e.g. N. Kunene; 2003*) supposed that Skova (Humphrey Nicholson and Magxuma) were the same person. Probably this is a mistake triggered by the fact that Magxuma / Nondwayizo worked on the farm for only one year during which he lived in the Nicholson farmhouse.

[11] B. Sithole; 2002*; possibly, the name Menwayi was derived phonologically from the family name Van der Merwe

[12] M.J. Ngcongo, 2003*.

happier than others with these farmers. The forced removal of the Ngcongo, Mkhize and other families from the central part of the farm down to the banks of the uMkhomazi in the 1920's, was not easily accepted. The new tenant farmers who entered the area in the 1930's had more reason to be thankful. And finally the labour tenant who worked on Groot Hoek-Dartnell and Alton had their own evaluation of the situation, as the working conditions were poor.[13]

Anyhow, there was a form of coexistence between the Nicholson farmers and the local population. The farmers created jobs, provided goods, made roads and formed a link with the wider world. The remains of the farm house in Groot Hoek are still visible today.[14]

6.3 Heirs and Tenants (1920 - 1930)

Protected by the Land Act of 1913, the Nicholsons started farming in Groot Hoek-Dartnell in the 1920's. They moved several Cele, Mkhize, Mtshali and Ngcongo families from the high parts of the farm, down to the banks of the uMkhomazi River, where others had already built their homesteads. On the northern banks, the Ngcongo and Mkhize found a place in kwaMseshi (Dartnell) just west of Gidinkomo Mkhize's homestead in kwaKabuga. The Cele settled at the kwaMpungane, a tributary of the uMkhomazi, just west of Dartnell. Only a few families, for example the family of Dengezi Ngcongo, were allowed to stay as tenant farmers in the most northern corner of the farm, in eMachobeni. Initially, all inhabitants of the farm got the status of tenant farmers against three Pounds per homestead a year.[15]

During the 1920's, several other families were allowed to migrate to Groot Hoek-Dartnell, some as tenant farmers south of the uMkhomazi, most of them as labour tenants close to the eNompofane. A rare example of a tenant farmer entering during the 1920's was Mahansi Mpanza (par.5.6). He entered as a subsistence farmer in a far-off unused part of Dartnell, in eSijokolweni south of the uMkhomazi. Most immigrants during the 1920's became labour tenant settling in the western part of Groot Hoek, on the banks of the uNompofane River, where the planting of cotton and the grazing of farm cattle were concentrated. The first ones who arrived here were the brothers Nhlakomuzi and Gatiti Mkhize. They left their home in kwaKabuga (Dartnell) on the northern bank of the uMkhomazi and settled on the eastern bank of the Nompofane.[16] KwaNompofane, the valley around the uNompofane River, became a melting pot of tenant labourers. Some were part of the migration mentioned in chapters 4 and 5, like Jakobe Mkhize, whose father, a grandson of Nsele Mkhize (par.4.4), had lived in Thuleshe near Highflats, from where he was removed during the 1920's. Others came from areas west of Groot Hoek, from neighbouring farms, like Lemani Shange from eNgwempisi in Spitzkop. Or they came from farms as far as Richmond, like Ngebe Dlamini from ePhatheni south of Richmond. Others came

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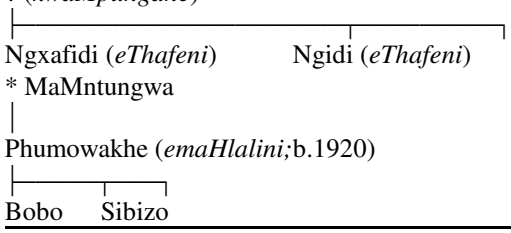
[13] At the end of the 1930's, Magalela (Phillip Nicholson) paid his labourers 50 Shillings a month, while during the same period the wages for unskilled labour in Richmond were about 5 Shillings a day. One compare this with the price for bread, 6 Pence a loaf and with the price for a farm-cow 10 Pounds.

[14] The remains of the foundations of the Nicholson farm house can be found just above an area locally known as kwaGogo ("at-grandpa's/grandma's").

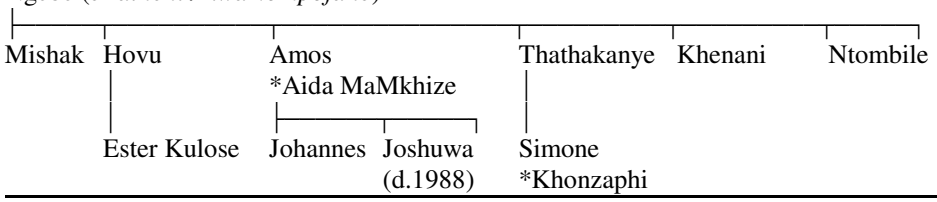
[15] M.J. Ngcongo, 2002*.

[16] Until 2007, Gatiti Mkhize's son Fano Mkhize, *induna* in eNkumane, occupied the site (F. Mkhize, 2002*).

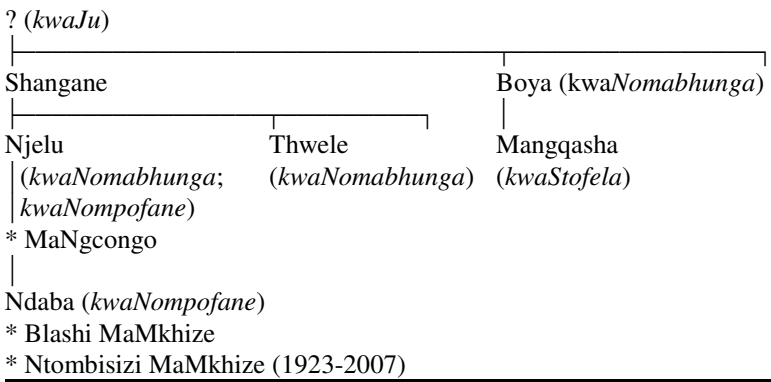
*Part of the **Cele** family tree:*



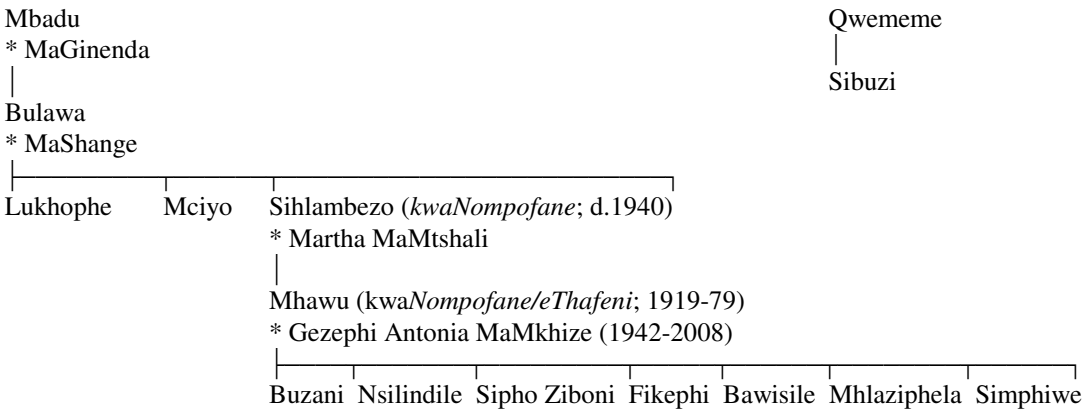
*Part of the **Dlamini** family tree:*



*Part of the **Kunene** family tree:*



*Part of the **Phungula** family tree:*



*Zulu names given to the **Cockburn** farmers:*
(compare par.2.5)

uHashi	=	Archibald Hugh (Archie) Cockburn
|(1864-1945)		at kwaBhonthisi (= *Kleinthal*)
uMadokozo	=	Arthur Archibald (Taffy) Cockburn
|(1895-1971)		at eNkabinyama (= *Solitude*)
uDenisi	=	Dennis Archibald Cockburn
(1924-1971)		at kwaDenisi (= eastern part of *Kleinthal*)

from the southern banks of the uMkhomazi, from kwaNomabhunga, like Njelu Kunene, or from eMakhuzeni south of kwaNomabhunga.

An example of a labour tenant who, during the 1920's, settled in kwaNompofane, was Sihlambeso Phungula. It is remembered that the Phungula had left kwaZulu in the time of King Shaka.[17] When the king decided that all *izangoma* had to be killed, Sibuzi Phungula, who was an *isangoma*, fled with a number of other people, including a Ngobese family, in a southerly direction. Amongst the relatives of Sibuzi were MaGinenda and her son Bulawa Phungula. One night during the journey, MaGinenda was killed by wild animals. Sibuzi Phungula took care of her son Bulawa until they arrived in eMakhuzeni. There, grown up, Bulawa married five wives. After Bulawa's death one of his wives, MaShange, and her children joined her relatives in *Spitzkop*, the farm owned by Hashi (Archibald H. Cockburn). She worked and lived on Hashi's farm close to the iMgwempisi River, where several labour tenants were residing, Shange, Shoba and Mntungwa. When Skova (Humphrey Nicholson) started to farm in Groot Hoek-Dartnell, MaShange's son Sihlambezo moved to the western banks of the uNompofane as a labour tenant of Skova.

Finally, another labour tenant, Mahlogonye Sosibo, is remembered to have built his house on the southern banks of the uMkhomazi River, opposite the mouth of the uNompofane. His homestead was the first one built in kwaBomlandi (Groot Hoek).

6.4 Tenant Farmers (1930 - 1940)

In 1927, after the death of his brother Skova, Magalela (Phillip Nicholson) saw no opportunity for himself to farm Groot Hoek-Dartnell. He decided to invite tenant farmers on to the farm. Around 1930, the first tenants from outside the area settled in eSigangeni, close to the farm house in the eastern, higher part of Groot Hoek: Nolinga Mzizi, Madlendoda Dladla and Maphamba Sithole.[18]

Nolinga Mzizi was the first tenant farmer in eSigangeni. He was invited by Magalela to come to Groot Hoek. Magalela collected him and his family from eMakhuzeni by truck.[19] After a few weeks, Nolinga Mzizi was followed by Madlendoda Dladla and his family, who crossed the uMkhomazi with donkeys. Both tenant farmers came from the southern side of the uMkhomazi, from the area of eNhlamvini and emaKhuzeni but had already been living as labour tenants on other commercial farms, before they moved to eSigangeni. Here, they settled with their own cattle and grew crops such as maize, yam (*amadumbe*) and pumpkin, in later years, also potatoes

0. G. MaMkhize Phungula, 2002*.

[18] C.J. Dladla, 2002*; L. MaMzizi Msomi, 2002*; B. Sithole, 2002*.

[19] L. Msomi, 2002*.

*Part of the **Dladla** family tree:*

Madlendoda
|
Sikwishiza (*eSigangeni*)
|
Mbaleni | Calalamaxoki Jacob (b.1948; *eSigangeni/eMlazi*) | Mbaleni

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*Part of the **Mzizi** family tree:*

Nolinga (= Joni)
|
Themba (*eSigangeni; eMakhuzeni*)
|
Maphutho | Mfihlelo | Lily (1938-2008; *eSigangeni*) | Mbomu Blasios (d.1972)

---

*Part of the **Sithole** family tree:*

MaVishi MaChoncho *Mphako* ? (*kwaMphako / Hill Top*)
|
Mnukwa | Ngodwane | Khebeni | Mshebele | Ngenklemu | Maswezwe | Gejalinjani
|*MaShoba(*eHlokozi)* |
Sobhuza * Nomhlubulu MaSibisi | Henqwa | Gududu | Madiphu | Lugaju
|(*Mona Glen*) |
Khebe * Wena MaFuneka | Maphamba (*eNkumane*)
|(*Mona Glen/eMaromeni*) |
Nkaniyakhe Nicholas | * MaNgcobo | * MaMkhize
|(*Inkomaan*; b.1934) |
| Nomaphilisi | Bhekomuzi (*eNkumane*; b.1923) | Bagqokile | Mfaniseni | Nduna | Shaka | Poliwe | Dayina * MaSishi
|
*Mqondi MaMkhize | * Kazi MaKunene
|
Zobayini Simon * Zodwa P. MaMkhize
(*eNkumane;b.1976*)

and beans. "They were self-sufficient. If they needed money they sold a cow or a goat."[20]

The third tenant farmer who arrived in eSigangeni during the 1930's, was Maphamba Sithole.[21] Maphamba Sithole had been removed from a farm called kwaMakhovoti (Mona Glen), halfway between eNkumane and Richmond . The history of the Sitholes in eNkumane goes back to the early 19th century, when, because of ongoing violence, Mphako Sithole fled from Swaziland in a south-westerly direction.[22] During the time of King Dingane, he and his family settled on what is still called kwaMphako, on what later became the farm Hill Top[23] on the northern banks of the uMkhomazi River. Here they became labour tenants and subsequently until today, farm labourers. During the 20th century, kwaMphako consisted of a substantial field were the Sithole used to grow maize, yam (*amadumbe*), sweet potatoes, sorghum, peanuts and pumpkins. They were allowed a few private horses on the farm, but no cows and goats.

Among the first Sithole who arrived in what became later the Richmond District, was Maphamba's grandfather Gejalinjani Sithole. In Maphamba's days the farm belonged to the Marwick family. Some time during the 1930's, Maphamba Sithole refused to comply with the conditions on the farm, especially the restriction on the number of private cows the labour tenants were allowed to graze on the farm, the low monthly payment of six pence and the duty to milk the farmer's cows on Sundays. Maphamba was summoned to leave the farm. When he refused to go voluntarily, the Richmond police forced Maphamba and his family off the farm and confiscated his cows. While his relatives stayed behind, Maphamba, his two wives and their children found a site in eSigangeni (Groot Hoek), probably at the intercession of the Ngcongo staying in eMachobeni, in the northern corner of Groot Hoek

During the first years at eSigangeni, the Sitholes had to cope with sickness (small pox) and locust. Unlike Nolinga Mzizi and Madlendoda Dladla who actually farmed in eSigangeni, Maphamba Sithole left the farming to his wives and worked as a labourer on the railway between Cato Ridge and Pinetown, returning only during his fortnight holidays once a year. Finally, around 1950, he managed to build a herd of about 70 cattle. His grown up sons also worked outside Groot Hoek, on nearby farms or in a stone quarry in Durban.

6.5 The Last Farmer Story

The relationship between the farmers and the local population was complicated. The Land Act of 1913 gave the farmers authority over the land. But from the original population's point of view, farmers like the Cockburns and the Nicholsons had no final authority. They were merely granted grazing rights for their cattle by the *amakhosi* Ngangezwe and Mqolombeni Mkhize.[24] The local population had to accept a position of tenants and the duty to pay rent for the use of fields. But when Magalela (Phillip Nicholson) in the end of the thirties offered them ownership of the farm for one bull per household they rejected this offer. Their general conception was that

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[20] C.J. Dladla, 2002*.

[21] B. Sithole, 2002*.

[22] N.Sithole,2009*.

[23] TOP: Deed of Transfer 2324#.

[24] C.J. Dladla, 2002*; F. Mkhize, 2002*.

only *amakhosi* are able to own the land. Initially, the fact that Magalela subsequently sold the farm to the Government went unnoticed to the inhabitants of Groot Hoek-Dartnell. Many of them supposed that Menwayi was a manager of the Nicholson farmers. Only in the 1950's, when isiZulu speaking Agricultural Advisers started to work in the area, it was explained that the farm Groot Hoek had become part of the Trust Farm Groothoek, which reached as far as eNgwegwe, bordering Umlazi. The rent of three pound per homestead was now due to the Government, via the Native Commissioner in Richmond.

A story went around about what had 'really' happened to the last farmer of Groot Hoek-Dartnell. According to the story, Magalela, the last farmer, had retired in Pietermaritzburg because of old age, leaving behind his manager Menwayi to look after the farm. When the last farmer heard that his manager started to pay *ilobolo* to marry a girl of the Ncongo family, Magalela ordered Menwayi to leave the farm. Because the manager refused, Magalela asked the government to assist. The government sent in the army to remove the manager from the farm and Magalela sold the farm to the Government to reopen it as a living area.[25]

Several versions of this story are found.[26] The variations concern the man and the girl involved, and the settlement of the affair. Some remember that the girl came from eNgwegwe (Umlazi) and belonged to the family Gwamanda, who heavily punished the girl for her misbehaviour. Others think that John, the son of Magalela, had an affair with a local girl. This girl would have belonged to the Dladla family in eSigangeni (Groot Hoek). For this affair John is said to have paid the regular 'damage payment' of one cow, which he paid in the form of ten Pounds. That the army was involved in the affair, is denied by most interviewees.

Three aspects of this 'last farmer story' have a high explanatory value. In the first place, the story explains the fact that the farm is a property that can be sold; secondly, that at present it is no longer a farm but a rural settlement; and lastly, it explains how the 'respected farmer' who was seen more or less as a father of the people living on his farm, got into trouble and was forced to leave his people behind. That an Amendment of the Land Act of 1913 had become law in 1936 and that the Government was creating Government Trust Farms to relocate 'natives', was something that went unnoticed for most people in eNkumane.

During the 1970's, a similar 'last farmer story' was told about another farmer, Thomas Hackland.[27] Thomas Hackland lived on the farm kwaTomi (Gulubie View), called after Thomas's father Tom. Tom Hackland is remembered as Thandabantu ("he-who-loves-people"), his son as Hashani. KwaTomi is situated about five kilometres north-east of Groot Hoek, directly neighbouring Umlazi. Hashani is said to have killed himself with a gun, when the Government forced him to sell his farm to make it a rural settlement. Yet, Mrs. Hackland, Thomas's widow, assured me that her husband had actively tried for years to sell his farm to the Government, seeing that nobody would be able to use it as a commercial farm because of the inaccessibility of the area and the growing population pressure, both inside the farm and in the neighbouring Umlazi Location. About twenty years after he had indeed sold his farm to the Government, Thomas died peacefully in his bed.

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[25] Z.M. Ngcongo, 1994*.

[26] C.J. Dladla, 2002*; J. Mkhize, 2002*; G. MaMkhize Phungula, 2002*.

[27] M.M. Funeka, 2002*.

Like the ‘last farmer story’ in eNkumane, also the suicide story about Hashani in kwaTomi explains the selling of the farm and the re-opening of it as a rural settlement. And it clears the farmer from any blame for leaving ‘his people’ alone.

6.6 Trust Farm Groothoek (1940 - 1950): Nondwayiza and Menwayi

In 1940, the South African Native Trust bought Groot Hoek-Dartnell as an extension of the Provincial Trust Farm Mqolombene that had been created in 1936 between Groot Hoek-Dartnell and the Umlazi Location.[28] By that time, there were about ten tenants living in Groot Hoek and an additional six families in Dartnell. After the departure of the Nicholson farmers, the tenants faced a growing problem of poverty. The reasons for the growing poverty were, according to the interviewees to be sought amongst the tenants themselves: a lack of vision and planning, a reluctance to plough, partly caused by lack of rain, a growing need for money and growing tensions resulting in fights and killings.[29]

During the 1940's, the Government restructured Groot Hoek-Dartnell by dividing it into smaller subsistence farms. It was joined with Mqolombene and Inhlazuka View into one big ‘Trust Farm Groothoek’ under the control of the Commissioner of Native Affairs in Richmond. The transfer was not discussed with the local population and went initially unnoticed. The surveying and allotting of plots, was done by two Afrikaans speaking officials. Two local men, Madlendoda Dladla (from eSigangeni) and Hovu Mhlongo (from eNtakeni), were appointed as ‘tribal police’ paid by the Commissioner in Richmond. The tribal police (*amapoyisi*) were supposed to maintain law and order on the new Trust Farm.

Most of the surveying was done by a Government official known as Nondwayiza (‘the-long-legged-one’) in close cooperation with the neighbouring farmers Madokozo (‘who-speaks-indistinctly’) and Denisi, to be identified with Arthur Cockburn and his son Dennis respectively, who owned most of the land west and north of the newly formed Trust Farm.[30] According to most interviewees, Madokozo, who earned his isiZulu name to his asthmatic speech, was closely associated with the developments during the 1940's. Many interviewees claim that their families had been chased away from Madokozo’s farm, before finding a site in Groothoek. In reality, some of these evictions must have taken place in the time of his father Hashi (Archibald Hugh Cockborn). During the 1940's and 1950's, Madokozo was the main employer in the area. He was involved with forestry and farmed cattle and horses. His farmhouse, the nearest farmhouse to Groothoek, is still known today as eNkabinyama (‘the black ox’), called after a small black ox on the farm’s nameplate. About 15 labour tenants lived on Madokozo’s farm. Temporary labourers were recruited from the eNkumane population.[31]

Nondwayiza is remembered as having come from Pietermaritzburg. Within a year, he was replaced by Menwayi (‘the-scratcher’). Menwayi allotted most of the plots to the local population and prepared them for agricultural use by ploughing over the fields with his own span of oxen.

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[28] Statutes: Act No.18 of 1936 First Schedule: Released Areas Part II No.19.

[29] B. Ngcongo, 2002*.

[30] M.J. Ngcongo, 2002*.

[31] B. Sithole, 2002*.

Agricultural Advisers *and other Officials in the Trust FarmGroothoek between 1940 and 1994:*
(dates for the periods of service are estimated)

On behalf of the Magistrate in Richmond (1940-60):

Name:	Position:	Period:
Nondwayiza	government official	1940
Menway	government official	1940 -1950
Mncube	agricultural adviser	1950 - 1954
Malinga	agricultural adviser	1954 - 1957
Dalton Gebashe	agricultural adviser	1957 - 1959
Hovu Mhlongo	tribal police	1940 - 1944
Madlendoda Dladla	tribal police	1940 - 1950
Mangqasha Kunene	tribal police	1940 - 1960

On behalf of the Magistrate in Umbumbulu (1960-94):

Simamana	agricultural adviser	1960 - 1981
Ndlovu	agricultural adviser	1981
Mkhize	agricultural adviser	1982 -1983
Ngwabe	agricultural adviser	1984
Gumede	agricultural adviser	1985 - 1992
Radebe	agricultural adviser	1992 - 1994
Sikwishiza Dladla	ipoyisi / ranger	1944 - 1983
Mbaleli Dladla	ranger	1983 - 1985
Kheswayo Nxele	ipoyisi / ranger	1950 - 1980
Mbeki Dlamini	ranger	1985 - 1994

To the embarrassment of the local population, one day he ploughed over some graves of the Mtsali family.[32] Menwayi also surrounded the Trust Farm Groothoek with a fence of barbed wire, including the parts of Groot Hoek-Dartnell on the southern bank of the uMkhomazi, but excluding the eMbuthweni and eMngeneleni fields, which were the private properties of *inkosi* Mhlabunzima Mkhize. He re-routed the entrance road into Groothoek to the side of the hill, replacing the old entrance which crossed the top of the same hill on Groothoek's northern border. As Menwayi operated from the Nicholson farmhouse he was easily identified with the Nicholson farmers.

During the 1940's, eSigangeni and the neighbouring eSikheshini were divided into about ten subsistence farms, which were in the first place allotted to the old tenant farmers who had already arrived in the 1930's (Mzizi, Dladla, Sithole) and in the second place to the Ngcongo and Mkhize families who had been removed from these areas during the 1920's. Mphezulu and Twayini Mkhize, who had lived for about 15 years in kwaMseshi (Dartnell) at the uMkhomazi River, got the opportunity to return to the higher parts of Groot Hoek and rebuild their homesteads north of the farm house. Josibel Ngcongo rebuilt his houses south of the farmhouse. Following the returning Mkhize and Ngcongo, Tanana Mhlongo moved his family during the 1940's from kwaMseshi to eSigangeni.[33] An important restriction was made for the sites in the higher parts of Groot Hoek: no horses, donkeys and goats were allowed. Because of this rule, implemented by Nondwayiza and Menwayi, some people preferred to stay close to the uMkhomazi and the uNompofane River. One of those who decided to live close to the uMkhomazi River in order to have his own flock of goats, was Phumowakhe Cele (see 6.3). Between 1940 and 1945 he left eThafeni, where his father had built a homestead, and went down to eMahlalini (Groot Hoek). In eMahlalini he joined the families of Diyo Mntungwa, Mzolo Mchunu, Mbanelwa Ngcongo and Gethe Nyoka, by whom he was informally

[32] M.J. Ngcongo, 2002*.

[33] N. Kunene, 2003*; M.J. Ngcongo, 2002*.

accepted as their *induna*.

During the 1940's, a new type of migrants entered. Unlike during the 1930's, when tenant farmers entered Groot Hoek looking for arable land, during the 1940's, the main drive to enter the newly created Trust Farm Groothoek, was the search for a place to live. The origins of the migrants during the 1940's was similar to those of the migrants during the 1930's. Some came from the South, from eMakhuzeni, like Bongumuzi Phungula and his family. Others, like the Nxele, Mntungwa and Shange, entered from the west. They came from neighbouring farms, as far as ePhatheni, southwest of Richmond. Most of them were displaced (*baxhoswa*) labour tenants. As local employment possibilities were meagre, most of them found jobs in cities such as Pietermaritzburg, Durban and Johannesburg. Two family stories may illustrate the new migratory pattern.

During the 1940's, Chitomuzi Mntungwa settled on the southern bank of the uMkhomazi in kwaStofela (Groot Hoek). His family had lived for two generation at eGwempisi (Spitzkop) as labour tenants of the Cockburn family.[34] Both his grandfather (Madubeko Mntungwa) and his father (Maweni Mntungwa) had been labour tenants of Hashi and Madokozo (Archibald and Arthur Cockburn) grazing their cattle, including 18 bulls and ploughing their maize fields. During the 1940's, Chithomuzi moved to kwaStofela (Groot Hoek-Dartnell), where already five other families had settled. Three homesteads in kwaStofela belonged to Nkombo Mkhize and his two sons, one belonged to Velabumbulu Ngcongo and one to Qhuzimane Mfeka. They held the status of tenant farmers of the Government South African Native Trust against three Pounds, to be paid yearly at the former Nicholson farmhouse. Chitomuzi did not come to kwaStofela to farm there but to build his own homestead. He left his fields to his wife and went off to look for work elsewhere. As he had not enjoyed any formal education, he only found temporary jobs as an unskilled labourer. For a few years he worked in Pietermaritzburg as a porter at the South African Railways (*kwaloliwe*). Near Durban, he found work milking cows on different farms (*emapulazini*). In Johannesburg, he found employment as a production labourer in different factories (*emafektri*). For Chitouzi Mntungwa the move into the Trust Farm Groothoek during the 1940's marked the switch between two different lifestyles: from loyal labour tenancy under a local farmer, to independent labourer at the mercy of the free market and the homeland policy of the Government.

Another example of migration into the Trust Farm Groothoek during the 1940's is the family story of Kheswayo Nxele and his wife Mampompoza Lina MaMntungwa.[35]3 Kheswayo's father Tanga Nxele was an experienced tree feller who was very good at peeling off tree bark. After being chased off a farm in ePhatheni southwest of Richmond, he settled in eSigangeni finding employment in forestry around the Groothoek. He built his house at the end of the road to the shop in Inkooman. The shop had been run since about 1940 by Gramseli, who had bought the shop's contract from the heirs of Mashali (Essa Moosa) who had died in 1938 (chapter 3). As Gramseli lived in Mid-Illovo he needed a night watch for the shop, a job that was shared by Tanga Nxele's son Kheswayo and Sikwishiza Dladla (see 6.4). Kheswayo Nxele married Lina Mntungwa, whose father Mdiyo Mntungwa originally also came from ePhatheni.

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[34] C. Mntungwa, 2002*.

[35] L. Nxele; 2002*.

*Part of the family trees of **Mntungwa** and **Nxele**:*

Vihlela **Mntungwa** (*ePatheni*)
|
Mdiyo (*eMngeneleni*; *eMahlalini*) * MaKunene
|
Mampompoza Lina (*eSigangeni*) *

Tanga **Nxele** (*ePatheni*; *eSigangeni*) * MaMbona
|
Kheswayo (*eSigangeni*)
|
Sibo

Lina's father Mdiyo Mntungwa worked in ePoyinde (Point Road) in Durban. Her mother came from a Kunene family in eMahlalini (Groot Hoek) close to the uMkhomazi River. As Mdiyo worked far away and his wife was by law not allowed to follow him to Durban, the Kunene family assisted Mdiyo in finding a site down at the uMkhomazi. From there his daughter Lina married into the Nxele family in eSigangeni.[36] For Mdiyo Mntungwa and for Tanga Nxele, the Trust Farm Groothoek was a place to build one's homestead, while for Tanga Nxele it also offered employment in the neighbouring forestry.

6.7 Trust Farm Groothoek (1950 - 1960); Agricultural Advisers

During the 1950's, the economic situation on the Trust Farm continued to deteriorate. Asked for causes of the growing problem of poverty, none of the interviewees referred to a Government policy of isolating the area in line with the Group Areas Act of 1950. However, illustrative for the effects of the law, is the history of the shop in Inkooman during the 1950's (see chapter 3). Gramseli, an 'Asiatic' general dealer from Mid-Illovo had to leave the shop around 1949 and the shop was subsequently leased by a 'white' general dealer from Mid-Ilovo, Blekensho (Samuel Howard Brokensha). The shop's profits declined sharply during the 1950's and the shop was finally taken over by Morris Osborn, a farmer along the road from Richmond to Ixopo. Osborn was locally called uHlupheko ('he-who-suffers') because of his complaints about the lack of profits in the shop. He had to close the shop within a few years, around 1961.

From around 1950, the Commissioner of Native Affairs in Richmond sent Agricultural Advisers to the Trust Farm Groothoek, in succession: Mncube, Malinga, and Dalton Gebashe. The Agricultural Advisers main task was to develop and promote subsistence farming on the Groothoek. At the same time, two local persons were appointed as tribal police north of the uMkhomazi, Hovu Mhlongo (replaced in 1944 by Sikwishiza Dladla) and Mandlendoda Mzizi (replaced in 1950 by Kheswayo Nxele). One person was appointed as a tribal policeman south of the uMkhomazi in kwaStofela, Mangqasha Kunene.[37] In 1960, when the responsibilities for the area were transferred from Richmond to eMbumbulu, the tribal police were replaced by Rangers, assistants of the Agricultural Advisers.

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[36] L. Nxele, 2002*.

[37] B. Sithole, 2002*.

The Agricultural Advisers oversaw the sites on the Trust Farm, they advised the inhabitants in agricultural matters and assisted them with buying seeds. They were also responsible for the maintenance of the main road into the area, the clearing of vegetation around springs, the barbed wire boundary fence around the Trust Farm, the collecting of rent and the cow dip. Meanwhile, they started their own projects. For example, Mr. Mncube grazed his own cattle and planted Gum-trees,[38] which he sold as firewood to the local tenants. Unlike Nondwayiza and Menwayi, they did not live in the Nicholson farmhouse. They occupied a house nearby, on the other side of the main road and used the farmhouse only as an office and for storage, until, in 1957, the last Agricultural Adviser from Richmond, Dalton Gebashe assisted in turning it into a primary school. This first school on the Groot Hoek Trust Farm was officially opened by *inkosi* Mhlabunzima Mkhize, who named the school after his father Mqolombeni Mkhize. The school started with two teachers, Dalton Gebashe's wife, who was the school's first principal, and Ethel. N. (Zandile) Shezi. Mrs. Shezi served the school for 27 years, initially occupying a small room in the farmhouse as a sleeping room.

The opening of the school was partly the result of the growing population in the Trust Farm Groothoek. Between 1940 and 1950, the population grew from less than ten to around forty homesteads within the borders of the original farm Groot Hoek, most migrants having a history of being turned away from commercial farms. It was the task of the Agricultural Advisers to control this migration. As far as interviewees remember, no new families were allowed to enter the Trust Farm during the 1950's.

6.8 Population Influx and Destocking during the 1960's

Around 1960, the character of the Trust Farm Groothoek changed dramatically. As part of the implementation of the Government Apartheid policy, people were forced to leave urban areas and 'white' commercial farms. Around 1960, the Native Commissioner in Richmond transferred the authority over the Groothoek to the Magistrate in eMbumbulu, one of the administrative centres of the future homeland 'KwaZulu'. From buffer zone with subsistence farmers between a rural living area and commercial farms, suddenly, the Trust Farm became a settlement for displaced farm labourers. During the 1960's and 1970's a growing number of people entered the farm where they were allocated an area of about one acre in size. According to several interviewees, the local Rangers were responsible for the influx, as they allowed more and more people to enter the Trust Farm.[39]

One of the major complications of the sudden influx of people was the deterioration of stock, a process which had already started during the 1950's, according to informants as a result of

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[38] During the 1950's, the commercial planting of Blue Gum-trees (*ugamthini*; Eucalyptus grandis - Myrtaceae, especially the Saligna Gum), originally imported from Australia, became very popular in the whole of South Africa. According to B-E. van Wyk & N. Gericke (2007, p.266), "Saligna gum is by far the most important commercial gum tree in southern Africa, with a total plantation areas of nearly half a million hectares... The timber is used for a wide range of products, including furniture, panelling , floor boards, telephone poles, mine props, fibre board and rayon pulp."

[39] C.J. Dladla, 2002*.

growing poverty and lack of rain.[40] The deterioration of stock can be illustrated by the number of cattle owned by the Mpanza family in eSijokelweni. At the beginning of the 1950's, they owned about 90 head of cattle, but within ten years their herd was reduced to about 50 cows.[41]

One of the tasks of the Agricultural Advisers was to control the number and the quality of cattle via the dips. On the Trust Farm Groothoek, three cattle dips were used: one in the centre of the Trust Farm (eSikheshini), one in the eastern part of the Trust Farm (eNgwegwe), originally built by Alfred Fawcus (par.5.5), and one on the southern banks of the uMkhomazi (eSijokolweni). At the dips, records were kept and a 'dipping fee', or 'stock rate', of 25 Pennies per cow and 6 Pennies per goat was collected.[42] The cattle were cleaned of ticks and injected against cow diseases. The injections were considered by the owners as a blatant attempt to kill their cows.[43] Even more controversial was the limitation of the number of cows per homestead. Just like many of the Natal Midlands farmers imposed on their tenants a 'five-head-of-cattle-per-family' rule,[44] also the Government limited the number of cattle to 5 per homestead on the Trust Farms. Throughout the 20th century, the Government was concerned with the problem of overstocking in 'native areas' and had accepted several laws to deal with dangers of land degradation and of cow diseases spreading to commercial farms, culminating in the national stock reduction scheme from 1969 until 1978.[45]

During the 1960's, in the Trust Farm Groothoek, restrictions on cattle were re-implemented. In the higher parts of the Trust Farm, per homestead, five cows and one horse were allowed, in the lower parts close to the river, an additional number of five goats. Donkeys were not allowed.

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[40] B. Ngcongo, 2002*; often, lack of rain is mentioned in the interviews as a cause of poverty, but in fact only the years 1951 (28.39 inch) and 1952 (28.36 inch) showed a less than average rainfall, measured on a nearby farm, Little Harmony.

[41] N. MaMkhize Mpanza, 2002*.

[42] The 'stock rate', or 'dipping fee', was imposed by Governmental Notice 1627 of 6th August 1948 (SA Law Reports, II, 1951).

[43] B. Sithole, 2002*; G. MaMkhize Phungula, 2002*.

[44] J. Steinberg, 2002, p.229; probably, the rationale behind the 'five-cattle-per-homestead' rule was that a family needed four cows to plough with and one to milk.

[45] During the first half of the 20th century, several national regulations were made to control 'overstocking in native areas'. Most of the regulations were based on Section 25 of the Native Administration Act No.38 (Statutes, 1927). For example, the Government Notice, No.198 of 1937, 'Improvements of Stock in Native Areas', gave Agricultural Officers the right in areas included in the schedule to the Native Land Act, No.27, of 1913, to "cull there from such animals (cattle, goats, sheep and horses) as are in his opinion so aged or of such inferior quality as not to justify their continued retention for breeding purposes" (Government Gazette, 12th October 1934). In certain areas, such as the Trust Farm Groothoek, donkeys were forbidden by Government Notice No.166 of 1933: 'Regulations for Controlling and Limiting the Number of Asses in certain Native Areas', stating that "under and by the virtue of then powers vested... by subsection (1) of section twenty-five of the native Administration Act, 1927 (No.38 of 1927). 3.(1) No person may introduce or cause to be introduced into any prohibited area any donkey, jack or mare" (Government Gazette of 11th November 1932,p.143-144). The regulations were met with heavy protest, for example in the Adams Mission Station, and branded as contrary to the upliftment of rural areas (E.H. Brookes, 1938). Refusal by 'natives' to comply with the regulation was marked as 'native unrest' and led to the involvement of the South African Police. Other examples are the Government Notice 830 of 1933 amending earlier proclamations for 'The Control of Grazing in Transkei Native Locations', and the Government Notice 1021 of 1950, 'Native Reserves Destocking Regulations'.

Trespassers were charged 25 Shillings (according to others: two Pounds) per additional cow and 25 Shillings for a goat. The exact number of animals per homestead was recorded at the cattle dip. In most parts of the Trust Farm the rule was accepted and, eventually, the owners of the homesteads transferred cattle to their sons. Yet, on the southern banks of the uMkhomazi the restrictions were completely neglected. After several warnings, the Government decided to send trucks on dipping days to the cattle dip in eSijokolweni to confiscate additional cattle and shoot donkeys on the spot. In this way, the Mfeka and the Mpanza families in eSijokolweni lost most of their remaining cattle over a period of about three years, probably between 1964 and 1967. According to their own counting, from the Mfeka family several horses, 4 bulls, 30 cows, 70 goats and 7 donkeys were confiscated,[46] while the Mpanza family lost 45 of its remaining cows and a large number of donkeys.[47]

The story goes that on a certain day *inkosi* Mbana Mkhize, who lived in eMbuthweni on the northern banks of the uMkhomazi River and used to send his cattle to the eSijokolweni dip on the southern banks, heard that his cattle had been impounded and driven southwards. *Inkosi* Mbana Mkhize crossed the uMkhomazi and climbed the 600 metres high southern banks to find his cows loaded in Government trucks.[48] With a strong plea on the basis of his status as *inkosi*, he saved about 15 cows. Others who opposed the government officials were arrested. Because of the destocking, one of them, Hlomendlini Mpanza, 'crossed the border'.[49] He joined the liberation army 'Mkhonto Wesizwe' and died in the Zambian capital Lusaka.

6.9 Trust Farm Groothoek (1960 - 1994)

Around 1960, the Agricultural Advisers from Richmond were withdrawn and their duties taken over by two local Rangers, Khezwayo Nxele and Sikwishiza Dladla.[50] The growing number of people on the Trust Farm Groothoek and its transfer to the newly formed KwaZulu Government, aroused the suspicion of the neighbouring commercial farmers. In 1962, Madokozo (Arthur Cockburn) and his son Dennis, who owned most of the land west and north of the Trust Farm, lost their confidence in the situation and sold all their properties north of the Trust Farm to the Natal Forestry Company. Also Inkooman was sold with the effect that the shop in Inkooman, the only shop in the area, was closed (par.3.7).

As soon as the transfer of the Trust Farm to the Magistrate's district eMbumbulu was finalised, new Agricultural Advisers were sent. The first adviser sent from eMbumbulu was Mr. Simamana. From 1960 until 1981, he was responsible for the Trust Farm and, from 1970 onwards, also for the newly created Trust Farm Gulubie View. During this period the Mqolombeni Primary School was moved from the Nicholson farmhouse to a site neighbouring the Reformed Mission Post. In 1975, a secondary school was opened, the Inkumane High School. Mr. Malinga and his wife, respectively the son and daughter in law of the former Agricultural Adviser Malinga, became

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[46] B.N. Mfeka, 2002*.

[47] N. Mpanza, 2002*.

[48] Malimela, 2002*.

[49] N. panza, 2002*.

[50] B. Sithole, 2002*.

the first principal and the first teacher at this school. In 1981, the Agricultural Adviser Mr. Simamana was promoted to the post of Senior Agricultural Officer in eMbumbulu, overseeing all the Trust Farms in this district. In the same year, 1981, he authorized the building of a new Agricultural Adviser's house and office on the Trust Farm Groothoek, on the site of the Nicholson farmhouse that had fallen into decay after the Primary School had left.

The first Agricultural Adviser that lived in the new house was Mzamo Mkhize with his wife and children and with his brother Vuka Mkhize. Mzamo Mkhize is still remembered for his terracing a steep hillside in eSikheshini, close to the central cow dip. The project was a model of effective gardening on the Trust Farm, and is still in use today. Mzamo and Vuka Mkhize's grandfather, a direct descendant of Zihlandlo Mkhize (par.4.2), had moved back from eNgilanyoni at the uMkhomazi River to eNkandla, part of former living area of Zihlandlo north of the uThukela River. From here, Mzamo Mkhize accepted the post of Agricultural Adviser on the Trust Farm Groothoek. It is remembered that he advised the inhabitants of the trust farm in agricultural matters, sold seeds of maize, beans, vegetables and potatoes, oversaw the cleaning of areas around springs, and reported about the Trust Farm to Mr. Simamana the Senior Officer on behalf of the KwaZulu Government in eMbumbulu. Mzamo's main aim was to make sure that the people on the Trust Farm had food to eat.[51]

Mzamo Mkhize was assisted by a local Ranger, Sikwishiza Dladla. The Ranger was responsible for the daily running of the Trust Farm, the allotting of sites and fields and the maintenance of the rule: no goats, no donkeys, and not more than one horse. An exception was made for the Reformed Mission, where up to eleven horses were kept. In these days, limitations on the number of cattle per homestead was no longer implemented.

Generally speaking, during the 1980's, Trust Farms fulfilled a role as refuge for people displaced under the Governmental Homeland Policy. The policy was met with growing resistance all over South Africa and abroad, it relied more and more on assistance of police and army and it faced growing levels of violence in segregated areas such as the Trust Farm Groothoek.

Around 1989, during the period of office of the Agricultural Adviser Mr. Gumede, Groothoek was hit for the first time by a wave of violence. In 1994, during the fourth outburst of violence in the area, the Agricultural Adviser at that time, Mr. Radebe left the area, rent was no longer collected and, effectively, Groothoek stopped to exist as a Trust Farm.

[51] V. Mkhize, 2003*.

Chapter 7: Transition and Violence

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters, minor references have been made to resistance against the ongoing process of loss of rights and independence for the inhabitants of eNkumane and surrounding commercial farms. For example, during the 1930's, Maphamba Sithole was removed from the farm Mona Glen by the Richmond police, because of his refusal to adjust to the working conditions on the farm (par.6.4); and during the 1960's, in reaction to the Government program of destocking, Hlomendlini Mpanza joined the liberation army Mkonto wesiZwe (par.6.8). However, generally speaking, the process in which the eNkumane area changed from inheritance (*isabelo*) to farm (*ipulazi*), to Trust Farm (*ipulazi likahulumeni*) was accepted passively by its inhabitants. Asked for reflection on this attitude, some interviewees stressed the lack of possibilities to protest: "We were just *abantu*" (*Sasingabantu nje*).[1] Others thought that under the rule of the farmers and the Government they were relatively well off: "The whites knew how to care for *abantu*" (*Abelungu babekwazi ukuphata abantu*).[2] Nevertheless, some interviewees remembered stories about violence related to the transition from heritage area to commercial farm during the second half of the 19th century and about violence related to the forced removals during the 1920's.

7.2 Mhlongo and Early Violence

Around 1840, several Mhlongo brothers settled in eSikanisweni (Inkooman) as part of the immigration of the abaMbo (chapter 4).[3] When it became clear that the eNkumane area was to be used for commercial farming (*ipulazi*), some of them, including Mzwebu Mhlongo, crossed the uMkhomazi River and settled on the other, the southwestern side of the uNomabhunga Mountain which, at that time, was still seen as a free eMbo heritage (*isabelo*). Their new homestead overlooked the uMntungwane River, a tributary to the uMkhomazi which formed the border between the abaMbo and the amaKhuze.[4]

Others, Dushulwayo and Sihlambisinye Mhlongo, stayed behind in eSikanisweni. In 1893, eSikanisweni officially became part of the newly surveyed Inkooman, granted in that year to William Watson. During the same year, Watson sold Inkooman to Montague Cockburn, who owned it until his death, in 1923, when it was transferred to his brother Archibald Cockburn.[5] The Mhlongo living in eSikanisweni refused to accept the status of farmer tenants or labour

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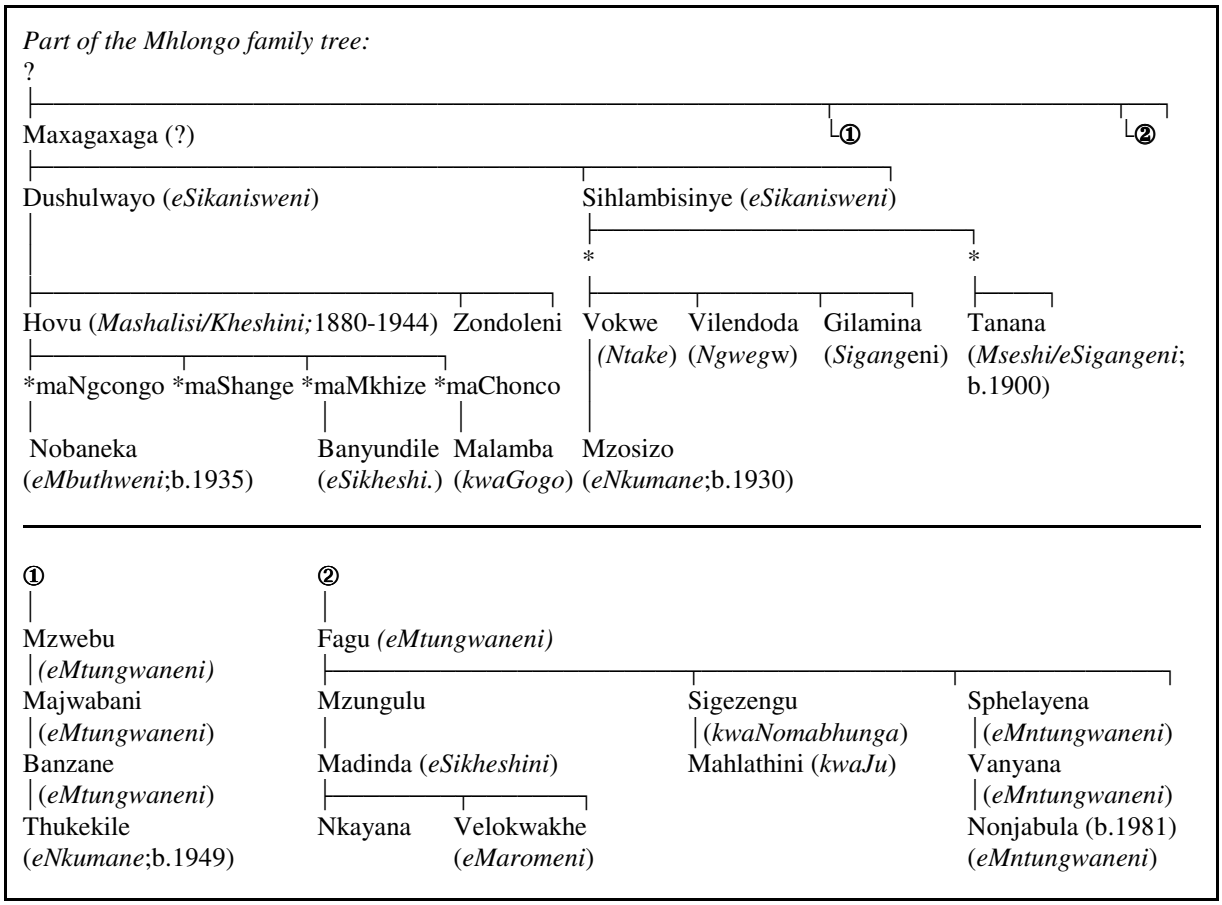
[1] D. Mkhize, 2003*; B. Sithole, 2002*.

[2] B. Ngcongo, 2002*.

[3] At present, the Mhlongo live scattered on both sides of the uMkhomazi River. Different accounts are given about their relationship with the abaMbo. Some informants (e.g. D. Mkize, 2003*; B. Ngcongo, 2002*) state that the Mhlongo were originally part of the amaDumisa (cf. Par.4.6). Others (e.g. M.J. Mhlongo, 2004*) think that the Mhlongo have always been part of the abaMbo.

[4] D. Mkhize, 2003*.

[5] TOP: 5186/1893#; 1093/1893#; 2255/1925#.



tenants. As a result they lived in a tense relationship with the Cockburn farmers which led to several conflicts. The story is told that, one day, the farmer (Montague or Archibald Cockburn) shot Dushulwayo in his leg, apologizing that he had mistaken him for a leopard, as Dushulwayo used to dress himself in the skin of a leopard, he had killed in the area. The relationship turned even worse, when the farmer, Archibald Cockburn, started to impound cattle. Well remembered is the confiscation of one of Mzungulu Mhlongo's main bulls.[6] Moreover, Madokozo (Archibald's son Arthur Cockburn) started to kill goats, donkeys and dogs trespassing in Inkooman. People found hunting on the farm were forced to hold their dogs between their legs, so the dogs could be shot by the farmer's son. The killings infuriated the Mhlongo so much that they considered plans to kill Madokozo.[7]

Around 1920, after the death of Dushulwayo and Sihlambisinye, Montague Cockburn instructed the Mhlongo to leave Inkooman. This marked the end of the relative independence of the Mhlongo. Dushulwayo's son Vokwe moved his family down the hill in the direction of the uMkhomazi River. His family stayed in eNtakeni, Vokwe himself left for Durban, where he

[6] P. Mkhize, 2003*.

[7] M.J. Ngcongo, 2002*.

found employment at the harbour. Three or four times a year he visited his family in eNtakeni.[8]

Around 1918, Vokwe's brother, Hovu Mhlongo moved from eSikanisweni (Inkooman) to eSikheshini an area in between the iNkumane Mountain and eNtakeni. There, Hovu left his family close to his cousin Madinda Mhlongo. Hovu himself went to Johannesburg, where he worked for about eight years.[9] In 1926, he was appointed by acting chief Nxamalala Mkhize as his *iphoyisa lenkosi*, "as a tribal messenger to report his judgements and to effect attachments there under."[10] Around 1940, Hovu Mhlongo was also appointed by the Magistrate in Richmond as tribal police officer (*iphoyisa lahulumeni*), to maintain law and order in the newly created Trust Farm Groothoek.

During the 1930's, the Mhlongo played a role also during the border dispute between the abaMbo and the amaKhuze. Around 1920, many families had been removed from the higher parts of the farms along the uMkhomazi River. Some of them got the option to resettle within the farms on the banks of the uMkhomazi. The abaMbo acting chiefs Muziyonke and Nxamalala Mkhize (par.4.6) claimed tribal authority over some of these new settlements within farms and appointed their *izinduna* (par.4.12) overlooking areas like kwaJu, kwaNcibi, kwa-Odadeni and kwaBomlandi. During the reign of acting chief Nxamalala Mkhize, the abaMbo authority over these settlements was disputed by the amaKhuze.[11] The dispute resulted in violent clashes between abaMbo and amaKhuze during a period of several years.[12] Some of the people in the area under dispute, like Fagu's grandson Mahlatini Mhlongo, preferred to join the amaKhuze (*bafuna ukushintsha umnyango*), as the abaMbo were seen to have lost most of their independent heritage (*isabelo*) to commercial farms (*ipulazi*). Finally, the government sent in police and army and forced the two *amakhosi*, Zulu Dlamini of the amaKhuze and Nxamalala Mkhize of the abaMbo, to resolve the matter. It was decided that the uMntungwane River would be respected as their common border as it had been before.[13]

7.3 Context of the Violence around 1990

The violence on the Trust Farm Groothoek during the 1980's and 1990's had a wider context in the growing resistance movement in South Africa against the ruling Government,[14] a situation which in itself was part of the process of decolonisation all over the continent of Africa. Massive protest meetings and clashes with police and army took place in urban areas like

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[8] M.J. Mhlongo, 2004*.

[9] NPA: 1942#, 21/06/1918.

[10] NAP: 1/RMD: "District Headmen 1901-1942": 09/06/1926#.

[11] Nxamalala Mkhize ruled as acting chief from 1925 until 1939.

[12] B. Sithole, 2002*.

[13] D. Mkhize, 2003*.

[14] About the violence in KwaZulu-Natal by the end of the 1990's, C. de Kock & C. Schutte (1998, p.79) wrote: "The violence in KwaZulu-Natal may be partly related to political competition and a continuing perception that the present government has little legitimacy. In the past the government may have been perceived to be non-legitimate because it established and maintained apartheid and all its structures. At present the government may be perceived as being non-legitimate as it does not fully represent the political will of the all the people of KwaZulu-Natal."

Sharpville (1960), Soweto (1976), Durban (1960, 1984), Cape Town (1982) and around Johannesburg (1984). It is questionable whether people in rural areas understood, let alone approved what was going on in the big cities.[15] Yet, the spiral of violence effected both rural and urban areas. In 1985, the Government, in need of more stringent measures to stay in control, imposed the state of emergency in 36 of South Africa's 260 magisterial districts and in June1986, a nationwide state of emergency was imposed.[16]

One of the factors causing tension in urban areas, was the need for land for the growing townships and the position of township councils. In 1985, violence broke out in kwaMashu and eMlazi, fast developing townships near Durban. Both township councils were backed by the 'Inkatha National Cultural Liberation Movement' and since 1990, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), but they were fiercely opposed by the 'United Democratic Front' (UDF), "a broad grouping of more than 500 anti-apartheid organisations that played a crucial role in mobilising internal resistance to apartheid."[17] The UDF accused the township councils of opposition against the resistance movement and of collaboration with the government.[18] It blamed the councils for denying people free access to the townships and for organising vigilante groups to maintain their control.[19]

During the 1950's, in rural areas, the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 had caused an influx of mostly impoverished people. During the 1980's, the relaxation of the Act encouraged mostly young, enterprising people to leave rural areas, leaving a residue population behind. Moreover, especially after the promulgation of the Abolition of Influx Control Act of 1986, repealing the former pass laws, whole families moved into urban areas. In urban areas, the accelerated process of urbanization led to overpopulation and tension.[20] In rural areas, the emigration led to destabilisation and to the erosion of the powers of traditional authorities, around 1990, escalating into violent conflicts, which were quickly politicized, leaving the impression that the violence had spread from urban to rural areas.[21] In reality, the violence in

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[15] L. Ngcobo, 1981.

[16] B.J. Barker, 1994, pp.482, 487.

[17] N. Naidoo, 2003. In 1990, the 'Inkatha National Cultural Liberation Movement', established in 1975, was transformed into a political party, the 'Inkatha Freedom Party'. The 'United Democratic Front', established on 20th August 1983, functioned as a front organisation of the 'African National Congress' (ANC) until the ANC was unbanned in 1990.

[18] M. Zondi, 1990.

[19] H. Gwala, 1990.

[20] The conflicts in the townships around urban centres were severed by the rights claimed by hostel dwellers, who saw themselves as 'insiders', but denied by township residents, who saw the hostel dwellers as 'outsiders': "Conflict... centres around scares resources, for example leisure facilities, but it is over land that most bitterness has arisen" (M. Ramphele, 1933, p.86); for a recent description of township life see J. Dlamini, 2009.

[21] Rev. J. Vonkeman about the inherent dynamics of rural violence around 1990 and its transition to political violence: "In die algemeen kan nie gesê word dat politieke twiste en haat die tragedie van die gevegte veroorsaak het nie. Veeleer was dit die verkrummeling van gesag wat klein begin en toe uitgekring het tot 'n ramp. Wel het politieke leiers en avonturiers later dankbaar gebruik gemaak van die totale ontreddering" (Die Redakteur, 2007, p.14). Other writers analysed the political violence in rural areas as secondary to the urban violence, so C. Rickard (1991): "1990 saw the violence spread to rural areas and communities adjacent to white towns"; and S. Stavrou (1990): "The ANC is busy establishing itself in these settlements."

rural areas had its own dynamics. For years rural people had been forced to travel between their homelands (*emakhaya*) and the cities (*emadolobheni*) to look for work, challenging the Group Areas Act with their 'illegal' migrations and settlements.[22] Rather suddenly, many of the migrant labourers no longer returned home. An accelerated process of urbanisation drained rural areas of a significant part of their population. The rural areas were left behind in poverty, unemployment and disillusionment. It has been estimated that, during the end of the 1980's, "93 percent of the country's poor were in rural areas ... and that almost 9-million people in the 'homelands' were living below the breadline."[23]

During the early 1990's, not only the government lost its grip in huge parts of the country but also tribal authorities in rural areas lost control.[24] In the growing power vacuum, attempts were made to revitalize old power structures or to establish new ones. This process got increasingly violent and politicized in the run up to the first general democratic elections in 1994, especially in KwaZulu-Natal[25] and in Gauteng. One of the central issues between the main

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[22] J. Kane-Berman, 1990.

[23] B.J. Barker, 1994, p.486.

[24] A. Minnaar (1998, p.28): "The ongoing state of flux in the position of traditional leaders ... has continued to be a significant cause of tension in KwaZulu-Natal... Essentially the conflicts centre around the powers of traditional leaders in rural areas." In general, C. de Cock & others (1998, p.75) point at "The draining away of the moderate (stabilizing) elements in a society through polarization and emigration" as one of the main causes of violence in society; compare R.J. Terchek, 1984. J. Vonkeman (RMA: 1990b#) about rural violence: "Het heeft te maken met het wegvallen van traditionele gezagsstructuren. In welke leemte geen andere vormen van gezag zijn gekomen."

[25] There is no agreement about the total number of unrest related deaths in South Africa around the year 1990. According to H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga (2007, p.397): "There were some 20 000 political fatalities between 1984 and 1994, 70% of them between February 1990 and April 1994. Between 14 000 and 16 000 of the 20 500 fatalities involved clashes between supporters of different predominantly black organisations, mostly between supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and those of the ANC." According to D. Oakes (1994, p.485) the following numbers were recorded for 1984 and 1985: 149 and 824 unrest related deaths. Informally for this research collected statistics for the period 1986 until 1992 show a major peak in the number of unrest related deaths in KwaZulu-Natal during the year 1990. The statistics given by A. Minnaar & others (1998, p.18) for the years 1990 until 1995 show a second major peak in 1993.

1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	
149	824											(D. Oakes, 1994, p.485)
			451	912	1279	1811	1056	1187				(informal)
						1685	1057	1430	2009	1603	830	(A. Minnaar, 1998, p.18)

The two major peaks are interpreted here as a conformation of a double focus of the violence: from a fight against (traditional and government) authorities during the 1880's it turned into a struggle between political parties for power around 1993. Minnaar & others (1998, pp.17, 19) interpret the violence predominantly as the result of a political strive for power and remarks about the two peaks: "The 1990 figure was in part due to the so-called Seven Days' War in March 1990 [in Pietermaritzburg] and the forced recruitment campaign [the ANC being unbanned in February 1990, the IFP launched in July 1990] ... The increase in deaths in April 1993 was partly due to the tension engendered by the assassination of Chris Hani ... and the refusal of a number of political parties ... to take part in the elections [in April 1994]."

About the 'Seven Days War', M. Mchunu (2009) states: "[On 27th March 1990,] attacks started on non-Inkatha areas in Vulindlela, Edendale, Ashdown and Imbali [west of Pietermaritzburg]. A large number of people are wounded. As many as 12 000 impi members attack a number of areas... They appear to have logistic support and large lorries are seen ferrying platoons of armed men, including people in blue special constable overalls... unhindered by the police or army (which are present in full force)."

political opponents the UDF (the ANC since 1990) on the one hand and the IFP on the other hand, was the control over townships around urban centres. The IFP opposed the transfer of authority over land from the *amakhosi* to the municipalities: "An *inkosi* without land is no *inkosi*."[26] For the UDF and ANC the integration of townships in municipalities was a major aim. For example Sifiso Nkabinde, ANC chairman in Richmond and Member of Parliament, declared during a mass action on 11th February 1995 about the townships kwaMagoda, eNdaleni and eSimozomeni: "We will not rest until these (tribal) areas are included in Richmond."[27]

7.4 Richmond District

The Richmond District in (KwaZulu-)Natal, especially the townships kwaMagoda, eNdaleni and eSimozomeni southwest of the Richmond Village, was one of the areas that suffered severely from the violence during the 1980's and 1990's. Until around 1990, the townships were under tribal authority but, during the 1980's, this authority was more and more challenged.[28] Around 1990, several clashes eroded the power of the local tribal authorities and left more than 600 people dead. Around Easter 1989, inhabitants of kwaMagoda, backed by Inkatha, clashed with inhabitants of eNdaleni, backed by the UDF, causing many people from both townships to flee from the area. After its unbanning in 1990, the ANC firmly established itself in kwaMagoda, eNdaleni and eSimozomeni. In 1991, a massive attack on kwaMagoda caused over 3000 people to look for refuge in the Richmond Village. Many never returned. In 1992, Chief Majozi left. Several of his councillors were killed. The IFP stayed in control of the neighbouring townships eSitebhisini, eMkhobeni and ePhatheni.

The struggle for alternative power structures in the Richmond townships, got a new dimension when, shortly before the general elections in 1994, a rift became evident in the ANC leadership and when, in 1997, Sifiso Nkabinde lost his position as an ANC leader in eNdaleni. Nkabinde joined the newly formed United Democratic Movement (UDM) in kwaMagoda.[29] The violence between the two townships eNdaleni and kwaMagoda continued until Nkabinde was murdered on 23rd January 1999.[30]

Around 1990, violence broke out also in the southeastern corner of the Richmond District, in the Trust Farm Groothoek. During the end of the1980's, tension had built up beyond the control of the tribal authorities. For many of the inhabitants, violence had become more and more acceptable and unavoidable. Well remembered are initial small incidents, for example the humiliation of an old man, Phumowakhe Cele, who in 1983 was publicly hit by a youngster,

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[26] Quotation from David Ntombela, induna of KwaMncane in Elandskop and Member of Parliament for the IFP, in L. Kaunda, 1995a; see also M. Kentridge, 1990.

[27] L. Kaunda, 1995b.

[28] B. Oomen (2005, p.198) refers to "the 1980s youth revolt against the older order, in which traditional leaders were chased, their houses burnt down and their role as 'puppets of apartheid' ridiculed."

[29] About the 1993 rift within the Richmond ANC, see A. Ragavaloo, 2008, p.18-27. In 1997, the political party 'United Democratic Movement' (UDM) was formed by Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer as an alternative for the African National Congress and the National Party. When Sifiso Nkabinde joined the UDM leadership most people of kwaMagoda became members of the UDM.

[30] RMA: 1999a#.

Sigaxana Dlamini. Finally, a spark between a boy and a girl triggered a first massive outburst of violence in the eNkumane Area.

7.5 Depopulation Violence in eNkumane (1982 - 1988)

As the story is told, in 1982 Nikeziwe Kunene, a girl from kwaBomlandi on the southern banks of the uMkhomazi, fell in love with Sibizo Cele, a boy from eMahlalini, on the opposite side of the river. The fact deeply shocked February Ngobese, a boy from kwaNompofane. Probably unaware of the consequences for their home area, the rivalling boys clashed in Johannesburg, where both of them held jobs.

The areas of kwaBomlandi, eMahlalini and kwaNompofane together formed the western part of the Trust Farm Groothoek. During the 1980's, the Trust Farm shared the fate of many rural areas: poverty, unemployment, inflation and the emigration of men and youth looking for jobs in cities such as Durban and Johannesburg. On the Trust Farm, an unprotected residue population was left behind with a majority of old people, women and small children and a minority of farm and forest labourers, unemployed youth and adults. The depopulation had an immediate impact on, for example, the Lower Primary School in kwaNompofane. Counting up to 50 pupils in the 1970's, it had to be closed during the mid-eighties. The local missionary wrote in November 1988: “As modern developments reach the extremes of the world, less and less people want to stay in places like Nompofane.”[31] Probably, these ‘modern developments’ included the process of urbanisation that took place all over Africa in the second half of the 20th century but had been slowed down in South Africa by the governmental policy of segregation. During the course of the 1980's, the segregation laws which had caused people to stay in rural places such as kwaBomlandi, eMahlalini and kwaNompofane were no longer enforced (par.7.3). Enterprising people moved out and a process of depopulation caused growing instability, tension and uncertainty among those who were left behind.

In 1987, the situation in eNkumane changed for the worse by a second incident involving a girl and two boys. According to the story, this time it was a boy from eMahlalini, Lindo Ndlovu, who was rejected by a girl, Maneke Mkhize, who fell in love with a boy from kwaNompofane, Alfred Dlamini, a close relative of February Ngobese. Alfred Dlamini was intimidated by youth from eMahlalini and fled from the area. In retaliation, the youth from kwaNompofane attacked the youth from eMahlalini. The attack was followed by several clashes between youth from both areas. Most of these clashes took place around the central cow dip in Groot Hoek, where they had to bring their families’ cattle for regular tick treatment. In December 1987, after one of the boys from kwaNompofane was almost killed, the local *induna* called in the police, who failed to get a grip on the situation.

7.6 First Outburst (1988-1989)

In 1988, the situation exploded in a fierce fight. In January that year, Amos Dlamini

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[31] RMA: 1988#, p.2: “Namate die moderne ontwikkelinge van ons tyd die uiterstes van die aarde begin aanraak, wil steeds minder mense op plekke soos Nompofane bly.”

(par.6.4) from kwaNompofane, a councillor (*ikhansela*) of *inkosi* Moyeni Mkhize, had delivered an official *inkosi*'s letter to Phumowakhe Cele in eMahlalini (par.6.3 and 6.6). The letter ordered Cele to control his youth, or to leave the area. The fact that the letter was not delivered by the tribal messenger, *iphoyisa lenkosi* Sithole, but by *ikhansela lenkosi* Dlamini was illustrative of the importance and complexity of the situation. Some think the letter was delivered by Dlamini because he was an old and respected man, whose visit would have more impact than one by the *iphoyisa lenkosi*. Others think that Dlamini himself had urged *inkosi* Mkhize to write the letter. Some remember that Amos Dlamini had visited *inkosi* Mkhize, together with *induna* Ndodo Mkhize, to discuss the situation. Anyhow, Dlamini was not seen as a neutral person in the conflict. He was a leader in the Reformed Church and the grandfather of many youth from kwaNompofane, who were involved in clashes with youth from eMahlalini. Moreover, he had been actively involved in the process of appointing and inaugurating *inkosi* Moyeni Mkhize in 1980, whose predecessor, acting chief Mbana Mkhize, had died in 1976.

On the other hand, the receiver of the official tribal authority's letter, Phumowakhe Cele, was a traditional *inyanga*. He was the head of one of the largest families in the area, his homestead counted six big hutsand he was unofficially seen as the leader of the people in eMahlalini. He left the *inkosi*'s letter unanswered.

Almost half a year later, in June 1988, one of Phumowakhe Cele's grandsons was killed. When he arrived by bus in eMachobeni, the bus terminus on the border with Groot Hoek, the boy was taken from the bus by force and killed. The incident was followed by several new clashes between youth of both areas, until, on Christmas evening 24th December 1988, an attack by 30 to 40 youngsters was launched on Amos Dlamini's homestead.[32] At this stage, already many people afraid of nightly attacks used to sleep outside their houses. However because of heavy rainfall during the Christmas period, that night, people stayed at home. The attackers first killed Johannes Dlamini, one of Amos' sons, before finding Amos Dlamini himself. The 70 year old man awaited his attackers quietly. When they entered his hut, he asked them permission to kneel and pray. After he had finished his prayer, he was killed with an axe.

On the following day, 25th December 1988, another day of bad weather and strong winds, three more people were killed. In eSigangeni (Groot Hoek), a boy from kwaMagoda was killed, probably, because he had friends in eMahlalini. During the afternoon of the same day, two men were killed on their way down to their homesteads in eMahlalini, Ngungu Mchunu and Kaweni Shange. The same afternoon, boys from both sides clashed in an open confrontation. The matter was reported by the *induna* to the police in Richmond. Some people fled from the area, others looked for shelter in the Mission Post, permanently or only during the nights.

7.7 Second Outburst (1989)

In June 1989, violence flared up again. Another youngster from eMahlalini, member of the Cele family, was forced from the bus coming from Richmond and killed on the spot. During one of the nightly attacks following this incedent, Phumowakhe Cele's homestead in eMahlalini

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[32] RMA: 1989a#, p.1; by mistake, J. Vonkeman (RMA: 1990a#, p.4) gives "Christmas 1989" (instead of Christmas 1988) as the date of the attack.

was completely destroyed by fire. Subsequently, in August that year on a Friday evening, Jubhili Mkhize's bus 'iGugu' coming from Isipingo was waylaid in eMachobeni. Three of its passengers were assaulted with knives, one of them killed, bringing the total number of victims of the violence to about 10 to 15. The police, informed about the case by the *induna*, were unable to deal with it as no witnesses were found.[33]

On Friday 13th October 1989, the Primary School in eMahlalini closed for what proved to be the last time. The next Sunday, Sigaxana Dlamini, who had defected from eMahlalini and joined the people in kwaNompofane (par.7.4), was beheaded and his head displayed on a fence post in kwaNompofane. The following day, Jubhili Mkize's bus was waylaid again, this time about five kilometres before its terminus in eMachobeni. Fortunately for Jubhili Mkhize, his bus had a breakdown but, instead, the minibus of Bhali Dlamini was halted and the driver killed by a bullet that also killed the person sitting on his lefthand side. During the following days, the remaining houses in eMahlalini were destroyed and ransacked and its inhabitants definitely left the Trust Farm Groothoek. The fights continued during the following months, but were concentrated mainly in eMachobeni, on the northern border of Groothoek, the terminus for buses and minibuses. By the end of the year, the number of victims was estimated at 25 to 30.[34]

Early in the morning on 1st January 1990, five Richmond police officers, informed about new gang activities, arrived in eNkumane in heavy mist.[35] As the road down to eMahlalini and kwaNompofane was too muddy, they left their car at the Mission Post and walked down. Suddenly, out of the mist they were confronted with an *impi* of 'over 100 men', making their way up. While the *impi*, carrying traditional weapons like spears, shields and knobkerries, was disarmed and the mist cleared, another *impi* of "over 100 men" was seen climbing up to the road. Also that *impi* was disarmed. Four men were arrested and all weapons confiscated. The next day, a peace meeting was held at the Mission Post.

7.8 Third Outburst (1990)

In the course of 1990, violence flared up again, but it seemed to have lost direction. Most attacks were launched from outside the area and were concentrated on eMachobeni. The attackers used to arrive by minibus and often aimed at the killing and stealing of cattle. It has been estimated that at least 35 head of cattle died during this year. The people of eMachobeni, accused of hiding stolen calves, became actively involved in the fighting.

In February 1990, a man of about 90 years, Nhlakomuzi Mkhize (par. 4.7), was killed. He used to sleep inside the Reformed Mission Post, as he was afraid to sleep at home. Coming back home early one morning, he found a boy steeling his goats. Accused of theft by Nhlakomuzi Mkhize, the boy turned around and killed the old man. In April 1990, a man from Nompofane was killed at eMachobeni, followed by new fights, robberies and house burnings during the months May and June, costing at least one boy, Banyaza, his life. On 14th July 1990, the Richmond Police was informed about yet another fight going on in eMachobeni. A police officer

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[33] RMA: 1989b#, p.1.

[34] RMA: 1990a#.

[35] J. du Plessis, 2003*.

A pamphlet distributed in 1993 in eNkumane (researcher's translation in English):

A.N.C. Inkumane.Exile.Com	ANC Inkumane Exile Com(mittee)
P.O. Exile	P.O. Exile
Durban	Durban
4000	4000
Sicela:	We ask:
Umnikelo njengoba sibuyela emakhaya eNhlazuka Iminikelo iyonikezwa uCode. Mhlabunzima Mbele	A gift, because we return home in eNhlazuka. The gifts will be given to Co(mra)de Mhlabunzima Mbhele
Siyabonga kakhulu yithi cdes Exile	We are very thankfull undersigned c(omra)des (in/from) Exile

came out with an army division. They clashed with the fighters in eMachobeni and chased them down to eMahlalini, where some of the fighters managed to escape across the uMkhomazi River, leaving behind at least 15 others 'killed by the army'. The total number of victims, killed in the violence had accumulated to about 45 or 50.[36]

7.9 Changing Violence (the 1990's)

The year 1990 marked major changes in the history of Southern Africa as a whole. Namibia gained independence, political prisoners were released (including Nelson Mandela on 11th February), political parties were unbanned, political exiles returned and ANC leaders started negotiations with the Government. The year 1990 was also a year of violence: the massacre in Sobokeng near Johannesburg on 26th March, the escalation of the violence in townships near Pietermaritzburg since 1987, resulting in the so called 'Seven Days War' from 25th March until 31st March 1990,[37] the revolts in the homelands Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda and revelations about violent actions by South African Police units.

The people of eNkumane enjoyed a relatively peaceful period during the early 1990's, but news was coming in about violence in the southwestern part of the Richmond District and on certain days smoke of burning huts in eSimozomeni could be seen from eNkumane. Some people evacuated from the townships near Richmond and settled in eNkumane. But also here violence might flare-up at any time. People kept on looking for *intelezi*, traditional medicines that might make them invulnerable to bullets.

When violence afflicted eNkumane again during the 1990's, it was somehow related to the violence during the 1980's but its character had changed. Like elsewhere in South Africa, the

[36] RMA: 1990b#.

[37] L. Levine, 2000; according to S. McLoughing (2000), "... the Seven Days War ... raged in the Edendale Valley [west of Pietermaritzburg] from March 25 to March 31 in 1990. A hundred people died, 20 000 fled their homes."

Dream by a 25 years old man in eNkumane (recorded on 10/04/1991):

I dreamed that I was somewhere. I don't know where. There was a house and I wanted to enter. But as soon as I entered, I noticed two armed men in the house, on both sides of the door. As soon as I entered, the men drew near to me. Immediately, I stepped back. Also the men stepped back. Again, I tried to enter the house, and again the men came on to me.
I turned around and the men followed me. I tried to run away as hard as possible, but the men ran faster and caught up with me. I looked for a place to hide, but there was nothing in sight no tree, no shrub, no house, nothing. Even the grass was not high enough to hide in.
I fell on the ground and started to pray: "Father, father ..." As soon as I started to pray, a sharp light appeared. It was so dazzling that my pursuers could not find me.
This was my dream.

violence during the early 1990's was characterized by the following elements.[38] In the first place, the violence often took the form of attacks and ambushes with pangas, axes, spears, knives and guns targeted at seemingly arbitrary victims. Secondly, many attacks were launched from outside the victims' area. Thirdly, people turned to political parties for protection. And in the fourth place, the role of the South African Police became unclear.

During the year 1993, men from eNkumane decided to send a delegation to the ANC office in Richmond, to talk about the growing tensions in the area. Shortly afterwards, a group of about 15 comrades arrived in eMachobeni. Most of them were born in the area. They settled as vigilantes in the deserted 'Mafomane Shop' in eMachobeni, on the side of the road to eNkumane. On the walls of the shop slogans were painted like 'Viva ANC'. Although their intentions were not so clear, in private talks, the comrades explained that they were there to protect and develop the area. The leader of the group was Mhlabunzima Mbhele, a man from eSimozomeni, who had worked as a technical assistant at the Reformed Mission Post in eNkumane from 1989 to 1992.

What upset the people in eNkumane was that the comrades asked for food and protection money (in units of 20 rand per homestead). And what upset them even more, was that nightly attacks continued in eNkumane. The area was afflicted by stock theft, rapes, robberies and the Mission Post was again used as a hiding place during the nights. Several men from eNkumane decided to send a new delegation, this time to the IFP in ePhatheni. Paulos Vezi, chairman of the IFP in the Richmond District, visited eNkumane and promised to assist its inhabitants.

In February 1994, more than a month before the first general democratic elections in South Africa, a community meeting was held in the Inkumane High School, attended by representatives of ANC and IFP, including Sifiso Nkabinde and Paulos Vezi. During the meeting it was announced that the vigilantes would withdraw from the Mafomane Shop and leave the area.

For younger interviewees (around 20 years old), the history of eNkumane starts in the

[38] Writing with an urban perspective, A. Minnaar & others (1998, p.13-14) remark about the difference between the violence during the 1980's and 1990's: "Prior to 1990, conflict and violence in South Africa were driven by township residents' opposition to apartheid. The 'struggle' centred around action against the state in adherence to calls by unbanned organizations to make the townships ungovernable... In contrast to the 1980s the conflict and violence in the 1990s was different in that much of it occurred between political parties and largely to the exclusion of security forces." During the 1990's, the violence was marked by "indiscriminate massacres... political assassinations... intimidatory attacks by... so called self-defence units (SDUs), revenge attacks and... 'warlordism'."

1990's. The concept 'Trust Farm Groothoek' has no reference for them and apparently they have not been informed about events before 1990. Most of them do not remember people living in eMahlalini and kwaNompofane but they do remember the vigilantes in eMachobeni, the attacks, the demands for protection money, the closure of the schools in 1995 and the reopening of a temporary school at the Reformed Mission Post, where they got tea and biscuits during the morning breaks.

7.10 Burning Issues around 1994

Around the first general democratic elections in South Africa, from Wednesday 27th until Friday 29th April 1994, a fourth period of violence took place lasting until the end of 1995. On a national level, the ANC won the elections but on a provincial level, in KwaZulu-Natal, the IFP got most of the votes. The IFP support was mostly from rural areas but, in eNkumane, supporters of both political parties were represented, because the inhabitants of eNkumane had alternatively turned to both the ANC and to the IFP for support (par.7.9).

During the years 1994 and 1995, several peace talks were organized in eNkumane in order to restore peace and authority in the area. Most talks were held in the Inkumane High School, some talks at the Reformed Mission Post. The Mission was never invited to take part in the discussions. Amongst the issues which were addressed, the following three were probably the most important.

In the first place, eNkumane was divided among different political parties, which for some leaders was difficult to accept and seen as a cause of the ongoing violence, as one of them said: "How can different bulls stay in the same kraal?"[39]

A second point of division was the question, whether the people of eMahlalini should be allowed to return to the area or not. By some they were seen as a major threat for peace.

A third issue was the question of development in the area. In 1994, South Africa had chosen a new government but at the same time all land in eNkumane was placed under the newly established 'Ngonyama Trust'.[40] The community had not been consulted in this land deal and it had become unclear how any development in the area could take place when the inhabitants were not the owners of their land.

During the peace talks, several attempts were made to come to some sort of consensus but often the meetings were followed by violent attacks in the area causing envy and jeopardizing the agreements made.

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[39] "*Zingahlala kanjani izinkunzi ezimbili esibayeni esisodwa na*?" C.L.S. Nyembezi (1963, p.173) mentions the comparable proverb: "*Akukho zinkunzi zahlala* [or: *zadla*] *ndawonye* (No bulls ever stayed [or: grazed] together). Bulls fight whenever confined together. They have to be separated. Similarly, people cannot work smoothly together if both want to be masters."

[40] On 25th April 1994, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly created the 'Ngonyama Trust' as the owner of all former tribal areas in KwaZulu and Government Trust Farms in Natal. The Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, became the only Trustee. By the creation of the 'Ngonyama Trust', the Zulu Tribal Authorities remained in charge over the land owned by the Trust. The creation of the Trust, was a concession to the IFP, which party insisted on the land deal as a condition to involve the party in the General Elections of 1994. Some political leaders saw the land deal as a hindrance for development, and looked for ways to guarantee private ownership; see par.11.11.

7.11 Fourth Outburst (1994 - 1995)

On Friday 22nd April 1994, less than a week before the General Elections, a peace meeting was held in eMachobeni. The next day, the meeting was followed by a nightly attack on a Njilo homestead in kwaNompofane.

During the election period, 27th until 29th April 1994, the Mqolombeni Primary School was used as the voting station in eNkumane, supervised by police and by international observers. On Friday, the last day of the elections, a peace meeting was held in the Inkumane High School. During this meeting, it was agreed that all people who had fled eMachobeni, eNkumane and kwaNompofane might return to the area. In practice, nobody made use of this opportunity, except the vigilantes in the Mafomane Shop in eMachobeni. In the course of the year 1997, their slogans on the walls of the former shop changed from 'Viva ANC' to 'Viva UDM', proving their close relationship with the political leadership in kwaMagoda.[41]

On the night of 25th June 1994, Mabhomu Shange, a 60 years old taxidriver, was killed in his house, downstream the uNompofane River. During the following days, all the neighbours left the area.[42] During the night, their houses were ransacked. Attempts to discuss the situation failed, because as was generally said: "It's war" (*Impi ifikile*). It is uncertain why Mabhomu Shange was attacked and killed. Shange, was known as a friendly man who maintained his own minibus service between eNkumane and Durban. In the afternoons, after finishing his return trip to eNkumane, he used to park his taxi inside the Mission Post and walk down to his house, a two hours walk. Some people thought that his death was related to taxi violence in Durban. Others thought it was related to cows which disappeared from eMahlalini, after the owners had left. Some cows were thought be moved to eMachobeni, other cows to eMakhuzeni, on the south side of the uMkhomazi. Shange and maybe his sons were thought to be involved, or at least aware of the cows' fate.

On 18th July 1994, the youth *induna* (*induna yezinsizwa)* from eMachobeni, Mate Mkhize, was killed at the bus rank in Isipingo, near Durban. Like in other cases, nobody claimed the responsibility for the murder. During the end of 1993, Mate Mkhize had evacuated his family from eMachobeni to eNgilanyoni. He was committed to the return of all evacuees, not only those of eMachobeni and kwaNompofane, but also those of eMahlalini. His proposals for the settling of the hostilities and the return of refugees were rejected and apparently, the tribal authorities had lost their grip on the situation. The murder of the youth *induna* triggered the final depopulation of kwaNompofane and eMachobeni.

On Friday night 5th August 1994, a Phungula homestead in eGibinyonga, an area between kwaNompofane and eNkumane, was burned down, raising fears that also eNkumane would become a direct target for the violence. Indeed, early in the morning on Monday 15th August, a gang of about 10 youngsters, armed with guns, moved along the main road through eNkumane, until at about eight o'clock they arrived at the end of the road in eThafeni, at the entrances of the Mqolombeni Primary School and the Reformed Mission Post. As many children were going to

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[41] In 1997 the ANC leadership in eNdaleni joined the United Democratic Movement (UDM); see par.11.11.

[42] Immediately after the murder on Mabhomu Shange, the homesteads of the families Madonda, Mkhize, Shange and Shoba were evacuated.

Memories about violence written in English by Thuli, a 13 years old girl from eNdaleni (recorded in the year 2000; researcher's notes in brackets)

My childhood memories + feelings

My name is Thuli. I am 13 years and I am going to tell you a story about my childhood. It goes back in 1991 when I was 4 years old. I lived in Ndaleni.
When I was 4 years everything was good. I did not know much until people start[ed] killing each other. Our homes were always full of happiness until people's bloods were flowing like river. Then my life changed.
When I woke up in the morning thanking god that we are still alive but never knowing if this was our last look at the world, our last breathing, never knowing if's my last time with my family. I was afraid. I was not happy. I felt like I was already dead, and thought to myself: what the use we are all going to die anyway.
And again it was night time. I was afraid knowing every night we will pack our clothes and take everything that we need. And even some money, so in case when our house get burned we can go to another world. And when it was night we used to go and sleep in our friend's house.
The reason we used to go to sleep in another house was because our house was going to be the second [= next] one to get burned and we will be killed so we moved further down to another house and we would hide the money and our clothes.
Until one morning we woke up my cousin Sihle was going to be born. It was march 29. I was said [= sad] that my cousin was going to born where there is violence. Then my mom said I was to go to P.m.b. [= Pietermaritzburg] with my Aunt. So when she get birth it would be easy to go to the hospital. So when my Aunt is finished birth we can go to my Aunt in Ixopo. We can stay there until the war was finished. I did not want to go. I cried. I was afraid that my family was going to die. My mom was crying too, but she said I must go. So me, my cousin and Aunt wait if [= until it] was quiet. In P.m.b. there was no gun shots.
At night I used to cry thinking of my family what they are doing now. I was lonely, nobody understood me. It was 1995 already and hard[ly] the war was over. We stayed at P.m.b. for 5 years. So my uncle came to fetch us. I was happy. I was 8 years old and my cousin was 5 years old. We use to go to preschool. But we did not stay at P.m.b. for 5 fully years. But my hart knew that if you pray, god your saviour will always be with you if you trust and have faith in him and he will help you. Fighting is not the way to solve a problem.

school around that time, many witnessed the freezing of all movement on the road, without having any clue about the gang's intentions. A red pickup appeared, following the gang. Within close sight, the driver, *induna* Ndodo Mkhize, accelerated and speeded into the Mission Post. There, he asked for the telephone. As the line was dead, he walked back to his car. The gang still waiting at the gate, opened fire. A shoot-out followed between the *induna* and the gang, until the principal of the Mqolombeni Primary School managed to convince the gang to stop the shooting, as the Mission Post was filled with children and old people, who had slept there during the night. The gang moved away. The attack triggered an exodus of eNkumane inhabitants, fearing for their lives, including the *induna*, the *ikhansela lenkosi*, the Trust Farm's agricultural adviser and the teachers at the Primary and the Secondary School. The schools stayed closed for the rest of 1994.

Several attacks on eNkumane people followed. On 27th August 1994, an old man, Mr. Njilo, who had moved from kwaNompofane to ePhatheni, southwest of Richmond, was killed. Early in the morning 2nd October 1994, a tractor with a trailer full of farm labourers from eNkumane was ambushed climbing a steep slope near eMachobeni. Two men, Ngqawini Latha and the tractor driver Richard Ngcongo were killed on the spot. Ngcongo had managed to jump off the tractor and run into the tree plantation but he was followed and shot dead. Afterwards, the suspicion was raised that he had been involved in the looting of deserted houses in eNkumane.

On 18th December 1994, another peace meeting was held in order to stop all

violence in the area. For about two and a half months, no violence was reported, until new attacks took place in March 1995, causing many people to flee the area. Others, afraid to sleep at home, looked for shelter during the nights at the Reformed Mission Post.

During the night on 4th March 1995, a house in eSikheshini, in the centre of eNkumane, was attacked, leaving Mathanda Ngcongo, the owner of a local tuck shop, and one of his daughters dead. Three other family members were wounded.

On 20th March 1995, about six o'clock in the morning, a massive attack was launched targeting several houses in eThafeni. More than 20 attackers, many of them dressed as women, went clock wise around the Mission Post, entering the neighbouring houses. One person was killed, three others wounded and many shocked.[43] Around seven o'clock, most of the attackers assembled on eGibinyonga, where they were picked up by an army helicopter, which had suddenly arrived at the scene. About 18 attackers were transported by the helicopter to the nearby Mqolombeni Primary School from where they were taken out off the area in police vans.

On 12th April 1995, a mobile police post was stationed in eNkumane in the form of a 'Caspir', an armoured police vehicle. During this month, the Red Cross started to help families affected by the violence by issuing food boxes and blankets, especially, to those whose family members had been killed or whose houses had been burned.

On 5th May, another peace meeting was held. The meeting went wrong and panic broke out again. An army division, involved with peace keeping in the Richmond District, started to visit eNkumane. On 12th May, army officers attended a peace meeting and decided that there was no need for a permanent police presence. The police Caspir was withdrawn from the area much to the discontent of the eNkumane people who were left behind in fear and frustration. The Richmond Station Commander asked to explain what was going on, answered that the situation was 'complicated': "Before, it was just faction fights.[44] But now they have brought politics into it."

A last devastating attack took place on the evening of 25th September 1995, around half past seven. On the southern banks of the uMkhomazi River, in eNkweletsheni, a group of armed men burst into the homestead of Mzondeni Ncwane, a tribal councillor (*ikhansela lenkosi*). Twelve people assembled in one of the huts for a prayer meeting were killed, one was wounded and the hut was set alight. Amongst the victims were five family members of Mzondeni Ncwane, Rev. Mandlenkosi Shange of the 'Christian Church in Zion', his wife Ntambiso and their two daughters.[45] The immediate reason was thought to be the loss of a gun, owned by somebody from

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[43] J.Cele,1995a: "The incident took place at about 5:45 am when a group of up to 30 men armed with rifles, handguns and traditional weapons attacked the area. Sifiso Mkhize (25) died after being shot and hacked, while Ngcinama Shange (12) was hacked on the leg, and Qimisile Dlamini and Mebeni Damini (40) suffered head wounds."

[44] The expression 'faction fight', already in use during the 1930's (NPA: CNC 90#), was used throughout the 1980's and early 1990's by the South African Police to mark cases of unrest related violence that received no further investigation. Post mortems were done by the district surgeon, eventually after bodies were exhumed by the police. Subsequently the docket was closed (J. du Plessis, 2003*).

[45] J. Cele, 1995b: the victims were Mashalisa Ncwane (mother;59), and her children Bheki (37), Mbongeni (32) Fikelephi (daughter in law; 25) and Bongiwe (eight months pregnant; 28); Reverend Mandlo Shange and his wife Ntambiso Shange and their children Lindiwe and Balibele (15); Ntombifuthi Mfeka; and three children of a

eNkumane. The gun had been entrusted to a representative of the tribal authority who was not in the area on the day of the attack. In frustration about the untraceable gun, an attack was launched on the homestead of Mzondeni Ncwane, who was thought to be involved with the disappearance of the gun.

By the end of 1995, the total number of victims of the violence in the eNkumane area since 1988 was estimated at 'about hundred', an exact figure was difficult to establish, as several murders took place outside the area.

7.12 Transition into the new South Africa

During the 1980's, many eNkumane people from the inaccessible areas eMahlalini and kwaNompofane, left for urban areas, especially the eMlazi township near Durban. In the past, several families had settled in eMahlalini and kwaNompofane out of need, some during the 1920's as labour tenants (par.6.3) and others during the 1960's as displaced labour tenants from neighbouring farms (par.6.6). When the South African Pass Laws were repealed, many of them left and migrated into urban areas (par.7.3). The emigration out of eMahlalini and kwaNompofane caused tension which triggered open conflicts resulting in a complete depopulation during the 1990's, first of eMahlalini and subsequently, after the murder of youth *induna* Mate Mkhize, of kwaNompofane. The trauma of the violence around 1990 and the fear of further violence, without doubt, contributed to the willingness of many to leave the areas.

Also eMachobeni had been depopulated but after several peace talks during the late 1990's, many of its inhabitants returned and rebuilt their houses. The return of refugees to eMachobeni only, may be explained by the geographical situation. EMahlalini and kwaNompofane are situated in steep inaccessible valleys. EMachobeni, on the other hand, is situated close to the main road and as such more attractive as a living area. In 2002, after the return of its inhabitants, a new primary school was opened in eMachobeni, on the site of the former Mafomane Store.

Other areas such as eSigangeni, eSikheshini and eThafeni, in the higher parts of Groot Hoek, had suffered during the violence, but were not depopulated. Only a few families had moved away. By the end of the 1990's only individual members of the former tenant farmers who had entered the area during the 1930's (par.6.1) remained in eSigangeni. They were no longer identified as a separate group. Furthermore, the difference between 'heirs' and 'dwellers' was no longer relevant. The original social differences and the growing population pressure in the former *Groot Hoek* might have contributed to the violence in the area, but had lost its relevance.

The other more eastern parts of the Trust Farm Groothoek were even less affected by the violence. They had been in use as rural living areas since about 1840 and were less affected by the emigration and by the subsequent violence. After around 1990, the main social differences in the area were more determined by the economic means of the inhabitants and their contacts with

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neighbouring Shezi family: Ntokozo (12), Zana (died in hospital; 10), and Holisile (wounded; the only survivor of the attack); J. Cele, 1995c: "The victims were gunned down at about 7:30 pm as they prayed and blessed a new rondavel which formed part of the Ncwane homestead in the Nkweletsheni area... The victims were all set alight by their attackers... Residents... said the attack was aimed at a man accused of stealing a firearm from the attackers about a month ago. However, the intended victim was not among the dead and is said to be out of the area."

urban areas than by their family origins.

Also the ownership of and the government responsibility for the area had radically changed. In the run-up to the first general elections, the Government had met certain conditions set by the Inkatha Freedom Party, in order to take part in the elections. One of the conditions was, that the ownership of all KwaZulu areas, including the Government Trust Farms, in total about three million hectares of land should be transferred from the South African Native Trust to a newly established 'Ingonyama Trust', of which the Zulu king Goodwill Zwelethini is the only trustee. The 'Ingonyama Act' was passed in parliament in 1994. It included the transfer of Groot Hoek,[46] Dartnell, Qolombene and Inhlazuka View into the Ingonyama Trust. Moreover, in 2002, the eNkumane area was separated from the Umbumbulu Magisterial area and the Government responsibilities were transferred to the Richmond Municipality and the uMgungundlovu District Municipality. ENkumane became part of Ward 5 of the Richmond Municipality and its Ward Councillor had to be chosen in democratic elections.[47] The first elected councillor was Bonginkosi Ngcongo, who represented the eNkumane ward in the Richmond Municipality Council until, in 2002, he became Mayor of Richmond. At the same time, the powers of the Tribal Authority *inkosi* Moyeni Mkize are effectively restricted to matters of mediation that are voluntarily brought to his attention.

7.13 Lasting Traumas

Since 1994, the people in eNkumane seem to be increasingly involved in contacts with urban areas such as Durban. They are part of wider webs of contacts of which, at least in theory, their homesteads are the important centres. In practice, they hardly hold any expectations for their own rural area unless development is brought from outside. The rather negative expectations the inhabitants hold towards their area, can partly be traced to the traumatic events in the 1990's. The violence stopped in the area but the scars left by the traumatic experiences have never been dealt with.[48] Individual murders in eNkumane around the turn of the century revived hurtful memories and were the cause of new traumas. Some of the new perpetrators grew up in the area during the 1980's and 1990's. The reasons why their victims had to die are unclear.[49] Well remembered cases are the violent deaths of Sibho Nxele, in 1988, the father of a young family (par.6.6), of Mrs. Gladys MaNkomose Mkhize, in 1977, a 57 year old mother, of Jeremy Schleier in

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[46] TOP: 11508/1994#.

[47] As the outcome of the local government demarcation process in the late 1990s resulting in the local government elections on 5th December 2000, Ward 5 of the Richmond Municipality consists of St Bernard Mission, eNkumane, eNhlazuka, Strehla/Amandus Hill and Durslade.

[48] The violence continued in the western part of the Richmond District; see par.11.11.

[49] J. Steinberg (2008, p.469) suggests that much of the violence in rural areas during the last decades of the 20th century can be explained as the result of a clash between the experiences of rural youth as labourers and job seekers in urban situations, and the traditional power structures in their rural homes: "They brought back to their ancestral homes both the political aggressiveness and the personal stubbornness of the city. They were not going to abide by the old... paternalism. They were going to grab what they could."

Inkooman in 2001, of *induna* Fano Ngcongo in eMbuthisweni (Umlazi) in 2003,[50] and of Mhlabunzima Mbhele (par.7.9) in 2003.[51] All of them were killed by bullets in execution style murders. The murder of Jeremy Schleier is an example of the lasting frustrations in the area.

On 11th July 2001, at about nine o'clock in the evening, Jeremy Schleier, the manager of the tree plantation company Masonite, was phoned about a fire in the forest in Inkooman. Schleier left his house 'Solitude', the former farmhouse of Madokozo (Arthur Cockburn; par.7.1). He instructed the fire team on duty to follow him and sped off alone in his pick-up. About ten minutes later, he arrived in Inkooman and started to extinguish the fire on his own. Suddenly, he was addressed by a young man of 18-year-old. Schleier looked to the side and at the same time he was shot in the back of his head. He fell down flat on his face and died.

The way 27 year old Jeremy Schleier was killed, resembles a range of killings all over South Africa around the year 2000. One of them, described by Jonny Steinberg, took place in 1999 about 10 kilometres south of Inkooman, on the other side of the uMkhomazi River:[52]

> "Peter Mitchells was 28 years old when he was shot and killed on the dirt track between his father's farmhouse and his irrigation fields ... Mitchells was shot neatly behind the left ear at short range with a shotgun. The entry wound suggests that he was looking to his right when he was shot. Somebody on the right-hand side of the road must have signalled him to stop. He must have turned to talk when the bullet hit him from the other side of the jeep ... "

In his analysis of the context of the murder of Peter Mitchells, Steinberg made several relevant observations.[53] In the first place, the murder took place in an area under dispute. The area was part of an almost two centuries old community heritage and at the same time it was a private farm since about 120 years. In the second place, the traditional community had been uprooted for about 100 years. "They live strange, transient lives, wandering between town and countryside, but they belong to neither." In the third place, since about the end of the 20th century, the community's youth lacked a clear future. Work had become scarce in urban areas, while at the same time the locations and the farms had no future to offer the youth to start their own families. For many youth the liberation struggle had been their transition from childhood to adulthood: "Suddenly they were men with guns."

The parallel with the murder on Jeremy Schleier is striking. The Masonite 'Solitude Plantation', successor of Arthur Cockburn's farm, is the only big employer in the area. Its Eucalyptus Trees cover the whole area north of eNkumane, including Inkooman, an area under dispute (par.4.10). During the end of the 1990's, several delegations from eNkumane visited Masonite to discuss the rights on Inkooman. But Masonite was not willing to give up the area. On the contrary, it was made clear to the people of eNkumane that they should realise that a

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[50] On 16th April 2003, at his house in eMadotsheni, *induna* Fano Ngcongo was killed execution style (E. Anderson, 2003).

[51] On 10th December 2003, at his house in an informal settlement in Richmond, Mhlabunzima Mbhele was killed execution style (M. Makhanya, 2003).

[52] J. Steinberg, 2002, p.4-5; the identification of Steinberg's 'Midlands' with the eMakhuzeni area is based on personal interviews during the course of this research.

[53] J. Steinberg, 2002, pp.62, 68 and 120.

peaceful co-existence between the plantation and the community was indicated. To prove its goodwill, Masonite started different development projects in the area and employed Jeremy Schleier as the plantation manager. Beyond doubt, Jeremy was one of the most friendly managers Solitude had seen and he was given the honourable Zulu-name *Manyenyeza* (he-who-speaks-softly). After the execution style killing, Masonite stopped all development projects in the area.

The two 18 years old assassins were brought to court. They pleaded not guilty to murder, but described the case as a robbery. After they shot him they panicked and fled without the vehicle. The boys were sentenced to life imprisonment for the killing and to ten years for robbery. But as Jeremy's parents remarked in a letter to the Reformed Mission: "The tragedy would not end there as further lives would be wasted with the perpetrators, justly spending life sentences in prison and facing the consequences in eternity."[54]

[54] RMA: 2002a#.

Chapter 8: ENkumane today

8.1 Community

Generally, traditional societies along the east coast of South Africa were organized according to a similar pattern: "The Nguni society consisted of homesteads or 'villages', thinly spread over vast areas of hills and valleys. These communities were held together as chiefdoms under independent chiefs and varied greatly in size from 1,000 to 35,000 [people]."[1] According to the same pattern, at present, the former farm Groot Hoek is covered with about 250 homesteads (*imizi*), consisting of minimally one to maximally 15 huts (*izindlu*), a cattle kraal (*isibaya*) and a surrounding, or partly surrounding field (*insimu*). In the main, each homestead forms the living area of about ten people, with a minority of men and youth, as many of them are working in far-off cities such as Durban.

ENkumane is part of Ward 5 of the Richmond Municipality and at the same time it falls under the Vumukwenza Tribal Authority, at present led by *inkosi* Moyeni Philemon Mkhize who, soon after his inauguration in 1980, moved the centre of the Vumukwenza Tribal Authority from eZulwini at the banks of the uMkhomazi River to eMbuthisweni (Umlazi). Here, he has his own court for matters brought to his attention and he organizes once in several years a prayer meeting. Locally the *inkosi* is represented in eNkumane by *induna* Bhekomuzi Sithole.

Funerals (*imigcwabo*) and traditional feasts (*amacece*) surrounding birth, marriage and death form the centre of the social life in the community[2]. For these occasions a certain family takes the initiative to invite relatives and neighbours. Unfortunately, according to interviewees, feasts may also lead to conflicts, especially when huge amounts of beer are consumed. Traditionally, beer was prepared by women and offered to married men only. However, at present, beer is freely available in shops also for youngsters. Regularly, the consummation of beer turns 'friendly' fights with traditional shields and sticks into uncontrollable bloody incidents.

Other opportunities for regular interaction between members of the community are formed by the monthly 'pension days' and by the 'mobile clinic days'. On these days, a Government mobile pay point or mobile clinic visits eNkumane. Irregular occasions where members of the community come together are the meetings (*imibizo*) called together by the *inkosi* or local *induna* and on a smaller scale, prayer meetings (*imithandazo*) organized in a certain homestead attended especially by women. In the community, several committees and clubs are active, often with a low profile, for example, school committees and saving clubs.[3]

8.2 Family Feasts

Family feasts can be divided into three groups: two feasts following birth, three feasts

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[1] B. Sundkler & C. Steel (2000, p.344) about amaXhosa, amaZulu and amaSwazi.

[2] B. Sithole, 2003*.

[3] A special, rather popular form of saving clubs are the stockvel clubs collecting money for the yearly purchase of groceries around Christmas.

Traditional family feasts

Family feasts following birth:

a. ukuphucela: around three months after birth, the abstinence period for the mother ends, the child's head is shaved and it gets two ropes (*amaphucelo*), one around its waist and one with a leather vial around its neck;

b. umbeleko: around one year after its birth, the child is presented to its ancestors; a goat is slaughtered and the child gets its first protective bracelets of goat skin (*imibeleko*).

Family feasts around the transgression from girl to married women:

c. *umhlonyane*: the ancestors are asked to look after the girl of about 13 years old; a *umhlonyane* goat is slaughtered;

d. *umemulo*: the ancestors are thanked for their care for the girl entering her twenties; a *umemulo* cow is slaughtered;

e. *umshado nomabo*: the bride is introduced to the ancestors of the groom after completion of the payments of *ilobolo* (the acquisition by the bride's family); three cows from the *ilobolo* are slaughtered: the *isiboma* cow is slaughtered at the homestead of the bride's family (*umshado*); the *undodolo* and a third cow are slaughtered at the homestead of the groom's family (*umabo*); at present, the *umshado* is the more modern part of the festivities and often takes place in a special venue; the *umabo* is the more traditional part of the wedding.

Family feasts following a funeral (par.18.2):

f. *ukuhlamba izandla / ukugeza izitsha*: about three weeks after the burial of a child or four weeks after the burial of an adult, the tools (*izitsha*) used for the burial are cleansed and the main mourner's head is shaved for the second time since the funeral;

g. *ukukhumula:* about three months after the funeral the mourning period ends; the family members take off (*bakhumula*) the mourning signs (*izidwedwe*) such as small pieces of black cloth attached to the upper arm (carried by men) or chest (carried by women) and shoulder covers (*isiphika*; carried by a mother who lost her child); if the deceased was a man, his widow will continue to carry mourning clothes until the *ukubuyisa*;

h. *ukubuyisa*: about a year after the burial, the spirit of the deceased is brought from the grave to the *umsamo*, the place opposite the door of the main hut in the homesteads; on the first day a goat is slaughtered and eaten by the family (*umndeni*); on the second day a cow is slaughtered; on the third day the spirit of the deceased is brought from the grave to the *umsamo*.

marking the transition from girl to married women and three cleaning 'feasts' following a burial. While the feasts following birth and burial are mostly family affairs, the three feasts in a girl's life marking her transition from a girl to a married woman are usually open to the whole community. Traditionally, at her marriage (*umshado*), she moves to the homestead of her in-laws. The marriage is preceded by payment of *ilobolo*, eleven cows and certain gifts donated by the groom and his family to the bride's family, before the groom gets permission of bride's family to marry the daughter. Translated in money, the payments for *ilobolo* to the bride's

Ilobolo, gifts acquired by a bride's family before her marriage, and umendiso, return gifts by the bride's family to the groom's family on the wedding day; an example according to young women in eNkumane (RMA:2004a#):

izibizo (gifts for members of the bride's homestead and for the bride's maiden)

- izingubo nezimbuzi zabafowabo nezodadewabo	- clothes and for each of the bride's brothers and sisters one goat (these goats might be counted as ilobolo cattle at a rate of four goats against one cow; see below)
- isibizo sikababa (isudi nehashi, ibayisikili noma imali)	- a suit and a horse, bicycle, or money for the bride's father
- isibizo / isidwaba sikamakoti	- a dress for the bride
- isibizo / isidwaba sikamakhotshana	- a dress for the bride's maiden
- isibizo sikamkhulu (imbuzi noma isudi noma imali)	- a goat, suit or money for the bride's grandfather

izinyikanyika (gifts for the the bride's grandmothers)

- ibhodwe elincane	- a small cooking pot
- izingubo ezinhlanu	- five dresses
- indishi enommese nosawoti irayishi (10 kg) nofulawa (10kg) noshugela (10kg) namazambana namabhontisi namafutha (25l)	- a basin with a knife, salt, 10 kg rice, 10 kg flower, 10 kg sugar, potatoes, beans and 25 litre cooking oil
- itshali likakhulu nephinifa namaduku amabili	- a shawl, apron and two head kerchiefs

umembeso (gifts for the bride's mother and paternal aunts)

- izimbuzi ezimbili	- two goats
- ibhodwe elikhulu	- a big cooking pot
- indishi enkulu	- a big basin
- imimese	- meat knives
- imbazo	- an axe
- istofu	- a cooking stove
- uparafini	- 25 litre paraffin
- izinkomishi ezingu-12	- 12 cups
- izipuni ezingu-12	- 12 spoons
- isaka lasawoti	- 50 kg salt
- amaphinifa angu-40	- 40 aprons
- izingubo zokulala ezingu-30	- 30 blankets
- ushukela (50kg)	- 50 kg sugar
- amafutha (25l)	- 25 litre cooking oil

amabheka (ilobolo cattle for the bride's family)

- inkomo yokuqala	R.6,000.00	- the first cow for the bride's father
- inkomo kamama (ubikibiki)	R.5,500.00	- the cow for the bride's mother
- inkomo yesibili	R.4,000.00	- the second cow for the bride's father
- ezinye ezintathu	R.3,500.00	- three cows for the bride's father
- ezinye ezinhlanu	R.3,000.00	- five cows for the bride's father

umendiso (return gifts by the bride's family to the groom's family on the wedding day)

- izingubo namacansi angu-30	- 30 blankets and sleeping mats
- umbhede kamkhwenyana	- bed with mattress and linen
- ibhokisi namawodirobhu amabili	- clothes box and two wardrobes
- amathafula nezitulo	- dressing table and eating room table and chairs
- izicephu	- small mats
- ukhamba nesikhetho	- beer pot and beer spoon
- imishayelo	- brooms
- ubhavu	- a metal basin with face cloth, soap, bath towel

family mount up to about R.50,000 rand, a burden many potential grooms fail to carry. As a result many relationships are established without a marriage and many children are born outside of wedlock and raised by their maternal grandparents.

The system of *ilobolo* is beyond doubt and criticism in the community. Some young women, when asked about *ilobolo* during a workshop at the Mission[4], indicated that *ilobolo* is necessary, because "a girl cannot be taken for free" (*intombi ingathatwe mahala*). The only problem they saw, was the size of *ilobolo*, which might be reduced, for example when female relatives of the bride refrain from requesting excessive gifts.

8.3 Community Meetings

Now and then, special community meetings (*imibizo*) are organized by *inkosi* Moyeni Mkhize or by the local *induna* Bhekomuzi Sithole to discuss affairs which affect the community as a whole. Normally, these meetings take place at the Inkumane High School or at the homestead of the *inkosi* in eMbuthisweni.

Regular meetings of the eNkumane community, attended by the *induna*, take place on pension days. On these days, normally the first working day of the month, inside the premises of the Reformed Mission Post, Government grants are paid out by a mobile pay point,[5] while outside the gates of the Mission Post an informal market is laid out. The pensions are the main source of income for many families. Afraid that their money might get stolen, many pensioners use their money as soon as possible. Before the mobile pay points arrive, the opportunity is used by the *induna* to address those who are present about certain topics. At the market outside the gates, local people and merchants who move from pension pay point to pension pay point sell items such as household utensils, clothes, blankets, reed mats, chicken and meat.

Every first Tuesday of the month a mobile clinic of the Department of Health visits eNkumane at the Reformed Mission Post. These occasions, coordinated by the local Community Health Workers, form another opportunity for interaction between the members of the community.

Finally, prayer meetings at the local homesteads are opportunities for interaction between the community members. The prayer meetings (par.18.4.1) are attended especially by women. A special prayer meeting, once every few years, is organized by the *inkosi* at his own homestead.

8.4 Poverty and Work

Poverty is a daily reality for most people in eNkumane. Poverty affects the community as a whole and the daily affairs of many families. Common needs, recently addressed by the Government are lack of electricity, proper roads, toilets and clean water. In 2007, electricity was introduced in eNkumane by connecting the local schools to the ESKOM electric grid but hardly

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[4] RMA: 2004#.

[5] Government Grants include Old Age and Disability Grants (R.1,010.00/month in 2009), Foster Grants (R.680.00/month in 2009) and Child Dependency Grants (R.680.00/month in 2009).

anyone can afford a private connection. Since about 2003, the central road in eNkumane, the D1034, is regularly maintained and it has been extended with some side roads. In 2009, all homesteads were helped with the construction of proper drop-toilets. Under development since 2008 is a central water system, which will provide water to taps that are placed at regular distances apart.

Private poverty is felt especially in the need of money for school fees, burials and sometimes, even for daily food. Asked about the causes of poverty, people generally refer to lack of rain and lack of jobs. About 60% of the adult population have no regular jobs. They try to find jobs in cities such as Durban, Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg. Some families have second houses, especially in the townships of Durban, like eMlazi, eFolweni, kwaMashu.

In most eNkumane families, the men are seen by the women as responsible for the family affairs. According to the women, the men take the decisions in economic matters: "*Obaba baphatha imali*".[6] Women interviewed in the eNkumane area indicate that they feel dependent on their husbands in economic matters and they blame the men, at least partly, for poverty at home.[7] They do not feel competent to fill the gap left by the men, who go off to work in the big cities. Topics difficult if not impossible to discuss with their husbands are, for example, the ideal number of children in the family (generally, men want a larger number of children), the charing of household duties (generally, men do not take part in daily duties such as cleaning and cooking) and church membership (generally, men are not church members). A complicating factor in some families is that the men have a second 'urban' family in a township beside their 'rural' family in eNkumane.

Tasks commonly associated with women are: working in the fields around their homesteads, cooking, looking after the children, grass cutting during the winter for roofing and brush making, fetching firewood and water and working on commercial farms or in the nearby plantation to earn additional income for the family.[8] Agriculture in the fields around the homesteads is not seen as a wealth-inducing activity. In the fields produce such as maize, pumpkin, beans, yam (*amadumbe*) and sweet potatoes is grown. Often, this produce, grown without the use of fertilizers and pesticides, is for the use in the owner's homestead and an eventual surplus is used for bartering with neighbours.[9] Ploughing is mostly done by hoe. Ploughing with cows or with a tractor is beyond the means of most families.

Women indicate that they feel unable to use their knowledge of grass and clay to make local crafts, as they have no idea how to market them. The most common way to earn their own money is to work for a local forest company, or to sell items (for example clothes) on pension days. None of these options guarantees a regular income. Most of the work in the plantations and on neighbouring farms is organized as 'contract' labour. Early in the morning a few tractors with trailers collect labourers for seasonal work. They are brought back late at night. Often, 'subcontracts' last for only a few weeks.

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[6] B. Sithole, 2003*.

[7] RMA: 2002#.

[8] B. Sithole, 2002*.

[9] Some bartering rates seem to be fixed: for example, a clay pot can be bartered against its content of maize; a cow can be bartered against four goats.

Since the late 1990's, several initiatives were taken from outside to assist the eNkumane community, both by the Government and by non-governmental organisations, to improve the living conditions in the area. The ongoing Government initiatives include assistance with small scale planting of sugar cane. Examples of non-governmental organisations working in the area are the Midlands Women Group and the African Cooperative Agricultural Trust (ACAT). ACAT stationed a field worker in the area for several years to teach people alternative methods of fertilizing and maintaining their fields and the planting of vegetables like cabbages, potatoes and carrots. However, in practice, ACAT is mostly used for obtaining seeds and fencing material.

8.5 Shops and Clinic

The first shop in the area was the Inkooman shop which functioned from 1895 until 1961 (chapter 3). After the closure of this shop the nearest shops were to be found in Richmond, about 32 kilometres from eNkumane. Some older people remember waking up before sunrise and walking all the distance on foot, to return with the necessary groceries late in the afternoon on the same day.[10]

During the 1970's, a shop was opened in eMachobeni, which at that time was at the end of the provincial road, the end of bus routes from Richmond. The shop was opened by Jubhili Mkhize (par.4.7, Mkhize ④), who also ran a bus service between Isipingo (near Durban) and eMachobeni during the 1980's. His son Sindi Mkhize was responsible for the daily running of the shop. Around 1990, they sold the shop to Fanana Ngubane. In 1993, it was closed as a result of the violence in the area (chapter 7).

On 1st August 1967, the Reformed Mission opened a clinic within the premises of its Mission Post. One of the services of the clinic was to sell, for example, milk powder, maize meal, tinned fish and beans.[11] In 1970, the Mission assisted S.A. Vilakazi, the husband of the clinic's first nurse, to open a shop in front of the Mission Post. From the start, there was a dispute between the two outlets. After receiving his licence as 'Maziyane General Dealer', S.A. Vilakazi tried to stop the sale of maize meal by the clinic shop. The attempt failed and the clinic shop was continued as a separate service of the Mission Post until, in 1996, it was closed down after several burglaries. By that time Mr. and Mrs. Vilakazi had already returned to uMgwababa, on the South Coast and the shop was leased by Allen Singh who lived in Richmond. He ran the shop from about 1992 until 1997. After the death of Mr. and Mrs. Vilakazi, the shop was sold to Mape Kunene.

Besides these 'main shops', several 'tuck shops' are run in eNkumane. Many of these small shops are started by men working outside the area, who use part of their salary for the purchase of groceries which are sold at home by theirs wives. Other tuck shops are opened by people who retired or live on a Government grant. Often, the supply to these shops is irregular

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[10] E. MaGaselo Mkhize, 2002*.

[11] Initially, most products which were sold in the clinic shop, were purchased from 'Kupugani', in Pietermaritzburg, a company which specialized in food with a high nutrition value.

and they function for only a few years in succession.[12]

8.6 Schools

Until 1990, there were seven schools in the area of the former Trust Farm Groothoek. One secondary school, the Inkumane High School and six Primary Schools.[13] The Mqolombeni Primary School, the oldest school in the area, is situated in eThafeni, just in front of the Reformed Mission Post. The school was opened in 1957 and from 1975 until 2009, Mr. T.M. Khuzwayo was the school's principal. The other five Primary Schools were started and initially managed by the Reformed Mission but by now, the schools have their own Governing Bodies and are no longer related to the Mission.[14] The Nompofane and the Mahlalini Lower Primary Schools closed down during the violence around 1990 (chapter 7). In 2001, the Mahlalini School reopened in eMachobeni. During the late 1990's, another secondary school was opened in eZulwini. Without sufficient school funds, the schools struggle to offer a good education. For example, the matric exams in the Inkumane High School and Ezulwini High School showed the following results in the year 2003: 6 out of 22 students passed in eNkumane and 11 out of 22 passed in eZulwini. Most of the teachers at the schools come from outside the area. They are allocated by the Department of Education and only live in the area during school periods.

8.7 Churches

In eNkumane, several church denominations have been established as the result of mission work or as the result of immigration.[15] During the first decades of the 20th century, the eNkumane area came in contact with Islam, via the shop of Adam and Essa Moosa in Inkooman (Chapter 3), the Roman Catholic Church, via the St Bernard Mission (Chapter 13), the Anglican Church via Anglican preachers (Chapter 13, note 74) and via the Groot Hoek farmer Humphrey Nicholson (par.2.9), member of the Anglican Church in Richmond. Nevertheless, none of the interviewees made any reference to a lasting influence through these contacts.

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[12] For several years, some neighbouring tuck shops have been functioning in eSikheshini along the main road through eNkumane, the D1034, at the turn-off to the near-by Inkumane High School. Around 1992, the first tuck shop in eSikheshini was opened by Mathanda Ngcongo (par.7.11) after he retired from his work in Durban. Around the same time a neighbouring tuck shop was opened by *induna* Ndodo Mkhize. Around 1998, a third tuck shop, on the other side of the turn-off in eSikheshini, was opened by Ndidi Ngcongo about four years before he retired as a driver of the Reformed Mission.

[13] Principals at the Mqolombeni Primary School: Mr. Gebesha (1957 - about 1960), Mr. Majola (about 1960 - 1970) who also was a Methodist lay preacher, Mr. Sindane (about 1970-1975) and Mr. T.M. Khuzwayo (1975 - present). Principals at the Inkumane High School since about 1980: Mr. Malinga, Mr. Radebe, Mr. Mkhize, mr. Njapha, Mr. Mkhize.

[14] The names of the (Lower) Primary Schools initiated by the Reformed Mission are: the Nompofane LPS , the Mahlalini LPS, the Esiqandulweni PS (in eSijokolweni on the southern banks of the uMkhomazi), the Ezulwini PS and the Mtholombolwazi PS (in Ngwegwe).

[15] B. Sundkler & C. Steel (2000, p.83) mentions the 'mission factor' and the 'migration factor' as the determining factors in the establishment of churches in Africa: "the Western missionary approach through the 'stations' on the one side and on the other the overarching continental theme of migrations and population development."

During the 1920's, the first church services in eNkumane were held by immigrants, some of whom had Biblical names such as Amos, Aroni, Jakobe, Martha and Simone (par.16.6). During the 1950's, the services were led by the migrant labourer Ngedi Paulus Gaselo from eMlazi and some other evangelists from Clermont, members of the *abaPostoli*.[16] The first mission station in the area, of European origin, was the Roman Catholic St Bernard Mission (*amaRoma*; Chapter 13). Several people in eNkumane, especially in eSigangeni, the northeastern part of Groot Hoek, became members of the Catholic Church.

In 1959, the Reformed Mission entered the area and built a mission station inside the former Groot Hoek farm. Today, the total membership of the Reformed Church Enkumane is about 120 people, about 5% of the population in the former Groot Hoek.

During the 1970's, the St John Apostolic Faith Mission was established in eNkumane by Mr. S.A. and Mrs. A.B. Vilakazi. Mr Vilakazi, a former factory labourer, had been an evangelist working for the Reformed Mission from 1969 until 1970. In 1970, he opened a shop in front of the Reformed Mission Post. From 1967 until 1972, Mrs. Vilakazi was employed at the Mission Post as a registered nurse in the Enkumane Clinic. In 1985, after the discovery of their gift of healing and a visit to the mother church in Germiston, Johannesburg, they built their own church, '*eChibini*', on the premises of their shop.[17] In this church, Mr. and Mrs. Vilakazi healed people through prayer and with holy water. One of the people who was healed in *eChibini*, was Bakalile MaSithole Mchunu the wife of Zondeni Mchunu.

In 1949, Zondeni Mchunu was born on the farm kwaHonisi near Richmond. He met his wife during his work on another farm, kwaPho, also near Richmond.[18] When they were removed from this farm, Zondeni's uncle (*umalume*) Khumalo, assisted them to find work on the farm of Madokozo (= Arthur Cockburn; par.2.5 and 6.6), the farm north of Groot Hoek. In 1971, Arthur Cockburn and his only son Dennis died and their labourers were left without any source of income. Zondeni Mchunu went to Durban, where another uncle assisted him in finding work as a truck driver. In 1980, Anton Green bought the Cockburn farm, whereupon he ordered all inhabitants who were not working on the farm to leave. Contrary to many others who moved to the townships of Durban during the 1980's, Zondeni Mchunu and his wife decided to stay in the area (*emakhaya*), where they thought they would have a better chance to raise their children in their own way. Councillor Sikwishiza Dladla (par.6.4) assisted them in finding a site in eThafeni. Since 1992, after Mr. and Mrs. Vilakazi left the area, people come to Zondeni and Bakalile Mchunu's homestead for healing. They continued the *eChibini* church and were ordained as ministers in the St John's Apostolic Faith Mission. In 2001, they built a church in their homestead, where on a daily basis five prayer meetings are held.

During the same year, 2001, the "deliberately and un-apologetically Zulu"[19] Church of the Nazarites (*amaNazaretha*) opened a prayer place in eThafeni, directly neighbouring the Reformed Mission Post. Until then, they had joined another group of *amaNazaretha* at their

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[16] L. MaMntungwa Nxele, 2002*.

[17] The name, '*eChibini*', meaning 'at the water pool', refers to the use of holy water in cleansing and healing rites.

[18] KwaPho was the farm Burnside of Paul Crausaz, situated along the P115, the road from eNkumane in the direction of Richmond, close to the junction with the R624, the road between Richmond and Eston.

[19] A. Vilakazi & others, 1986, p.155-156.

Saturday meetings at the foot of the iNhlazuka Mountain, about 10 kilometres outside the area.

Finally, Rev. Nkaniyakhe Nicholas Sithole of the 'Holy First Church Zion' must be mentioned (par.6.4). In 1934, Rev. Sithole was born about six kilometres west of eNkumane, at kwaMphako (Hill Top; par.6.4). He became a migrant labourer, found work in Durban at the Masonite Mill and, subsequently, settled in eMbumbulu. Because of the violence during the 1980's, he moved to eNkumane were he found a living place in eSikanisweni, in the Masonite Plantation on Inkooman. Around the same time, he started to dream and hear voices encouraging him to tell the people that they should convert themselves to God ("*tshela abantu: phendukani*"). Moreover, he discovered that he had the gift to see sicknesses and personal problems (*ukubona isimo somuntu*). He went to a Zionist Bishop in ePhateni (south of the Richmond Village), who trained him in prayer and ordained him as a minister (*umfundisi*).[20] Although he has no congregation of his own, he visits farms to preach and he attends the funerals in the eNkumane area, carrying a white robe with a green rope and a banner.

8.8 Centre and Periphery

One of the characteristics of the community in eNkumane is its involvement in several networks which involve urban areas, especially in and around Durban. Some people in eNgwegwe have houses in the eFolweni Township near Durban, where family members stay more or less permanently. Some people in eSigangeni and eThafeni have second houses in the eMlazi Township west of Durban or in kwaMashu, north of Durban. These networks facilitate and protect movements of family members between the rural eNkumane area and the city of Durban, where further education, medical care, shops and jobs may be found. The possibilities for work in and around eNkumane are limited. The biggest and at the same time, one of the few employers around eNkumane is Masonite Forestry, owner of the former Cockburn farms (par.2.5). Most of the eNkumane people working for Masonite have a job as a tree cutter or bark peeler. During the week, some of them sleep in cottages at the former Cockburn farmhouse, Solitude (*eNkabinyama*). Others are collected early in the morning from eNkumane to work in the plantations and late in the afternoon, they are again dropped off in eNkumane by the same tractor-and-trailer. Other residents in eNkumane have found employment at farms further away. Most of them visit their homesteads in eNkumane only during the last weekend of the month, after payday. Those who are not happy to work as labourers in forestry or on farms use their networks and try to find work in urban areas, especially in Durban.

The networks of which the eNkumane residents are part are examples of what has been described by K. Nürnberger as a dynamic process in which urban areas develop as centres of technology and production, while their surrounding areas function as their peripheries, supplying the centres with food, raw material, for example timber and importantly, labour.[21] The

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[20] N.N. Sithole, 2009*.

[21] K. Nürnberger, 1999. A disadvantage of Nürnberger's dynamic model of developing urban centres surrounded by sub-centres and peripheries is its suggestion of the accessibility of the centres for people living in the periphery. A more static model stressing the inaccessibility of economic centres for people living in the peripheries is the 'double economy' model: "one [economy] for the small group of rich élite who can play along in the globalisation process, and the other (informal economy) for the great mass of poor people" (B.J. van der Walt, 2006, p.95).

urban areas with their peripheries, themselves, are part of a wider network with varying degrees of economic activities and variations in the types of jobs available. About South Africa as a whole, Nürnberger remarks: "We see a commanding centre around Johannesburg, and two big sub-centres around Durban and Cape Town."[22] These major national centres are again part of a broader network - an international one - with major world centres such as the United States, Middle Europe and Japan.[23] In this worldwide global network of centres, sub-centres and peripheries, there is a growing concentration of and competition in economic activities and power. For individuals the centres are attractive because, compared with the peripheral areas, they offer more education and jobs, more job diversity and, in most instances, the prospect of higher wages. The result is a continuous migration of people from more peripheral areas to more developed centres.[24] To put it simply: job seekers from eNkumane, not happy with the job opportunities in forestry and on the surrounding farms, move to Durban; job seekers not happy with the labour opportunities in Durban, move to Johannesburg; and job seekers with even higher aspirations move to the United States, Europe, Japan, Singapore or one of the other major world centres.

For eNkumane, the continuous emigration of job seekers does not necessarily take the form of an abandoning of homesteads. In general, men and youngsters of around 20 years old move in the direction of urban centres such as Durban, leaving their relatives behind.[25] Sometimes, younger children also move along with their relatives, who seek to find them better education. This pattern of migration does not result in a decrease in the number of people living in eNkumane. Apart from a natural increase of the rural population through birth, there is a continuous re-migration back to eNkumane of old people who have reached retirement age and of young people who failed to find jobs, became sick or encountered some other form of problem in the urban areas.[26]

As a peripheral area, eNkumane's economic and social characteristics reflect the following: subsistence farming with produce such as maize, beans, sweet potatoes, pumpkins and yam (*amadumbe*) being cultivated; hardly any other economic activity taking place; most of the jobs in the direct vicinity being for unskilled labour; little capital being available apart from investments in cattle, typically one head at a time; little infrastructure and little opportunity to

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[22] K. Nürnberger, 1999, p.40.

[23] K. Nürnberger, 1999, p.41; South Africa as a whole is described by Nürnberger as a "semi peripheral country" (idem, p.123).

[24] According to F. Smit (2009) the process of migration from rural to urban areas is still going on in the 21st century: "The influx from rural areas to the cities and towns continues unabated. Poverty is increasingly shifting to the urban areas... The depopulation of the rural areas has far-reaching consequences for schools, churches, etcetera."

[25] According to K. Nürnberger (1999, p.118), "People with ambition, intelligence and education are attracted to the centre because they want to develop their gifts to the full extent and cannot do so in the periphery."

[26] K. Nürnberger (1999, p.118-119) mentions the problem of the often disappointing migration from periphery to centre but does not refer to a continuous re-migration: "More often than not they may have to make do in the informal sector, where they render simple services to the more privileged. They end up in slums, cannot afford to send their children to school, nor feed themselves properly... So these people do not readily become part of the centre population but remain a part of the periphery, only they now live within the geographical area of the affluent centre."

develop potential; most people being financially dependent on Government grants or on the income of relatives working in urban areas like Durban; many inhabitants being part of families which predominantly consist of grandparents and grandchildren, most members of the in-between generation being absent, working far away, or having passed away; much importance being attached to traditional values, especially to the homestead traditions (*amasiko*), the most important one being 'respect' or 'subservience' (*inhlonipho*).

Most of the interviewees in eNkumane state that their area is in need of 'development' (*intuthuko*), but so far no real plans or initiatives are available and the term development is ill-defined. Over the past ten years, the infrastructure of the area has been improved by the Government. Electricity has been made available, the main dust road is maintained on a yearly basis and some side roads (in eSigangeni and towards kwaNompofane) have been laid out. With help from the Goverment, toilets have been built at most of the homesteads. A water supply system is under construction. The Government maintains several Primary and Secondary Schools and on a monthly basis, a Government mobile clinic visits the area. Yet, it can be doubted whether these infra-structural improvements can change the character of eNkumane as a remote peripheral area. According to Nürnberger, "the centre cannot develop the periphery; the latter must develop its own potential. Therefore, any assistance only makes sense if it liberates and empowers the initiatives in the periphery. Development projects may not be the most appropriate instrument because they tend to be artificial creations which collapse when foreign leadership and support is withdrawn."[27]

In this context, a foreign missionary project, such as the Reformed Mission Enkumane has little to contribute in terms of development. All initiatives taken by the Mission will underline the dependency of the local population and undermine its self-responsibility, if not also its self-respect. Moreover, it can be doubted whether the term 'local population' can be clearly defined. Many inhabitants simultaneously belong to a variety of places. They do not identify themselves with the place where they live, such as eNkumane, or with what they produce in that place. Instead, they identify themselves with their networks and with their ability to function in these networks. 'Development' in this context means being mobile, being connected. The introduction of cell phones and the expansion of taxi services during the 1990's facilitated the development of the networks and contributed to their importance. Accordingly, poverty received the literal meaning of being left behind, being excluded from a mobile lifestyle. It is difficult to define development in terms of local improvements or local needs. There are virtually no examples of improvements initiated or sustained by the local community itself. Increase in income does not lead to local investments but to the widening of personal options. Instead of supporting or improving the local schools, which is seen by population as the task of the Government, children are preferably sent to urban schools. For a considerable part, money is used for cell phone credit (airtime) and transport. When financially possible, the venues for feasts such as weddings are chosen outside the area. A remarkable example is the

[27] K. Nürnberger, 1999, p.451.

New Year's party at the beach in Durban, attended by many youngsters from eNkumane.[28] It is very doubtful whether people in eNkumane still define themselves in terms of what they produce, develop, build or own in the eNkumane area. Their identities are closely linked to the network they are part of and to what they manage to do elsewhere, for example, by having a house in Clermont or a job at the Point in Durban.

[28] By the end of the 20th century, the spontaneous New Year's Eve Parties at the beach in Durban developed into a yearly massive gatherings of up to 100 000 people not only from Durban and surrounding areas but also from as far as Johannesburg. Most people attending the parties are young adults. However every year, some small children get lost in the crowd and must to be collected the following morning from the police which are predominantly present. The major ingredients of the party seem to be: breaking the routine of daily life; being there where the crowd is on New Year's Eve; loud music and alcohol.

Chapter 9: Conclusion to Part 1

9.1 Summary of a History

'ENkumane' and 'Groot Hoek' have been described in the previous chapters as two separate but overlapping entities. The name eNkumane refers to the southwestern part of the eMbo area that stretches in an easterly direction between the rivers uMlazi and uMkhomazi into the eMlazi 'township' in the Durban Metropolis. Although eNkumane falls under the eMbo Vumukwenza Tribal Authority, this part of the eMbo area was situated just west of the location Umlazi. Around 1850, the Government started to survey the eNkumane area and issued it as a farmland. At that time, most of eNkumane, except for a few isolated homesteads, was in use as a hunting area by people, who had fled KwaZulu on the banks of the uThukela River during the 1830's. Some of them had rebuilt their homesteads along the uMkhomazi River, on its northern banks, others had moved about five kilometres in a northerly direction, about six hundred metres above the level of the river.

In 1851, most of the eNkumane area was divided by the Government into two parts to be used as commercial farms. Its western part was renamed 'Spitzkop', its eastern part 'Groot Hoek'. Initially, a small piece of land east of Groot Hoek was left un-surveyed. Apparently, the Government foresaw that, because the density of homesteads downstream increased, Groot Hoek would be the most eastern commercial farm along the east-flowing uMkhomazi River. Being very inaccessible except by foot, bordering a living area on its eastern boundary and only partly suitable as farmland, Groot Hoek was merely a financial investment for most of its successive owners. For a long time, the local population was unaware of the fact that their land was being sold and resold as a private property until the Land Act of 1913 made it easier for commercial farmers to control the local population on their farms. The Act made it more attractive to farm close to 'native locations' and as a result, Groot Hoek started to be used as a farm during the 1920's. The Act also facilitated the creation of Trust Farms, 'native' areas outside the assigned locations, that were put under direct control of the Government. Most of the area between Groot Hoek (farm) and Umlazi (location) was surveyed as the Natal Trust Farm Mqolombene.

During the 1920's, the use of Groot Hoek as a farm triggered the influx of labour tenants who were given the right to settle on the farm in exchange for about six months of their labour a year. Most of these labour tenant had a history of being turned away from other commercial farms. After the death of the Groot Hoek farmer in 1927, tenant farmers were encouraged to rent part of the farm. In 1940, after the introduction of the Land Act of 1936, which facilitated the creation of national Government Trust Farms, the Government bought Groot Hoek and joined it with the Natal Trust Farm Mqolombene, to form the Government Trust Farm Groothoek. The initial aim of the government might have been to create a new area for subsistence farming to release the population pressure on the neighbouring 'native location'. However, most families which entered Groothoek were the families of migrant labourers working in cities such as Durban or Johannesburg. They had no place to which to return and were just looking for a living area. During the 1960's, the influx of people into Groothoek accelerated as a result of the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950, aimed at the segregation of different 'ethnic groups' in South Africa. The Act resulted in the transfer of the Government Trust Farm

Groothoek into the KwaZulu Homeland and the collapse of the system of labour tenant system on neighbouring commercial farms. Many families had to leave these farms and find refuge in areas such as eNkumane.

Socio-geographically speaking, by the end of the 20th century, the population of the former farm Groot Hoek consisted of four different strata. In the first place, there were the families which had arrived as migrants from KwaZulu during the 1830's, for example, the Mkhize, the Ngcongo and the Mhlongo. In the second place, there were the families of the labour tenants who had arrived during the 1920's, for example, the Dlamini, the Kunene and the Phungula. In the third place, there were the families of the tenant farmers who arrived during the 1930's, for example, the Dladla, the Mzizi and the Sithole. Finally, there was an incoherent group of displaced labour tenants, who had entered the area during the 1960's and 1970's.

During the 1980's, when the Group Areas Act of 1950 was no longer implemented and finally withdrawn, many people left the Government Trust Farm Groothoek. Most of them settled in townships near Durban, for example in the eMlazi Township. The growing poverty in rural areas such as eNkumane, disappointment in local tribal authorities unable to provide relief and the departure of the most active and healthy part of the population, caused tensions which exploded around 1990 into the violence that ravaged many parts of the present KwaZulu-Natal. The violence left parts of eNkumane unpopulated, especially those parts that had only been populated since the 1920's.

After South Africa's first general democratic elections in 1994, the eNkumane area also entered a new period. The area was transformed into a private property held in trust by the Ngonyama Trust of which the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini is the only trust holder. In the year 2000, the area was also placed under the Richmond Municipality. Yet, without jobs other than in forestry and on neighbouring farms, a substantial part of the population is continually being drained away and absorbed by big cities such as Durban and Johannesburg. The inhabitants of eNkumane can take no bonds on their land, as it is not their own property. Although agriculture appears to present a limited option for people to become economically active, traditional farming methods prevail and no attempts are made to sell produce to the market. Developmental projects since 1994 include the improvement of the main road in the area and the assistance with small scale commercial projects, such as the manufacture of cement blocks and the planting of sugarcane. Most of the inhabitants of eNkumane therefore are financially dependent on Government grants or on family members working far away.

9.2 Reformed Mission under Question

So far, in Part 1 of this research, it has been shown that the population dynamics of the eNkumane area have constantly changed. Many people entered the area out of the need for a place to stay, for employment on surrounding farms or as a result of the Government Policy of Apartheid. Many left the area again as a result of the accelerated process of urbanization since the 1980's. During the 1960's, when the Reformed Mission was established in eNkumane, the area saw an influx of displaced families of labour tenants, many of them moving out again during the period of violence around 1990. As a result of the migrations, the eNkumane area has become part of fast social networks. For a church to be relevant in an area such as eNkumane, it must

explore the networks which are essential for its inhabitants' identities.[1] It has to be open to the opportunities offered by a community to be part of it. For a church to be missionary it should be involved and actively participate in the margins of the community's networks. However, a community, especially a poor one, expects a church to establish itself in the area and deliver. Consequently, the church runs the risk of standing in an isolated position, depending on support from outside the area and struggling to become part of the community networks. To use a metaphor, a missionary project can effectively only be successful, when it resembles a two-way bridge and not simply a pipeline.[2]

In Part 2 of this research, it will be argued that many people who moved into eNkumane and came in contact with the Reformed Mission, already had well-founded expectations about what the Reformed Mission could offer them on the basis of their experiences with missionary projects in the surrounding areas. It might be assumed that on the basis of previous experiences with other missionary projects these transient families were more willing, or may even have actively sought, to make contact with the Reformed Mission Enkumane.[3] Three of the missionary projects in the areas around eNkumane will be discussed in the following chapters: the Methodist Indaleni Mission (chapter 11), the Anglican Springvale Mission (chapter 12) and the Roman Catholic St Bernard Mission (chapter 13). The missionary work in these three Mission Stations set a context for expectations about the Reformed Mission Enkumane.

The description of the area and its history, in Part 1, raises questions about the Reformed Mission Enkumane to be answered in the following chapters. For example, how did the different population groups in eNkumane react to and interact with the Reformed Mission? How did the Mission deal with the population dynamics? Part 2 will deal with general questions about missionary projects by describing three missionary projects in the areas surrounding eNkumane. In Part 3, the specific case of the Reformed Mission Enkumane will be described. It will deal with the specific character of the Reformed Mission and its place in the history of eNkumane. Part 4 will deal with its prospects.

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[1] According to Mission & Public Affairs Council (2004, p.70) "explore has five key values: community, communication, commitment, caring and celebrating."

[2] According to Mission & Public Affairs Council (2004, p.122), "Protective 'sending' churches need to discover how to give away control and power and celebrate the independence and interdependence of the new church."

[3] An example of the openness for Christian churches among transient families is found in the Mkhize families. In general in the eNkumane area, the openness in many Mkhize families for churches is found to be limited. A significant exception is found among the descendants of Nsele Mkhize (par.4.5), who almost from the start became migrant labour tenants moving from eNgilanyoni to commercial farms on the southern side of the uMkhomazi River and scattered over a wide area. Independent from each other, several descendants of Nsele became members in an European Initiated Church or an African Initiated Church, among them: Ndabesabelungu (Zionist), Magayisa Ezekiya (Reformed), Dumezweni (for a few years) and his son Zenzele (Reformed), the family of Kwenzakwakhe (Reformed), Jakobe and his son Simone (Methodist), Mncane and his brother John and their families (Reformed).

Part 2

MISSIONARY PROJECTS AROUND ENKUMANE

Chapter 10: Missionary Work in KwaZulu and Natal

10.1 Introduction

After having described eNkumane, the area under research, in Part 1, Part 2 will concentrate on the role of missionary projects in the surrounding areas. This second part offers a general introduction in missionary work in the present KwaZulu-Natal (chapter 10) and a description of three missionary projects in the immediate vicinity of eNkumane: the Indaleni Mission (chapter 11), the Springvale Mission (chapter 12) and the St Bernard Mission (chapter 13). In the light of the findings of Part 1 of this research, questions will be asked about the way these missionary projects dealt with the continuous movements of transient families; how they involved the local population in their projects; what they offered and how they were received. Moreover, Part 2 will deal with the motivations and the aims of these missionary projects. The findings in Part 2 will be used as guidelines in describing the Reformed Mission Enkumane in Part 3. In Part 4, an analysis will be given of missionary motives and themes, and questions will be asked about the prospects and challenges of the Reformed Mission Enkumane.

10.2 Enlightenment and Mission

Protestant mission work in the 20th century stood in a tradition which started in the beginning of the 19th century with the establishment of Missionary Societies in Europe and Northern America.[1] Several developments during the previous century led to this new phenomenon: the collapse of power of monarchies, nobility and national churches; the expansion of the known world; a belief in progress, and a growing awareness of individual rights and dignity. These developments formed aspects of the 'Enlightenment', the cultural climate that marked the 18th century in the northern hemisphere. On a political level, the American War of Independence (1776-1783) and the French Revolution (1789-1795) signified the end of traditional power structures. On an economic level, the growing interaction between the continents placed the focus of attention on other parts of the world, as potential sources of wealth, and places to live. On a spiritual level, the 18th century was marked by several revivals

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[1] Examples of Mission and Bible societies established around 1800 are the English Baptist Society (1792), the London Missionary Society (1795), Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap (1797), the Church Missionary Society (1799), the British Foreign Bible Society (1804), the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810; locally, also called "American Zulu Mission"), the Methodist Missionary Society (1813), the American Baptist Missionary Board (1814), the Baseler Missionsgesellschaft (1815), the Leipziger Missionsgesellschaft (1819), the Berliner Mission (1824), the Reinische Missionsgesellschaft (1828), the Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaf (1836, since 1847 the Bremer Missionsgesellschaft), the Norwegian Missionary Society (1842), the Hermannsburger Mission (1849), and the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society.
Several of these societies (like the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Methodist Missionary Society, the Berliner Mission, the Church Missionary Society, the Hermannsburger Mission, and the Norwegian Missionary Society) sent missionaries to what is at present KwaZulu-Natal.
In 1833, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society opened a mission station ("Morija") in Lesotho. The station, established by Thomas Arbousset, Eugène Casalis and Constant Gosselin, included a church, school, Bible School and Printing-works. It played a major role in the development of the Lesotho Evangelical Church.

that shattered the privileged position of national churches. The revivals were marked by eschatological expectations, personal experience of faith, and "a consuming passion for God's glory and the salvation of the lost."[2] In Europe and North America, several new societies were established focusing on people in need. Some focused their attention on marginal people nearby, such as prisoners and labourers, others on people living overseas in underdeveloped circumstances. "One of the most significant products of the Evangelical Awakening in both Britain and North America (and in fact, also in continental Europe and the British Colonies) was the founding of societies especially devoted to foreign mission."[3] Initially, Missionary Societies concentrated their efforts especially on the African West Coast and on the West Indies, areas heavily affected by the slave trade.[4] In general, their approach can be called 'soteriological', concentrating on the salvation of 'lost' people.

During the course of the 19th century, these societies became involved in the process of colonization of many areas in the southern hemisphere.[5] To a certain extent, they became agents of the colonization process, but many tried to balance their position between newly arrived immigrants and already present local populations.[6] In this period, Christianity was presented as an advanced stage of civilization, based on commerce and cultivation.[7]

During the second half of the 19th century, the civilization approach ran out of steam. The term 'civilization' proved to be ill-defined and it seemed to idealize Europe. Evangelicals, like

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[2] D.J. Bosch, 1991, p.278. According to A. Hastings (1994, p.270): "The early nineteenth-century Protestant missionary ..... thought rather little of what might follow conversion. He was seldom an ecclesiologist but often an eschatologist."

[3] D.J. Bosch, 1991, p.280. According to K. Heussi (1981, p.503): "Einer neue Abschnitt der Missionsgeschichte beginnt mit der englischen Erweckung am Ende des 18.Jhs."

[4] In the British Empire, the slave trade was abolished in 1807 and, in 1833, the British Parliament decided to abolish slavery. Effectively, slavery was abolished in the British West Indies in 1838 and in the French West Indies in 1848. In 1863, slavery was abolished in the southern states in North America. The slave trade to South America continued until 1880. For comparison, "slavery at the Cape was formally abolished on 1 December 1834, although the former slaves were obliged to work for their ex-owners for a further period of four years" (D. Oakes, 1994, p.53). On 1st December 1838, about 38 000 Cape slaves were completely freed.
Other areas, where missionary societies were active during the early 19th century, were e.g. India (Baptist Missionary Society), the Cape Colony (Moravians; London Missionary Society; J.W. de Gruchy, 1999), Asia and the Near East (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions).

[5] Some writers consider "the Berlin Conference of 1884/5 which marked the beginning of the formal colonial period in Africa" (S. de Gruchy & S. Chirongoma, 2008, p.292), to be the turning point between the period of the more soteriological approach of the Mission Societies and the more ecclesiological approach during the Colonial Period. However, it must be kept in mind that, in the present KwaZulu-Natal, the Colonial Period started in 1843 and lasted until the first general elections in 1994. Shortly after 1843, the major denominational churches were established in Natal, e.g., in 1851, the Roman Catholic Church and, 1853, the Anglican Church ('Diocese of Natal'). The establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 did not principally change the character of 'mission' as a 'European/American Initiated Church under non-whites'.

[6] D.J. Bosch (1991, p.288): "Henry Venn, famous General Secretary of the British CMS, urged missionaries to take their stand between the oppressor and the oppressed, between the tyranny of the system and the morally and physically threatened masses of the people to whom they went."

[7] A. Hastings (1994, p.283): "What was decisive was the new eighteenth-century preoccupation with 'civilization' - a word which only then made its appearance in English. It was indicative of what Enlightenment was all about."

Henry Venn, proposed a more 'ecclesiological' approach of mission specifying the task of mission not as development in general, but as the development of self-governing churches.[8]

10.3 Missionary Projects and the Colonization of Natal

During the first half of the 19th century, Missionary Societies working on the African West Coast suffered many casualties from malaria, dysentery and yellow fever. It has been estimated that more than three quarters of the missionaries who settled in West Africa during this period died within one year of their arrival.[9] The high mortality rate among missionaries in West Africa, the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834 and a lack of financial resources caused Missionary Societies to strive for independence of the West African churches and look for new mission areas.[10] One of the areas which offered opportunities for mission work, was Natal, especially after, 31st May 1843, when it was annexed as part of the Cape Colony by the British Government. The Colonial Government supported mission stations with grants of land and with subsidies for schools.[11] Moreover, Natal offered a mild climate, an accessible landscape and a nearby established kingdom, with a positive attitude towards missionaries.

Some of the earliest missionaries in Natal tried to connect with the royal Zulu court in the hope that they could "win the nation en masse to Christianity."[12] In January 1835, the first

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[8] Henry Venn (1796-1873) was secretary of the Church Missionary Society from 1841 until 1872. Other early exponents of the ecclesiological approach in missionary work were, for example, in America, Rufus Anderson and, in Germany, Gustav Warneck. Since 1816, Rufus Anderson (1796-1880) was secretary and, since 1826, foreign secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Since about 1850, in Germany, newly established missionary societies, such as the Hermannsburger Mission, were exclusively Lutheran, contrary to the earlier established "freie Missiongesellschaften", such as the in Baseler Missionsgesellschaft and the Berliner Mission (J. Verkuyl, 1981, p.44). In his "Evangelische Missionslehre" (I, 1897, p.1), Gustav Warneck (1834-1910) defined missionary work as the establishment of the church: "Unter Christlichen Mission verstehen wir die gesamte auf die Pflanzung und Organisation der christlichen Kirche unter Nichtchristen gerichte Tätigkeit der Christenheit." A. Hastings (1994, p.294): "The task of the foreign missionary is to go where there is as yet no local Church in order to establish one."

[9] P. Falk, 1979; especially chapter 4, p.108-118.

[10] P.C. Williams (1990, pp.1, 3, 4): "The objective of creating self-governing,, self-supporting and self-propagating churches ... became part of accepted mission strategy between 1840 and 1870... The [Church Missionary] Society in 1841 was in the midst of an acute financial crisis ... The argument towards self-support and a native pastorate was undoubtedly strengthened by the missionary mortality rate, particularly in West-Africa ... Of the twenty-six missionaries who went out between 1825 and 1834, eighteen had died." A. Hastings (1994, p.262) remarks about the health situation of the missionaries in Africa during the first half of the 19th century, before quinine came into use: "While there was a very real difference in health and life expectancy between the south and the west [of Africa], so that for [a] long [time], the majority of missionaries in the west died within the first two years while most in the south not only had no health problems but had their life expectancy actually improved."

[11] N. Etherington (1997, p.104): "All the principal missionary societies depended to some extent on Government support: societies lucky enough to have arrived before 1860 received substantial grants of land. Also, Natal's Charter dictated that 5,000 pound per annum must be set aside for purposes connected with African welfare, and in 1865, nearly 40 per cent of this reserve fund went to mission schools."

[12] N. Etherington, 1989, p.275.

missionary to enter the royal capital was a retired Royal Navy Captain, Allen Gardiner.[13] He was welcomed by King Dingane, but "Zulu authorities met his teaching with suspicion and indifference, though they were interested in the technology and diplomatic services missionaries could provide."[14] During the course of the first half of the 19th century, the Zulu court came under pressure due to several migration movements beyond its control: the growing settlement of Europeans at Port Natal (Durban), the immigration of European settlers originating from the Cape and a continuous emigration in a southerly direction, of people from KwaZulu who settled in Natal, especially around Port Natal. Around the middle of the 19th century, the Zulu King Mpande[15] reached a settlement allowing settlers from the Cape authority over the "Klip River Territory" (1847) between the uMzinyathi (Buffalo) River and the uThukela River, and the British Government over 'The Colony of Natal', south of the uThukela (1845).

Between 16 May 1849 and 6 February 1852, nearly 5 000 European immigrants arrived in Natal in a number of colonization schemes.[16] Several missionaries accompanied the immigrants, concentrating their efforts on the new settler communities, or on newly established African settler communities. During the years 1846 and 1847, the settlement of European immigrants was preceded by a planned relocation of about 80 000 African immigrants, masterminded by Natal's first 'Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes', Theophilus Shepstone.[17] They were resettled and concentrated in locations, several of them attached to mission stations, which were subsidized to offer industrial training to the local population. Some locations were actually owned, or partly owned, by mission stations, for example the Methodist Indaleni Mission (chapter 11), the Methodist Verulam Mission and the Anglican Springvale Mission (chapter 12).

Some church denominations were actively involved both in the immigration schemes for European settlers and in the establishment of mission stations open for African occupation. For example, the Methodist 'Christian Emigration and Colonization Society' was involved in the immigration of European settlers in Richmond and Verulam and at the same time, it established mission stations in the same areas.[18] Some of the stations' inhabitants became labourers on surrounding commercial farms, others became employers themselves. Some became farmers, who traded with nearby settlements. Rarely, did mission stations try to integrate both types of immigrants. An exception was the Hermannsburg Missionary Society, which planted villages of Germans in rural Natal, anticipating that the indigenous population would share their hope of

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[13] Allan Gardiner (1794-1851), Captain in the Navy during the Napoleonic wars, had been involved in the settlement of Zulu immigrants around Durban. From 1835 until 1836, he stayed at the Royal residence of King Dingane to intercede on their behalf and to start missionary work in the Zulu Kingdom. He was followed by Francis Owen (1802-1854), of the Church Missionary Society, who stayed at the Royal residence from 1837 until 1838, working mainly as a teacher. He left after witnessing the destruction of the Voortrekkers led by Piet Retief, and, in effect, the Mission was closed.

[14] N. Etherington, 1997, p.90; King Dingane kaSenzangakhona, born in 1795, ruled as a Zulu King from 1827 until his death in 1840.

[15] King Mpande kaSenzangakhona, born in 1798, ruled as a Zulu King from 1840 until his death in 1872. He acceded as a Zulu King with the aid of European settlers.

[16] C. Ballard, 1989, p.126.

[17] Theophilus Shepstone (1815-1893) was Diplomatic Agent to the native Tribes of Natal from 1843 until 1876.

[18] C. Ballard, 1989, p.126.

creating a communal piety.[19]

10.4 Mission Stations in KwaZulu and Natal

During the second half of the 19th century, Natal became "one of the most heavily-evangelized regions of the globe."[20] About 70 Protestant and 40 Catholic mission stations were established in KwaZulu and Natal, most of them south of the uThukela River.[21] North of the uThukela, missionaries of the Lutheran 'Norwegian Missionary Society' established about ten mission stations.[22] Eight more stations were established by the Lutheran 'Hermannsburg Missionary Society'. And around the end of the century, another three stations were opened in KwaZulu by Trappists from Mariannhill (see 13.2).

Most of the mission stations were established south of the uThukela River, representing several Missionary Societies from diverse denominational origins, such as American Congregationalists, Scottish Presbyterians, English Methodists, French and German Catholics, and Lutherans from Saxony, Prussia and Scandinavia.[23] The Hermannsburg Missionary Society established eight stations in Natal, north of Pietermaritzburg, relatively close to German settlements, and three stations at the mouth of the uMzimkhulu River, close to the border of the Eastern Cape. The 'Berliner Missionary Society' concentrated its efforts on the western part of Natal, with three stations in the Weenen District and one in the Klip River Territory.[24]

The Congregational and Presbyterian 'American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions', followed a similar pattern as had been used in West Africa, by establishing 12 mission

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[19] N. Etherington, 1989, p.275. Idem (1999, p.159): "By the end of the 1860s, however, the Hermannsburg experiment in Christian communism had ended, wrecked by the irresistible temptation for skilled German farmers and artisans to join the larger white settler society of Natal." No new missionaries were sent since the Anglo-Zulu war in 1879.

[20] N. Etherington, 1989, p.275. According to A. Hastings (1994, p.358), "Nowhere in the world, it is claimed, with the exception of New Zealand, was so thickly populated with missionaries". About their social background he remarks (idem; pp.258,264): "The normative early nineteenth-century missionary was a working class man ..... He was an artisan, a worker with a skill ..... In the second half of the century, class background and education moved up considerably."

[21] H.P. Beach & C.H. Fahs, 1925, Plate 18; at the beginning of the 20th century, J. Du Plessis (1911) counted 813 principal mission stations in South Africa as a whole.

[22] N. Etherington (1989, p.278): "Norwegian Lutherans took up the crusade to convert the Zulu Court." In 1850, Hans Palludan Smith Schreuder established a mission station at eMphumulo close to the border with the Zulu Kingdom. From this station he made contact with King Mpande. In 1856, when a conflict arose between his sons Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi about the succession to the throne, King Mpande asked Schreuder for more missionaries. Subsequently, the Hermannsburg Missionary Society opened several stations north of the uThukela (O.G. Myklebust, 1980). In 1859, King Mpande allowed also Robert Robertson (Scottish Episcopal Church) to establish a mission station of the Church of England just north of the uMhlathuze River in KwaZulu.

[23] N. Etherington, 1989, p.275.

[24] N. Etherington, 1997, p.94: "In 1847 Carl Posselt of the Berliner Missionary Society readily accepted an invitation from the Natal Government after his work on the eastern Cape frontier [between the Cape Colony and Transkei] was blasted by the 'War of the Axe'."

stations on regular intervals along the coast of Natal.[25] Four Methodist mission stations were located in the surroundings of Pietermaritzburg, two north of Durban, another three on Natal's southern border, and one in the Klip River Territory.

For many local people, the stations were foreign micro-societies, with a focus on religion, health and progress, identified by their churches, clinics, schools and shops.[26] For some, they were centres of education, trade and contact with the Colonial Government. Some permanently settled on land offered by the mission stations. For some, the stations were temporary shelters. Others accepted a new lifestyle at the stations, closely resembling the missionaries' lifestyle.

10.5 *Amakholwa*

One of the most striking results of the missionary activities in the 19th century was the formation of a new group of '*amakholwa*' (believers), originating from different social backgrounds.[27] Most of the *amakholwa* were inhabitants of the mission stations and were marked by their deviation from a traditional African lifestyle. "They had to clothe themselves according to missionary standards of decency. They had to rearrange the sexual division of labour and so take women out of agricultural labour and turn them into housewives. They had to try to live, as near as their income would permit, in European houses and clothes. But all these requirements were minor compared to the missionary assault on two basic institutions of family life: polygyny and [uku]lobola [= the payment of a bride's price]... no missionary allowed a convert to stay in the church if he took a second wife... they spoke out against [the custom of *ukulobola*] and solemnized marriages even when parents did not consent."[28] By the end of the century, the *amakholwa*, constituted an isolated minority in Natal of about 10 000 persons. "Isolation from both their white and their African neighbours spurred many of the [ama]kholwa towards material and educational progress... The [ama]kholwa were pioneers in many branches of commercial agriculture, experimenting in the 1850's with cotton, coffee, arrowroot and sesame, and in the

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[25] B. Sundkler & C. Steed (2000, p.363): "In 1834 the [American] Board [of Commissioners for Foreign Missions / American Zulu Mission] sent a team of outstanding missionaries to Natal including Newton Adams, Aladin Grout and Daniel Lindley." L. Switzer (1999, p.166): "After years of struggle the AMZ had established a string of twelve mission stations by 1850. Five stations - named Amanzimtoti, Imfume, Amahlongwa, Ifafa and Umtwalumi - were near the coast between 22 and 78 miles south-west of Durban. Six stations - named Inanda, Itafamasi, Umsunduzi, Esidumbini, Umvoti and Mapumulo - were also near the coast between 15 and 70 miles north-east of Durban. One inland station roughly 40 miles from the coast near the town of Pietermaritzburg was named Table Mountain."

[26] About the going hand in hand of church and clinic at many mission stations, A. Hastings (1994, p.276) remarks: "Africans expected religion and health to go together; indeed, 'religion' had little point to it apart from health. The missionary mix of the two fitted Africa precisely because it did not professionalize medicine too far away from the religious area." Only from the 1890's, a separate 'medical mission' developed, often dependent on Government grants. Many mission stations opened as a combination of church and school, sometimes in the same building: "For many decades these were the only schools where Africans were taught" (N. Etherington, 1989, p.289).

[27] A. Hastings (1994, p.360): "Mid-nineteenth-century South Africa was full of wanderers, dispossessed of their former homes by white settler encroachment or inter-black conflict. They were not locals and in consequence mission communities were often exceptionally intertribal in character ..... The inhabitants of mission stations came to form something of a supertribe of their own, the [ama]Kholwa."

[28] N. Etherington, 1989, p.281-282.

1860's with sugar... [ama]kholwa often combined farming and trading."[29]

The formation of this new social group of *amakholwa* was remarkable for several reasons.[30] In the first place, to become a member of the *amakholwa* one had to abandon one's original culture. In the second place, the members of the *amakholwa* were trained in practical skills, but the formation of this new social group did not lead to the establishment of a local African clergy. And in the third place, the members of the *amakholwa* lived quite isolated from other social groups in the society. Consequently, they were estranged from both their own social background and from European settlers.[31]

Around the turn of the century, the special position of the *amakholwa* disappeared gradually for two reasons. Firstly, because, from the 1890's, the number of conversions to Christianity increased rapidly.[32] Secondly, because, by the beginning of the 20th century, restrictive legislation, overpopulation inside and the rise of commercial farming outside the mission stations undermined the possibilities of competitive agriculture at the stations and left most of their inhabitants behind as peasant-proletarians.

10.6 The Ideal of a Self-governing Church

It has been suggested that the great number of missionaries and their permanent presence at mission stations inhibited the growth of an indigenous clergy in Natal, and in Southern Africa as a whole.[33] "By 1879, there were still only five functioning black ministers in South Africa ... one Methodist, one Anglican, and three Congregationalists... Even when black ministers became rather more numerous in the south in the 1880's they were shaped as an inferior group, both educationally and in status."[34] To explain the lack of local clergy in Southern Africa purely as a result of the big number or the obstinacy of foreign missionaries is, without doubt, a simplification of the problem of church formation in mission contexts all over Africa.[35] During the early 19th century, the problem was given little consideration.[36] However, during the middle

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[29] N. Etherington, 1989, p.287-288. According to A. Hastings (1994, p.360): "[In 1865] a group of Movoti people actually opened their own sugar mill - 'a visible triumph of Christianity and Civilization'." The Umvoti Mission was founded by the Rev. Aladin Grout (1803-1894) of the American Zulu Mission.

[30] A. Hastings, 1994, p.362-365.

[31] A. Hastings (1994, p.359): "The contrast between mission Africans and those elsewhere soon became a sharp one." Idem (p.364): "White South Africans did not want economically successful blacks." According to N. Etherington (1989, p.284): "Black Christians were held in disrespect by the heathen, there was also a general contempt for missionary work among the white community."

[32] N. Etherington, 1989, p.296.

[33] A. Hastings (1994, p.359): "It was the multitude of white missionaries in Southern Africa and the very healthy conditions they there enjoyed which inhibited the growth of an indigenous clergy ... Nowhere else was Christian life so long dominated by the 'station', the mission estate large or small, where Africans accepted a missionary landlord and a shaping of society according to missionary regulation."

[34] A. Hastings, 1994, p.364.

[35] P.C. Williams, 1994, p.135.

[36] P.C. Williams (1994, p.4): "As late as 1852 [Henry Venn] declared that the proper work of a Missionary Society is the evangelization of the heathen, and not the perfecting of the Ecclesiastical framework of a Christian Community."

of the 19th century, the training of local clergy became a major issue for the Missionary Societies. By then, the discussion centred around the ideal of the so called Self-governing Church as a church which complied with the formula 'Self-governing, Self-supporting and Self-propagating'. The 'Three Selves Formula' was best formulated in the writings of Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn and discussed at the second conference of Protestant Missions in Liverpool, in 1860.[37]

The Three Selves Formula set a benchmark at which local churches should be granted independence by the Missionary Societies. However, it did not set out how such a benchmark would be achieved.[38] It did not specify how to reach a level of self-support and it did not account for the cultural and ethnic diversity that obstructed the process of church formation in many areas. In its application, it opened the door for the establishment of 'Native Churches' separate from 'European Churches'.[39] Especially in Southern Africa, a great number of European immigrants had introduced their own denominational churches identical to the European mother churches. They had no intention of striving for a new local Southern African self-governing church shared with people of different church denominations or with the local population. "By the late sixties [of the 19th century], the strength of the national and racial divide seems to have been regarded as a fixed point and the fact that the gospel could have 'fused the races' was of a theoretical importance only, as practically it was not given the scope to do so."[40] In practice, mission-established churches were often developed into 'Native or Mission churches', separate from "European churches", with their own church structures, financially dependent and related to the Missionary Societies via missionaries.[41] "Venn's theoretical framework had moved substantially - from the idea of simply handing over to the settled ecclesiastical establishment, to careful plans for self-government which came to include a native bishop, to the conviction that the native church should be quite separate, with its own episcopate."[42]

During the second half of the 19th century, discussions in the Church Missionary Society about separate dioceses in the same area, the 'missionary bishop' and the problems of financial dependence hampered the development of self-governing local churches and it might be doubted

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[37] Rufus Anderson (1796-1880) was Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as from 1826. Between 1832 and 1866, he was Foreign Secretary of the Board (R.P. Beaver, 1967). Henry Venn (1796-1873) was Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society from 1841 until 1872 (W. Shenk, 1981 and 1983.

[38] N. Etherington (1989, p.294): "The aim of most missionary operations... was to raise up self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating churches... However, who was to say when that time had arrived?"

[39] E. van der Borght (2009, p.15): "The so-called 'three-selves' principles of... Henry Venn were also influential in South Africa through the evangelical Scottish missionary Andrew Murray. They stipulated that indigenous churches should be established as self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending institutions. In this way a theological justification was found and presented to defend segregated denominational structures."

[40] C.P. Williams, 1990, p.40.

[41] The first example of an Anglican Native Church was the Native Pastorate Church, established in Sierra Leone in 1861; the first 'native' Bishop was Samuel Ajayi Crowther (1806-1892), consecrated in 1864 as Bishop of the Niger Territories; in 1881, he resigned after a disciplinary investigation by the Church Missionary Society.

[42] C.P. Williams, 1990, p.45.

whether the Society was still committed to the formation of independent local churches.[43] Other Missionary Societies faced similar situations.

By the end of the 19th century, the continued presence of Missionary Societies evoked different reactions among its members. On the one hand, the presence was defended because of supposed African or Asian weaknesses: "because of centuries of Christianity, English churches had advantages and their members had 'gifts and talents' which the native church did not possess."[44] On the other hand, the Missionary Societies, which were more and more associated with established churches, lost their appeal amongst members who asked for more evangelical commitment and for less church management.[45]

It was only at the beginning of the 20th century that the Three Selves Formula was principally challenged. Fundamental questions were asked about self-support as a condition for self-government and about the establishment of separate dioceses for Native Churches besides European Churches in the same area. As a result the distinction between mission and church became more and more unclear, until it was openly discussed after the temporary forced separation of Africa, Asia and Europe during the Second World War.[46]

10.7 Ethiopian Movement and African Initiated Churches

From the 1890's, several independent so called 'African Initiated Churches', or 'African Indigenous Churches' (AICs), were established in Southern Africa. Some of these churches were founded after their leaders broke away from mission-dominated churches, in what is called the Ethiopian Movement. Many of these leaders belonged to the first generation ordained African church leaders. Other new churches were established under charismatic influences at the beginning of the 20th century. By the 1950's, approximately a third of all 'black' Christians in South Africa belonged to independent Churches.[47]

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[43] C.P. Williams (1990, p.126) about the situation in West Africa during the 1880's: "There did not seem to be, either on the part of the missionaries or of the Church of England, a commitment to the necessity of self-supporting and self-governing churches."

[44] C.P. Williams, 1990, p.181.

[45] C.P. Williams (1990, p.149): "The missionary society which had the most dramatic appeal within evangelical circles in the eighties [of the 19th century] was the [China Inland Mission] founded in 1865 by Hudson Taylor. Taylor believed that it was based on more scriptural and apostolic principles than other societies. In particular, it emphasized the faith principle; the need to have the locus of authority on the field rather than in London; living sacrificially; identifying with the people by wearing native dress, and trusting God's protection more than that of secular governments." According to D.J. Bosch (1991, p.333): "Here the eschatological motif dominated. An urgent appeal was made to young men and women to sacrifice themselves without reservation so as to save the millions of China and other distant countries."

[46] C.P. Williams (1990, p.253): "In the post-1901 climate [Henry Venn] had been so effectively deposed that he could no longer be usefully deployed... In other words, the separation of mission and church had ceased to be a legitimate objective."

[47] A. Hastings, 1994, p.532.

10.7.1 Call for Independence

During the 19th century, most mission stations were headed by missionaries who controlled both the daily affairs of the stations and the affairs of the affiliated congregations. The unequal relationship between mission and local community at the stations easily led to friction. For example, in 1860, the inhabitants of the Methodist Mission at Georgetown (since 1861: Edendale) expelled the Station's founder, Rev. James Allison, on the basis of accusations of mishandling their title deeds (par.11.5). At some mission stations, such as the American Zulu Mission uMvoti, a Tribal Authority was established to control the affairs of the people living at the Station.[48] From 1866 until 1875, the *amakholwa* at uMvoti opposed the authority of missionaries over their daily affairs.[49] In reaction, the Government accepted several laws to secure the control by missionaries over their stations. "The Mission Reserves Act of 1903 abolished all free tenure and instituted rents, half of which were to be paid to the missions, half to the Government... In 1907, the Government forced a new constitution on the American Zulu Mission which re-instituted total control by white missionaries."[50]

One of the first South African church leaders who, during the 1880's, criticized the control over churches by the Missionary Societies, was the first ordained Presbyterian minister Tiyo Soga.[51] The first church leader who left a mission-dominated church to establish his own church successfully, was "the Rev. Nehemiah Tile, who [in 1882] broke away from the Methodist Church, in response to accusations that he was "taking part in political matters stirring up a feeling of hostility against the magistrates."[52] In 1884, he established the 'Thembu National Church'. In 1885, Mbiyana Ngidi, an ordained American Zulu Mission pastor, established the independent "uHlanga Church" in kwaZulu.[53] When the criticism on the missionary control

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[48] For example, in the Umvoti Mission Reserve of the American Zulu Mission, a local *inkosi* was invited by its founder, Rev. Aldin Grout (1803-1894), to appoint a chief in charge of the secular affairs in the reserve. The chief's successors were chosen by the reserve's community (A. Luthuli, 2006, p.5).

[49] N. Etherington, 1989, p.295.

[50] N. Etherington, 1989, p.298.

[51] C. Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p.58. According to P. Denis (1995, p.11): "The number of indigenous clergy remained low throughout the [18th] century. Significantly, the first ordination of an indigenous minister, that of Tiyo Soga in 1856, took place in Glasgow and not in South Africa."

[52] C. Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p.58. According to G.S. Mukuka (2008, p.3), Nehemiah Tile was not yet ordained when the schism took place: "In 1884, Nehemiah Tile came close to ordination in the Methodist Wesleyan Church, but due to ill-treatment from his superior he seceded and formed the Thembu National Church in the same year."
B. Sundkler & C. Steed (2000, p.390) mention the Mafofolo Christian community established in 1873 by Johannes Dinkwanyane after breaking-away from a Methodist mission station, as "a fascinating example of an early 'Ethiopian' Utopia in the Transvaal rural area, determined to carry on as a Christian community on terms which they understood." However, after the death of Dinkwanyane in 1876, the community was shattered.

[53] L. Switzer, 1999, p.179. According to N. Etherington (1989, p.292-293), Mbiyana Ngidi and his cousins William and Jonathan Ngidi, "were all drawn to Christianity by American missionaries in the early 1850's. When the death of the pastor Samuel Marsh left the Table Mountain Station temporarily deserted, William and Jonathan moved to Colenso's newly founded community of Ekukanyeni [par.12.3]. William Ngidi embraced Christianity with a fervour that led the Bishop to nominate him as a candidate for the priesthood. However, in 1867 he suddenly left the church... Jonathan stayed on as one of Colenso's artisan assistants. In 1860, their cousin Mbiyana Ngidi joined with

affected churches in the densely populated economic centre of the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal, the number of break-away churches rapidly increased. One of the Methodist Ministers in the Witwatersrand who, in 1892, broke with a mission church was Rev. Mangena Manke Mokone.[54] Rev. Mokone, born in 1851 in Bokgaga, at present Mpumalanga, left his home in the wake of a war with people from Swaziland during which his father was killed.[55] He found work in a sugar plantation near Pietermaritzburg and subsequently, as a domestic in Durban, where he became a Methodist preacher. In 1882, he was sent to the Methodist educational Kilnerton Institute near Pretoria (par.11.7), where he became a teacher and worked as the principal of the Institute. Finally, he was ordained as minister in the Pretoria area, where he lived, first in Waterberg and thereafter in Makapanstad. He experienced harsh, discriminating and disappointing conditions: "Salary, housing, means of communication, passport problems, and so on, were enumerated, but the intangibles were just as important: 'No African pastor is respected by the white brethren ... The white pastors do not even know the members of their own congregations. They always build their own houses one or two miles away from their parish... The separation shows that we cannot be brothers'."[56]

10.7.2 Ethiopian Churches

The establishment of the first 'Ethiopian Church', in 1892, by Rev. Mokone was followed by similar schisms in other European Initiated Churches.[57] In 1893, for example, Rev. Pambani Mzimba established the 'Presbyterian Church of Africa'.[58] The schisms took place in several church denominations but especially in the Methodist and the Congregational Churches. The identity of the new churches was marked by 'throwing off the white mask',[59] by an African

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other converts on American stations to found an evangelistic movement known as the Native Home Missionary Society and in 1878 was ordained as a Congregational minister. However, when he was prevented from combining his evangelism with trading in Zululand (in partnership with cousin Jonathan) he broke away and in 1890 founded his own independent church."

[54] B. Sundkler & C. Steed (2000, p.407) refer to M.M. Mokone as Mangena Manke Mokone. M. Madise (2000, p.267) writes 'Mangena Maake Mokone'. C.Villa-Vicencio (1995, p.58) refers to him as 'Moses Mangena Mokone'.

[55] A short biography of Mangena Mokone is given by M. Madise (2000, p.267-270).

[56] B. Sundkler & C. Steed, 2000, p.424. The quotation is taken from Rev. Mokone's letter of resignation, dated 24th October 1882. A more complete version of this letter is given by M. Madise (2000, p.267-269).

[57] The name 'Ethiopian', probably an equivalent for 'African', referred to the only African country at that time not under colonial control. It has a Biblical reference to Psalms 68:31. T.S. Maluleke (2000, p.229) refers to Rev. N. Tile's Tembu Church as the first Ethiopian Church. Yet, the 'Ethiopian Church' established by Rev. Mokone was the first church to use 'Ethiopian' in its name. The church established by Rev. Mokone is called 'Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion' by M. Madise (2000, p.270) but the addition 'in Zion' came into use only in the 20th century (par.10.8).

[58] According to T.S. Maluleke (2000, p.229), Rev. Pambani Mzimba was the first ordained Native minister in connection with the Free Church of Scotland.

[59] N.H. Ngada & K. Mofokeng, 2001, p.1.

indigenous leadership and by a common ethnic origin of the members.[60] Other church leaders who followed Rev. Mokone's example were Rev. Khanyane Napo, S.J. Brander, Jonas Goduka (Rev. Tile's successor) and, in 1896, James M. Dwane.[61] "In 1896 a manifesto released by the Ethiopian leadership declared their intent: To unite together Christians of the African race and of various denominations in the name of Jesus Christ to solemnly work towards and pray for the day when the African people shall become an African Christian nation."[62] Rev. Dwane was chosen to represent the churches of the Ethiopian Movement in the United States and to try to affiliate them with the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in America.[63] "On his return to South Africa, he tried to persuade all Ethiopian leaders, to follow him into the AME fold. Together with Khanyane Napo and Mokone, he approached the Government of the Transvaal for formal recognition of the Church. This was granted... In 1898 the AME bishop, H.M. Turner, paid a five-week visit to South Africa. In this short time the Black bishop was accorded a triumphant welcome by the Ethiopians. Turner ordained sixty-five ministers, consecrated Dwane as assistant bishop and bought a site for a future center for higher learning in Queenstown."[64] However, the Ethiopian Churches failed to be constituted as part of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Instead, in 1900, Rev. Dwane integrated his church, the 'Order of Ethiopia', into the (Anglican) Church of the Province, where, a few years before his death in 1915, he was ordained as deacon.

The example of Rev. Dwane, to integrate with an existing denomination, was not followed by the majority of the Ethiopian Churches and the Movement established itself in the form of a grouping of different independent churches. During the first half of the 20th century, these churches played a major role as safe-havens for people who became more and more marginalised in the South African society and as silent prophetic protesters against this process

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[60] Ethiopian Churches were often marked by a strong leadership and by the 'tribal' relationships between their members. For example, the members of Nemiah Tile's church where predominantly amaThembu. Dwane's Ethiopian Order consisted predominantly of amaXhosa. Most of the members of the African Presbyterian Church, established in 1893 by Rev.Pambani J. Mzimba of the United Free Church of Scotland at Lovedale, were amaMfengu.

[61] According to B. Sundkler & C. Steed (2000, p.835), other Ethiopian church leaders during the first half of the 20th century were: "Gardiner Mvuyana in Doornfontein, and his successors, leaders of the African Congregational Church; Paul Mabilitsa in Alexandra - a Zionist leader with an Ethiopian frame of mind; J. Mdelwa Hlongwane at Pimville, founder of the Bantu Methodist Church in 1932, and his competitor Ramushu."
Ethiopian leaders outside the industrial Witwatersrand and Kimberley areas were Bishop J. Limba (Port Elisabeth), Nicholas Bhengu (1909-1985; kwaZulu), Daniel William Alexander (1883-1970), Enoch Mgijima (1868-1929; Bulhoek, near Queenstown) and Joel Msimang (founder of the Independent Methodist Church in Swaziland). During the same period Ira Adams Nembula (from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions' station Umvoti) founded the African Christian Union.

[62] C. Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p.58.

[63] According to B. Sundkler & C. Steed (2000, pp.122,837), the African Methodist Episcopal Church, established in 1816, had its own Foreign Missionary Society: " It was Bishop Henry McNeal Turner... who tried to send 'skilled and professional Blacks' to settle in South Africa... The 'AME had an important image-making quality in that its membership included blacks of great stature'."

[64] B. Sundkler & C. Steed, 2000, p.425.

of alienation and marginalisation.[65] They were instrumental for many people in their reflection on and in their struggle with, major events during this period, such as the Rinderpest during the years 1896 and 1897, the Bambatha Revolt in 1906, the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the establishment of the South African Native National Congress in 1912 (since 1925: African National Congress), the Native Land Act of 1913, the world economic crisis during the early 1930's, Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia during the years 1935 and 1936 and the establishment of the Apartheid Government in 1948.[66] Although the Ethiopian Movement was often seen as politically dangerous, the Government opposed the Movement only in isolated cases, such as, in 1921, in the massacre at Bulhoek, Eastern Cape, where government troops killed 183 'Israelites' led by Enoch Mgijima.[67]

10.8 Zionist Movement and African Initiated Churches

The Zionist Movement in South Africa, just like the Ethiopian Movement, started in urban surroundings. The Zionist Movement dates back to the early years of the 20th century, a period of economic depression and charismatic revivals. In the first instance, the Movement reached especially the more impoverished members of society. Generally speaking, Zionist Churches consist of small congregations with a strong focus on healing; the use of symbols, such as the staff [68], colours[69], white crosses and stars[70] and flags[71]; the cleansing with water and ash[72]; the veneration of and guidance by ancestors who died in the Lord[73]; the use of the drum and

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[65] B. Sundkler & C. Steed (2000, p.835): "The Ethiopian Church movement was an elemental protest against what was seen as delay and even deceit by the missionaries and against a patronizing attitude of the white population in general." According to J. Kiernan (1995, p.118): "These churches were African replicas of Christian denominations and were an explicit response to racial inequality."

[66] B. Sundkler & C. Steed, 2000, p.836. According to J. Kiernan (1995, p.120-121): "Many of their leaders ..... supported the Bambatha Rebellion of 1906 in Natal and later promoted the formation of the African National Congress."

[67] Enoch Mgijima (1868-1929) was a lay preacher who, in 1912, broke away from the Methodist Church to establish his 'Israelites' in Bulhoek, about 25 Km southwest from Queenstown, Eastern Cape. Initially, the Israelites, consisting predominantly of amaFengu, affiliated themselves with the Church of God and Saints of Christ in America. Inspired by Mgijima's visions about the end of the world, they gathered around Passover 1920 on iNtabelanga, a mountain in Bulhoek. The gathering turned into a permanent occupation of the site. Refuting government orders to evacuate the place, the Israelites clashed with police and army on 21 May 1921 (R. Edgar, 1988).

[68] The staff is a symbol of authority; reference to Exodus 4:1-5.

[69] G.C. Oosthuizen (2002, p.43): "The colours are usually white, which symbolises purity, blue which symbolises love, and green which symbolises faithfulness." Yellow is identified with ancestors, who died in the Lord (idem, 2002, p.53,76).

[70] The uniform of church leaders is often decorated with a main cross on the breast and/or back, and with small crosses in the form of an X cancelling out evil, or the spokes of a wheel, symbolizing continuity of life (G.C. Oosthuizen, 2002, p.152-153).

[71] Flags are planted around houses to ward off danger.

[72] The cleansing with water mixed with ash (*isiwasho*) refers to Numbers 19:1-9.

[73] Ancestors who died in the Lord are sometimes referred to as angels who protect and communicate messages.

dance during services; and the purification by baptism in a river, a dam or the ocean. The Zionist Movement is inspired by faith missions which originated from the urban Holiness Movement in the United States of America (par.18.3.2).

10.8.1 Zion City - America

The Zionist Movement in South Africa was inspired by the charismatic revival in Zion City, north of Chicago at the Lake Michigan. In 1901, the city was founded by John Alexander Dowie.[74] Dowie had been a Congregational minister in Sydney, Australia, where he preached the 'Full Gospel', including healing by prayer. In 1893, he moved to Chicago, where he became famous for his gift of healing. On 22nd February 1896, in Chicago, he established the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church. In 1901, he founded Zion City, a theocratic city with a growing number of citizens, about 7000 in 1907.[75] In the city modern medicines, smoking, alcohol and pork were forbidden, the sick were healed by prayer and news was spread by the city's journal 'Leaves of Heaven'. In 1904, Dowie was ordained as 'The First Apostle of Jesus Christ' and he announced the beginning of 'The Last Millennium.[76] Near the end of his life, in 1907, the city turned against Dowie with accusations of misconduct. He was succeeded by Wilbur Glen Voliva, born in 1870, as General Overseer of the Church.

The Charismatic Movement in Zion City inspired similar charismatic movements in other countries. Generally speaking, churches established under the influence of Zion City before Dowie's death in 1907 use the name 'Apostolic' or 'Zion', while charismatic churches established later on preferred the name 'Pentecostal'. Common characteristics were the stress on healing by prayer, and especially in the Pentecostal churches, the baptism with the Holy Spirit and the gifts of prophecy and the talking in tongues (glossolalia). Church leaders were appointed on the basis of their gifts and personal revelations, not on the basis of studies in theological seminaries.

10.8.2 Zionist and other Charismatic Churches

Like other countries at the beginning of the 20th century, South Africa was influenced by several charismatic movements. According to B. Sundkler and & C. Steed, "three international charismatic waves swept into the country."[77] The first charismatic movement was formed by the apocalyptic Herisau community led by Johannes Buchler and others. Secondly, emissaries from Zion City, like the former Dutch Reformed minister Rev. P. Le Roux, led a revival movement on

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[74] A.B.W.M. Kok, 1951, p.135-141. John Alexander Dowie lived from 1847 until 1907; the name 'Zion' is the name of 'the holy city', mentioned in the Bible, for example, in Psalm 87 and in Hebrew 12:22.

[75] A.B.W.M. Kok, 1951, p.136. According to G.C. Oosthuizen (2002, p.19): "Alexander Dowie's... Christian Catholic Church... founded on 29 February 1896 at Zion City near Chicago."

[76] Reference to Revelation 20:4.

[77] B. Sundkler & C. Steed, 2000, p.839.

the Witwatersrand and in Natal.[78] Thirdly, since about 1908, Californian (Los Angeles) Pentecostalism was introduced in the Transvaal and led to the founding of the Apostolic Faith Mission by Johannes Buchler. A schism in the Apostolic Faith Mission led to the establishment of the St John's Apostolic Faith Mission Church under the leadership of Mrs. Christina (Ma) Nku, a prophet with the gift of healing.

Some of the charismatic leaders attracted a large following and their churches survived their founders, becoming a separate denomination on their own. For example, the predominantly Sesotho speaking Zion Christian Church, founded in 1925 by Egenas Lekganyane, and the predominantly isiZulu speaking Nazareth Baptist Church, founded in 1910 by Isaiah Shembe.

Most of the Zionist Churches are not politically involved. They concentrate on spiritual, physical and social needs of their members. They are small, consisting of only a few congregations per denomination with 10 to 40 members per congregation. Most of the members have no or little formal education.[79] The services, including prayers and revelations, concentrate on healing by the power of the Holy Spirit of sicknesses, misfortune and evil powers.

Church leaders and prophets are ordained on the basis of the gift to "see" and "dream" revelations and the gift of healing.[80] By doing so, the Zionist Churches reintegrate conflicting (modern and traditional) spheres of life offering, for example, a gardener or security guard in daily life, the deserved status of a healer-prophet, minister or priest and making them leaders of their congregations struggling to cope with the demands of daily life.[81] "The AIC Movement is strongly concerned with a tradition in transition."[82]

10.9 Conclusion

During the 19th century, the spreading of Christianity in the present KwaZulu-Natal was not so much planned by an established agency as well part of a continuous migration of people during this period.[83] A predominant factor in the rooting of Christianity was the movement of

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[78] N.H. Ngada & K. Mofokeng (2001, p.10): "It was the influence of Dowie and his teachings through the work of Le Roux that opened up the way for the stirrings of the Spirit that became the great outpouring of the Spirit known in South Africa as amaZiyoni or Zionists."

[79] J. Kiernan (1995, p.125): "Zionism has a barely literate, uneducated and untrained ministry."

[80] G.C. Oosthuizen (2002, p.26, 29): "Christian diviners, i.e. those who trained both as prophets and as diviners, are regularly encountered today where indigenous churches operate. To become a Christian diviner, a prophet can only be trained by a diviner... a prophet could thus be called by the spirit through the ancestor(s)."

[81] E. Gunner (2002, p.22) writing about Isaiah Shembe, the charismatic founder of the Nazareth Baptist Church, states about the integrating role of African Initiated Churches for people who live in conflicting spheres of life: "The memory crisis, a crucial component of the radical dislocation of modernity, was a problem which preoccupied organic intellectuals such as Isaiah Shembe... From his church's earliest beginnings, Shembe, who began his working life in Durban as a labourer on the docks, placed an emphasis on the written word in the life of his early religious community; but he did so among people who were largely illiterate. He also wove the activities of the dance, the dream/vision, the sermon and the song/hymn into the lived experience of church members."

[82] G.C. Oosthuizen, 2002, p.XXI.

[83] In general, the spreading of Christianity in Africa must be contributed predominantly to Africans who were part of the continuous migrations of people all over the continent. According to B. Sundkler & S. Steed (2000, p.84): "The first missionary arriving in a certain African village there to proclaim for the first time the name of Christ - was never

people fleeing for violence or looking for work or a place to stay. Some churches, established by European settlers for themselves, were more or less identical to their home churches in Europe. Other churches were established in and around mission stations and were initially dominated by missionaries. "In theory [the missionaries] had come to serve others. In practice it had to be that life [at the mission stations] revolved largely around their own needs."[84]

During the beginning of the 20th century, many African Initiated Churches were established, often with support or inspiration from American Christians. Some of the African Initiated Churches were part of the Ethiopian Movement, a break-away from European Initiated Churches in order to become truly African. Others were established under the influence of charismatic revivals in what is called the Zionist Movement. During this period, the activities of most Protestant Missionary Societies were scaled down. "The missionary decline was produced from two different factors ... a great theological shift within the central body of Western Protestantism from fundamentalism to liberalism... [and]... the missionary movement was in economic trouble... The missionaries who were coming out were for the most part professionally trained teachers, doctors, nurses, very many of them women."[85]

During the second half of the 20th century, the influence of the Missionary Societies, except for the Evangelical Churches,[86] collapsed and most stations were transformed into local parish churches.[87] During this period the differences between the Ethiopian Movement, the Zionist Movement and Mission Churches more or less disappeared. By the end of the 20th century, charismatic leadership, and a focus on healing and on reconciliation had become characteristic for all African churches.[88] Yet, church denominations do differ in their opinion about rebirth (emphasized in Evangelical Churches) and about the spiritual culture. A general opinion, especially in African Indigenous Churches, is that "when Africans learned to read the Word of God, as it was written in the Bible, they began to... recognise that there was no contradiction between their traditional religious beliefs and the written Word of God. What African Christians discovered was a book about the wonderful works of the same Creator God in whom they had always believed."[89]

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first." According to S. De Gruchy & S. Chirongoma (2008, p.292): "The rooting of Christianity in African society was mainly due to Christian communities from the African diaspora resettling in Africa, and the work of African converts and evangelists themselves."

[84] A. Hastings, 1994, p.269.

[85] A. Hastings, 1994, p.551-553.

[86] An example of a new mission station established during the 20th century in KwaZulu-Natal, is the Mission Kwasizabantu near Kranskop. This Mission developed since 1967 out of a revival led by Erlo Stegen and others. The Mission centers around the effects of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit: proclamation, healing and deliverance (K.E. Koch, 1981). The Mission's school *'Domino Servite'* offers education up to Grade 12. It has a adult literacy centre, a hospital/hospice, a farm with 340 hectares land, several outstations, its own print-office and radio station and since 1990, an auditorium able to seat 10 000 people.

[87] In 1953, the Catholic Hierarchy was established in South Africa, transforming most Catholic mission stations into parishes; in 1964, the Diocesan Synod of Natal decided, that all Anglican missions were to become parishes.

[88] T.S. Maluleke (1997, p.41): "The reality is that growing sections... of traditional Black churches - the so-called mission churches - are becoming 'AIC' and 'Pentecostal' in both theology and praxis."

[89] N.H. Ngada & K. Mofokeng, 2001, p.27.

Chapter 11: Indaleni Mission

11.1 Establishing the Methodist Church in South Africa

The Methodist Church, established in England by John Wesley, is rooted in the revival movements of the 18th century, calling on people to submit their lives to Jesus Christ.[1] Belief, according to Wesley, is a strongly personal matter of salvation from sins and holiness of life. So, the leading motive for Methodist evangelizing, whether at home or abroad, is the saving of souls from the power of sins and restoring the hope of eternal life with Christ. As stated by Wesley: "Church or no church, we must save lives... When sinners are saved, and know their sins are forgiven, when evil-doers become examples of holiness, when degraded populations are changed and elevated... [then] there is an end to all controversy."[2] Early in the 19th century, Methodist missionaries were sent to work amongst slaves in the West Indies. During the years 1813-1818, in England, the Methodist Mission Society was established to send missionaries abroad, in particular to Africa and Asia.[3]

In 1816, ten years after the Cape became British territory, the Methodist Mission sent Rev. Barnabas Shaw to Cape Town. He went to Great Namaqualand to work under the 'Hottentots'. Other Methodist ministers arrived in the Cape amongst the 1820-settlers, most of whom settled in Zuurveld along the Fish River.[4] Several revivals took place, led by lay preachers and ministers.[5]

In 1883, in Cape Town, the South African Conference of the Methodist Church was established, making the Church in South Africa independent from the Church in England. Around the same time, in Grahamstown, the first Methodist school was built.[6]

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[1] The 18th century Revival Movement in Britain was led by John Wesley (1703-1791), Charles Wesley (1707-1788) and, until 1741, George Whitefield (1714-1770). In 1738, under the influence of the Movement of Hernhutters (par.15.10), the brothers Wesley had a strong experience of conversion. Subsequently, they started to organize revival meetings calling for conversion, personal faith and a life committed to Christ. The Revival Movement greatly contributed to the involvement of laity in the church, new mission initiatives, the propagation of the Bible and to the abolition of slavery.

[2] J. Whiteside, 1906, p.21.

[3] J. Whiteside, 1906, p.30-31.

[4] J. Whiteside, 1906, p.36,73.

[5] J. Whiteside (1906, p.110): "All these men had few educational advantages; they never received any collegiate training, and in their days books were few and costly. Their labours were severe, and often they had to build the church before they could preach in it." The 19th century revivals played a major role not only in the formation of the *Methodist Church in Southern Africa*, but also in the emergence of more or less independently operating African lay preachers: "As converts multiplied they spread a web of black evangelism over the landscape long before other denominations began to accept Africans into the Christian ministry" (N. Etherington, 1997, p.95). For a contemporary account by an American Methodist revival preacher, who in 1866, visited South Africa, including Natal, see William Taylor (1867).

[6] J. Whiteside, 1906, p.116-117.

11.2 The Role of Methodist Mission Stations in the 19th Century

During the 19th century, many missionaries were sent by the Methodist Mission Society in England to the eastern parts of the Cape Colony (present day Eastern Cape), where they built several mission stations. The importance of the stations for the local communities, for the missionaries, for the inhabitants and for the Government was diverse. For local communities, the mission stations played a role as a link with the broader society: "The prevailing idea seemed to be that a resident missionary would add to their political importance and provide an easy method of communication with the Government."[7]

"For the missionaries the mission stations formed the bases, from where they could persuade men to yield themselves to Christ... This mass of human beings degraded by centuries of superstition and war, debased by polygamy and witchcraft, furnishes an unlimited field for evangelistic effort... the elevation of the native race depends chiefly and finally on their acceptance of Christianity."[8] At the stations, Christianity used to be presented in the form of the triad: Christianity-Civilisation-Commerce.[9] An illustrative example of this comprehensive approach was the missionary work of Rev. W. Shepstone who was sent to the Depas, south of eMtata: "His employment, as of all missionaries in those days, was of the most comprehensive nature. He was woodcutter and builder, showing the heathen the ideal of neatness and comfort in their dwellings; he was an agriculturist, teaching the cultivation of waste lands; he was a doctor, treating their ailments with not a little skill; he was a magistrate, to whom the residents on the station referred their disputes; he was, above all, a minister of the Gospel, telling men of Christ and pointing to a new life."[10] In many cases, the evangelizing activities concentrated on the people, often migrants, who had more or less temporarily settled at the mission stations. As a result, the first ones to accept the new faith were often 'marginal' people of various kinds.[11]

For many inhabitants, the mission stations functioned as places of shelter. The stations attracted people displaced by wars, or by accusations of crime or witchcraft, as is recorded about Clarkebury, a station situated amongst the amaThembu: "A mixed class of people came to Clarkebury. Some were attracted by a desire for instruction, or they fled thither to escape persecution and the cruel torture of the witchdoctor; but others who came were outcasts from heathen society, and brought with them vices which injured the character from the missionary. Even if their immorality were discovered, they knew that the missionary could not resort to physical force. These were the cases which originated the stock objection that mission stations were hotbeds of vice."[12]

During the middle of the 19th century, several stations benefited from, or were even

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[7] J. Whiteside, 1906, p.176.

[8] J. Whiteside, 1906, pp.167,321,323.

[9] J. Whiteside (1906, p.181): "Christianity had brought not only salvation to the heathen, but had created a taste for decency and cleanliness, and it stimulated the men to active labour. The missionary prepared the way for the trader, and in a short time several stores were opened in the country."

[10] J. Whiteside, 1906, p.189.

[11] B. Sundkler & C.Steed, 2000, p.366.

[12] J. Whiteside, 1906, p.192.

dependent on the 'native policy' initiated by Sir George Grey, Cape Governor from 1854 to 1861. "To overcome ignorance, he encouraged the formation of mission and especially of industrial schools; and, to meet the expense of these institutions, he persuaded the Imperial Government to vote considerable sums of money for several years... he promoted the formation of Wesleyan industrial schools at Salem, Peddie, Lesseyton, and Healdtown, in which native youth could be taught carpentry, shoemaking, tailoring, and waggon making, and the girls could learn sewing, cooking and housework... After Sir George Grey left South Africa, in 1861, the Government, in order to reduce the expenditure, withdrew the annual grants from the labour [= industrial] schools, and they were compelled to be discontinued."[13]

The daily life at the stations centred around the church, the school, the shop and the fields, as described in the following rather idyllic description: "the Sabbath services... the Sabbath school, the day school, and afterwards the night school. The gospel was the herald of civilization. Well-built, square brick houses suspended in many cases the hut; waggons were acquired and employed in the transportation of merchandise; and the pick and the hoe were abandoned for the plough drawn by oxen. The men, instead of lounging idly in the sun all day, laboured in the fields, or built the dwellings, whilst the girls learned to sew and cook, and the women devoted themselves to household affairs. As the civilization advanced heathen customs and superstition fell into abeyance."[14] Nevertheless, it can be doubted, whether the people targeted by the stations shared the opinion that the industrial schools were absolutely necessary for their elevation. Probably, they saw the stations in the first place as a link with the outside world and the education offered at the stations as a way of obtaining leading positions for their children as civil servants, teachers, and preachers.[15]

11.3 Establishing the Methodist Church in Natal

The start of the Methodist Church in Natal followed the occupation of the Republic of Natalia by the British troops in 1843 (par.2.1). According to J. Whitefield: "[The Cape Governor] Sir George Napier... ordered Captain [Thomas Charlton] Smith, with 250 men, to march... into Natal and occupy Durban. This was done, and the Rev. James Archbell, with his wife and family, accompanied the troops, and was the first Wesleyan minister to settle in Natal... Mr. Archbell soon erected a wattled building, with a verandah all round, a thatched roof without a ceiling, and an earthen floor. This was the first place of worship in Natal, with the exception of a plain stone

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[13] J. Whiteside, 1906, p.235-237; after Sir George Grey resigned in 1861, the Colonial Government withdrew the annual grants from industrial schools, but, as N. Etherington (1997, p.104) states: " As time passed, the preference for industrial schools grew; Dr. Mann's Report on Industrial Training and Education for 1864 listed six, all run by missionaries, where instruction included such crafts as waggon-making, carpentry, brick-making, cabinet-making, sewing, stone masonry, and ploughing. Responding to an opportunity, missionaries rushed into those industrial schemes that would attract grants, even when they were dubious about their educational value."

[14] J. Whiteside, 1906, p.254-255.

[15] J. Whiteside (1906, p.280-281): "Native parents were eager for their children to acquire the power to read and write the English language. To work out sums in arithmetic - anything, in fact, that would qualify them to be civil servants, teachers, and preachers - but they had little desire to see their sons trained as masons, or carpenters, or wagon makers; or their daughters made familiar with housework."

structure built by the Dutch at Maritzburg... In 1846, the mission [in Durban] was strengthened by the arrival of the Revs. W[illiam].J. Davis and J[ohn]. Richard. Mr. Davis remained in the Bay, and Mr. Richard proceeded to Maritzburg. In 1847 the Rev. W[illiam].C. Holden joined the mission at Durban... Mr. Holden, whilst attending to the spiritual needs of the European population, devoted much of his time to the natives. Within fifteen miles of Durban were thousands of kaffirs... Between 1849 and 1851 several thousands British emigrants arrived... Many of them were from the North of England, chiefly Yorkshire; some from London and the South, some from the Midlands. Not a few of them were devoted Methodists... Services were held at York, Greytown, Riet Vlei, Caversham, Mooi Rivier, Ladysmith, Wakkerstroom, besides many nearer places... This may be looked upon as the formative period of Methodism in Natal."[16]

Almost at the same time as Methodism entered Natal via Durban, it also entered from the north, as part of the 'Mfecane'.

11.4 Between Mfecane and Gold Rush

In 1847, the Methodist Ndaleni Mission was established by James Allison shortly before British settlers established the nearby Richmond Village (par.2.1). The founding of the Indaleni Mission, situated about 35 kilometres west of eNkumane, took place during a period of migration of people who moved from the north into Natal. Some people arrived in family groups, for example, the abaMbo (Chapter 4). Others roamed in small groups or as individuals in a southwesterly direction, escaping the volcanic outbursts of violence during the first decades of the 19th century, the 'Mfecane' which had its epicentre in the north of what it is at present KwaZulu-Natal.[17] The growing number of commercial farms and emerging industries in Natal

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[16] J. Whiteside, 1906, pp.358, 359, 361.

[17] In this research, the term 'Mfecane' is used as a general indication for the demographic violent turmoil and resulting migrations during the first half of the 19th century in the northern parts of what is at present called KwaZulu-Natal and Swaziland. In the turmoil, a great number of individuals and groups of people were displaced. Many of them migrated in a southwesterly direction. During the 1830's and 1840's, these migrations were stimulated by at least three developments: firstly, the power struggles in the Zulu Kingdom in the North; secondly, the immigration of farmers and traders from the Cape Colony entering the area from the West; and thirdly, the immigration of British farmers and traders via Port-Natal (Durban). The developments caused the dislocation of a great number of people and created in the area an until then unknown need for agricultural and industrial labourers. Originally, the term 'Mfecane' (probably, from isiZulu: *ukufeceka* = get bent and broken) was coined by J. Omer-Cooper (1965, p.5) as the indication for "the wars and disturbances which accompanied the rise of the Zulu Kingdom" during the 1820's and the 1830's. B. Davidson (1991, p.273), opposes the use of the term 'Mfecane' because of its implication that the violent turmoil was caused by 'tribal' wars, or more specifically attributed to the Zulu King Shaka. Referring to J. Cobbing (1988), Davidson states: "This attribution of wholesale guilt to Africans for the devastations rapidly became, as Cobbing argues, a 'hold-all' alibi to exculpate the principal culprit, namely violent white dispossession of African land and labour."
J. Wright (2008, p.70) proposes to redefine the term 'Mfecane' suggesting "two other epicentres of upheaval" during the first half of the 19th century apart from the formation of the Zulu Kingdom: the growing need for land and labour by the Cape Colony (in the South-West) and the growing trade in ivory, cattle and slaves via Delagoa Bay (Maputo; in the North-East). It might be assumed that these two "epicentres of upheaval" contributed to the formation of an extended centrally controlled Zulu Kingdom during the first decades of the 19th century.
M.M. Fuze (1922, 1979, pp.13, 96) analyses the 'upheaval' as follows: "The dispersal of the people throughout the

stimulated the migration. “Faced with this upheaval, groups and individuals fled wherever they could and in certain cases met with the men and women who conveyed the message of the new religion. In Southern Africa one significant sequel of the Mfecane, was... related to groups forming an early migrant labour movement, from northern Transvaal to the South-East Cape. To a large extent because of generational conflicts in their communities, these groups left their villages and moved southward to find land or work.”[18]

During the second half of the century, after the discovery of diamonds and gold, the migration into Natal was reversed into a migration from Natal in a northerly direction. In between these two migration movements, the Missions in the southern parts of the present KwaZulu-Natal functioned as transition stations. They were not so much centres from where new developments radiated into the surrounding communities. Instead, they functioned more as transit shelters for dislocated and migrating people, who not only found the Gospel in the Stations, but also brought it there.[19] While some people found land in the Missions and settled there, for others the stay in a mission station was only a temporary, intermediate landing. Accordingly, many mission stations got an ambiguous character. On the one hand, the stations were static with their land, stone buildings, knowledge and material means and were accused of representing oppressing powers. On the other hand, they were fluent and fragile, depending on charismatic leadership, migrant residents and the mercy of surrounding communities, often accused of being hiding places for criminals and centres of rebellion. As a result of the economic depression during the late 1860's followed by the termination of Government subsidies, many stations struggled to survive during the end of the 19th century.

11.5 James Allison

The arrival of Rev. James Allison in eNdaleni, in 1847, was part of the Mfecane, an escape from violence in present day Swaziland. Allison, born in 1805, in England, had entered South Africa via Cape Town, among the 1820 settlers.[20] Probably, during the 1820's, he earned a

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country was due to dissension and quarrelling.... and at the time of marriage by order, it was the king who decided which female regiment the male regiments should marry. No young man could marry as he wished... and no girl could marry in accordance with her own choice... It was this evil rule that caused the downfall of the Zulu nation, because of the arrival of other races which were watching and prying with the intention of destroying the Zulu kingdom, the European territories (*esiLungwini*, particularly in Natal) harbouring large numbers of people who had fled with their sweethearts.” Locally, the secret escapes from kwaZulu are still remembered as *ukugingqa ngezilulu* (= the rolling down in a grass baskets; par.5.6).

[18] B. Sundkler & C. Steed (2000, p.82-83): “In certain dramatic cases in the first half of the nineteenth century, the foreign missionary was already there to meet and welcome the victims of misfortune and adversity.” According to N. Etherington (1989, p.283): “Mission stations attracted to Natal strangers who were lured by material opportunity or who had been pushed out of old homes by the turbulent events of the early nineteenth century.”

[19] B. Sundkler & C. Steed (2000, p.83) state about early 18th century missionaries: “The first missionary on his arrival in a village was likely to find a group of young men who had already been influenced by the new message and already been inspired by it to congregate for prayer and hymns picked up on the way.”

[20] According to S.O. Spencer (1981, p.37), James Allison was born on 4th July 1805 in Carlisle, Cumberland, and died on 1st April 1875 in Pietermaritzburg. He was the son of James Allison (c. 1775-1820), a British army officer and Ann Maxwell (c. 1778-1865). In 1820, they arrived in Simon’s Bay, South Africa, as members of a Irish party of

living with hat making. In 1827, he married Dorothy Thackwray. After his conversion in 1831, in the Albany District around Grahamstown, he joined the Bechuana Mission centred in Thaba Nchu.[21] Around the same time, the Great Trek started and Thaba Nchu also became the centre from where the Voortrekkers explored areas suitable for settlement (par.2.3). "It was alleged that the existence of Methodist missions was threatened and that the missionaries and their wives were placed in circumstances of great peril by the doings of the Emigrant Boers."[22]

During the 1830's, Allison worked as an assistant of John Edwards: firstly, in the area of the Vaal; secondly, since 1833, in the mission station Lesoane; finally, from about 1837 until 1841, in the mission station Mparane, where he worked as a catechist among Matatees led by king Sikonyela.[23] In 1841, he returned to the Station in Thaba Nchu. It may be assumed that around 1842, he was ordained as a minister. From here he made a explorative trip to present day Swaziland, from where "on two occasions chiefs of the Baraputse... had sent messengers requesting a missionary. Invitations were repeated by Umswazi, son of chief Raputse."[24] In 1845, together with a group of about 30 converts, Rev. Allison went to Swaziland where they established a mission station at Mount Mahamba and five substations where teachers and their families worked. However, already in 1846, the mission station was attacked en ended by King Mswati.

The group of converts which followed Allison to Mahamba was formed as the result of a revival in Mparane, in 1838. "This awakening, involving Mantatees, Hlubi, and some fugitive Swazi who became Allison's devoted supporters and voluntary preachers, was born out of a search for order and a future in a world of chaos and despair... Allison moved in 1845 from his station near Thaba Nchu, in the Orange Free State, to Mahamba, in southern Swaziland. He took with him about thirty people, including four teachers, some with a Swazi background. Very soon the Christian influence at Mahamba was so strong that the Swazi King suspected political intrigue. By 1846, Allison and his emerging Christian refugee community of 450 had to flee for their lives, moving from Swaziland to Indaleni in southern Natal. The majority of the refugees

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settlers, from whence they moved to the Clanwilliam District north of Cape Town. However, as the circumstances in Clanwilliam were disappointing ("water was scarce, grazing poor and the ground unsuitable for agriculture"; W.J.G. Mears, 1967, p.2) the Irish settlers were joined with other British settlers in the Albany District (also: Zuurveld District) around Grahamstown.
According to http://www.1820settlers.com, James Allison was born in 1802; in 1820 he entered South Africa among the about 4000 British '1820 Settlers': James Allison (Person ID: I9740) arrived together with his parents James (born: 1776) and Anne (born: 1781); Address: "Cork, Eire on the East India"; Family ID: F3726.

[21] W.J.G. Mears (1967, p.2-3): "James Allison was one of a group converted in 1831 during the remarkable religious revival in Albany District. All became Wesleyan ministers." According to S.O. Spencer (1981, p.37), in 1825, "Allison was on a Wesleyan mission station in little Namaqualand where he had been engaged to teach the Namaquas hat-making."

[22] W.J.G. Mears, 1967, p.5.

[23] Donald Cragg (personal correspondence; 2009): the Mission Station Lesoane (or: Lishuani) was situated north-east of Thaba Nchu, between present day Excelsior and Marquard; the Mission Station Mparane (or: Mparani) was situated east of Lesoane, close to present day Ficksburg. The Buchuanan Station functioned as mission stations until about 1854, when the independent Orange Free State was established.

[24] W.J.G. Mears, 1967, p.6-7.

were as yet traditionalists in religion, but included sixty baptized and ten 'on trial'."[25]

Other writers claim that it was not because of "the Christian influence" that the King opposed Allison's mission station at eMahamba, but because Allison's mission station attracted and sheltered political refugees: "In the 1840's there arose a dispute in Swaziland over the succession to the chieftainship and for some time a bitter struggle ensued between the rival factions until at length one faction gained the victory. As usual in those days the followers of the defeated pretender were hunted down and put to the spear. During the height of the struggle the Rev. James Allison was appointed to Mahamba, a Methodist Mission Station in Swaziland, just over the border from the Transvaal. He had not long been settled when refugees from the vengeful spears of the victor began to arrive and begged to live under his protection... in due course an impi arrived and one to whom he had given asylum was killed at his feet... Realising that worse was to come, the Missionary gathered the people together who were resident on the station and led them out from under the threat of death to Natal, where he was granted a large track of land [eNdaleni] on which to settle his Swazi refugees and a site for Missionary work and enterprise by the authorities of the day."[26]

For Allison, missionary work should take place in a Christian community with a strong emphasis on practical education and training.[27] In a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, he referred to the Christian community in eNdaleni as 'his family': "I have, your Honour, a village, built after the manner of Europeans by the natives under my pastoral care. I have also a Christian Church there, consisting of 103 members. I have 23 native youths residing in my family, to whom I devote my special attention, giving them daily instruction in religion, the arts [= the training of artisans], agriculture etc. Mrs. Allison conducts a girls' school of industry, consisting of 32 native girls, who are taught with a view to their becoming suitable wives to the youths above named."[28]

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[25] B. Sundkler & C. Steed, 2000, p.368; S. Hindson-Meintjies, 1980; in 1847, "Indaleni" (grant 4668) was 6164 acres in size.

[26] J.W. Hunt, RBM: 1954#, p.119. According to W.J.G. Mears (1967, p.10), quoting A.T. Bryant (1929): "During the minority of Mswazi [= King Mswati II, born in 1825, was proclaimed king in 1840] Malambule, a half brother, and Somncuba held the reins. On relinquishing office Malambula retained portion of the royal herds. Mswazi's impis forced him to surrender the cattle and seek asylum with Sigweje, chief of the eku-Nene branch (right-hand house) of his family. Mswazi directed his wrath against them and Malambula fled to Allison's mission station for protection... But Mswazi was not to be humbugged in his own kingdom by such foolish childish tactics so having rid the earth of Malambule's baneful presence he unceremoniously bundled the whole party of missioners and eku-Nene people together out of his dominions."
According to S.O. Spencer (1981, p.38), the choice of eNdaleni for the establishment of a mission station was determined by the Government plans for the creation of a native reserve in the area: "[Rev. W.J.] Davis wrote to the Government requesting that he be permitted to start a mission station in the Zwartkop [Location] region [west of Pietermaritzburg] and that [Rev. J.] Allison be able to establish one in the intended reserve in the region on the Umkhomanzi... river."

[27] RBM: 1954#, p.121: "Along with Education... it was necessary to supply those factors which could be used for the moral and social betterment of the people of Africa... So, right from the start [in the Indaleni Mission] there was the integration of the best in education and... the most uplifting influence that has ever played upon humanity - the religion of Jesus."

[28] B. Sundkler & C. Steed, 2000, p.368-369.

Rev. Allison stayed in eNdaleni for only four years, from 1847 until 1851.[29] During this period, the Indaleni Mission functioned as a station for migrants from the north.[30] In 1851, he left the Mission Station to Rev. R.D. Pearce, who had to close its industrial school, when the Government grant was withdrawn after a short time.[31] In the meantime, Rev. Allison, with the help of the Cape Governor George Grey, obtained the farm Welverdient, west of Pietermaritzburg, which he renamed 'Edendale'.[32] On the farm, he established a new mission station, called George Town, which included a church and an industrial school. The rest of the farm became a settlement, where each settler would obtain a title deed for his own piece of land.[33] However, Rev. Allison got into trouble about the issuing of title deeds and, in 1860, he was expelled from Edendale.[34] Edendale developed into a large township and its school developed into a teachers' training college, called the Nuttall Training College, after Rev. Ezra Nuttall who, in 1884, re-established the educational institute.

Some of the about 200 people who had arrived with Allison in eNdaleni and moved with him to Edendale, such as Daniel Msimang and Nathaniel Matebule, became ministers themselves.[35]

11.6 Industrial Training and Church Leadership

In 1856, the industrial school in eNdaleni was reopened with the help of some of the

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[29] According to J. Whiteside (1906, p.363), a discontented Allison withdrew from the Indaleni Mission: "Not long after Mr. Allison's arrival in Natal circumstances arose which led to his withdrawal from the Mission... Certain circumstances had led him to think that he was an ill-used man. Possibly there was, on the other side, a lack of perfect patience and tact. So he left Indaleni, and, accompanied by the majority of the people, established an independent Mission at Edendale. Ten years afterwards, the breach, except in some of its merely personal aspects, was happily healed... [However,] Mr. Allison was never again united with the church of his early choice." According to W.J.G. Mears, 1967, p.15): "In 1867 Allison joined the [Presbyterian] Free Church of Scotland and in 1869 commenced the Impolweni mission, some fourteen miles [north] from Pietermaritzburg. Probably, the circumstances which led to Rev. Allison's withdrawal, consisted of a conflict between Methodist ministers in Natal.

[30] B. Sundkler & C. Steed (2000, p.394): "Allison's Indaleni had appeared as a welcoming place for the immigrants and some Venda were among them. They were baptized by Allison and after some time found their way back home."

[31] RBM: 1980#, p.6.

[32] The farm Welverdiendt, consisting of about 2400 hectares of land had been granted to the Voortrekker Andries Pretorius.

[33] RBM: 1954#, p.121; B. Sundkler & C.Steed (2000, p.369): "Allison... bought [a farm which he called] Edendale... There 100 families, with about 450 people, bought their own individual allotments."

[34] N. Etherington (1989, p.295): "Sometimes congregations rebelled against their missionaries, as for example at Edendale, when in 1860 Methodists expelled their missionary James Allison for allegedly cheating them of titles to their lands."

[35] J. Whiteside (1906, p.362-363): "One of them, Daniel Msimang, became an ordained minister, and, thirty-five years later, was sent to reoccupy the station from which they had fled, and Mahamba again appeared as a Mission... Another refugee was Nathaniel Matebule, who also became a minister." According to B. Sundkler & C. Steed (2000, p.368): "Job Khambule, a Hlubi, had been with the missionary since the Orange Free State days. So had the Swazi brothers, Daniel and Ezra Msimang. They were part of the nucleus of leaders forming a Christian household at Indaleni."

settlers in the neighbouring newly established Richmond Village.[36] The initiative to re-open the industrial school came from the Colonial Government.[37] However, the local population was not very interested in the school. The need for industrial schools became questionable and the project collapsed within a few years.[38]

During the second half of the 19th century, several developments contributed to a growing resentment against the missions and their education institutes. In the first place, the Government 'Locations Commission', established in 1846, developed a policy to concentrate the 'native' population of South Africa in a limited number of locations. During the years 1846 and 1847, this policy which led to the allocation of 42 locations and 21 mission reserves, was implemented by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, 'Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes'. In the process, several missionaries obtained mission stations.

A second factor contributing to the growing resentment against missions was the general feeling amongst local clergy, that the missions restricted them in their responsibilities. As from about 1880, several clergy separated themselves from mission churches and established what became known as 'African Initiated Churches', a process initially marked as the 'Ethiopian Movement' (par.10.7).[39] There was a growing suspicion that many missionaries felt more at one with the Colonial Government than with fellow Christians. The Anglo-Zulu war of 1879 between the Colonial powers and local authorities was in many aspects a test case of solidarities. The war could not be seen as a war between heathens and Christians, because Christians were found on both sides of the divide. Nevertheless, many missionaries sided with the Colonial Government.

In this context of suspicion and separation, a revival movement, '*Unzondelelo*', developed in the Methodist Church in Natal.[40] It cumulated in three meetings in Edendale (1875), Verulam (1876), and eNdaleni (1877). "The Movement commenced in 1874 after a remarkable revival at Jonono's Kop, in which the agents were native lay preachers... Daniel Msimang, Nathaniel Matebule, Stephanus Mini, Cornelius Matiwane and many others... were at the lead of the movement... Many of the natives were dissatisfied."[41] The main topic of the meeting in Edendale (1875) was how to spread the Gospel most efficiently. Synod deputies, present at the

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[36] C. Coulson (1986, p.44): One of the teachers was Thomas Marwick, a ship's carpenter and wheelwright, who was employed at the school to teach woodwork classes. He had recently arrived in Richmond amongst the 1849-1851 settlers.

[37] J. Whiteside (1906, p.367): "Under the charter given to the Colony in 1856 there was a sum of 5,000 pound per annum reserved for native purposes, and placed at the disposal of the Governor... It was at length decided that grants-in-aid should be given to mission schools belonging to various denominations, and that industrial institutions especially should be encouraged. The Natal Synod resolved to establish three of these institutions - one at Edendale, one at Indaleni, and one at Verulam... But after a few years they were given up one after the other, Edendale surviving longest. The mistake was in having three institutions... There ought to have been one institution in a central place."

[38] C. Coulson (1986, p.108): "Soon a lack of interest on the part of Black people led to the withdrawal of financial aid to Indaleni."

[39] H. Pretorius & L. Jafta (1997, p.213): "Ethiopianism was a direct expression of resistance against missionaries, white settlers, and the colonial government ."

[40] *Inzondelelo* = 'evival meeting'

[41] J. Whiteside, 1906, p.399-400.

meeting, interpreted the discussions as criticism of missionaries and concluded "that the natives were agitating for the establishment of an institution for the training of native ministers."[42] The second meeting, in Verulam (1876), concentrated on a similar question: "Which is the best way to preach so as to win souls?"[43] Significantly, missionaries were not involved in the initiative for the meeting nor in its proceedings.

During the third meeting, in eNdaleni (1877), the Synod deputies concluded: "The members of the *Unzondelelo* had no wish to defy constituted authority, or to break away from established usages, but they did desire to take a more active part than they had hitherto done in extending the Gospel."[44] The opinion that the missions, while offering mere industrial training, had neglected the formation of a well-equipped indigenous church leadership, was expressed, for example by Daniel Msimang: "The ministers asked if we wanted a native Training Institution. Our reply was, 'We know nothing about an Institution. We have a wound in our hearts. What can we do to help our people to the Gospel?'" In a similar way, Nathaniel Matebule, who became a minister in 1880, addressed the Synod deputies: "Why did you not ordain the old teachers as ministers? The first missionaries passed away without making a native ministry. You may pass away also without doing it. The English ministers are not sufficient to occupy Natal... You fear that we desire to form another church. That is not our aim... But I weep because I fear that the great work may not go on. The white missionaries live in the towns and do not know the needs of the country."[45]

The Revival Movement led to the establishment of the 'Wesleyan Native Home Mission' which took responsibility for several new missionary projects, including the mission of Daniel Msimang to eMahamba in Swaziland, the station which, about thirty five years earlier, he had left with James Allison.[46]

11.7 Indaleni Mission Institute

When, in 1899, Rev. C.E. Dent was appointed at the Indaleni Mission, a new attempt was made to revive the mission as an educational institute, similar to the Kilnerton Institute in Transvaal.[47] Initially, it concentrated on Primary and Secondary education. In 1903 a boarding

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[42] J. Whiteside, 1906, p.400.

[43] J. Whiteside, 1906, p.401.

[44] J. Whiteside, 1906, p.401.

[45] J. Whiteside, 1906, p.402-403.

[46] According to N. Daidoo (2008), Daniel Msimang and his wife Rith Khumalo had 6 children, a daughter and 5 sons, some of whom stayed behind in Edendale.

[47] In 1886, the Methodist educational institute Kilnerton was established near Pretoria. According to J. Whiteside (1906, p.459): "The education given [in Kilnerton] was not advanced, but it was all that was practicable at the time. The curriculum included scripture, English, arithmetic, geography, English history, and reading. Trained godly natives were urgently required for extending Missions and establishing schools... [By 1910, the Kilnerton Training Institute had] three departments: one for native evangelists, who received a three years' training; a normal school for the training of native teachers; and a boarding school for boys." According to B. Sundkler & C. Steed (2000, p.407): "in 1884 [sic] Methodist work in the Transvaal received its own centre at Kilnerton, near Pretoria. It included teacher training and a theological school and, by 1907, also admitted girls."

Ministers in charge of the Indaleni Mission:

1847-1851	James Allison
1851	R.D. Pearce
1877-1879	Horner Stott
1880-1886	John Allsop
1887-1891	Arthur Chaplin
1892-1896	William Holford
1897-1898	D.T. Underwood
1899-1902	C.E. Dent
1903-1906	D.T. Frazer
1907-1912	E.P. Thomas
1913-1933	Arthur W. Cragg
1934-1941	S. Le Grove Smith
1942-1961	John Wesley Hunt
1961-1974	Sidney Smith
1975-1981	Elphas G.E Miya

Compare C. Coulson, 1986, p.111.

school was established by Rev. W.T. Frazer, catering for 42 local girls.

From 1913 to 1933, during the period of Rev. A.W. Cragg, the Institute advanced academically with standard IV to VII. In the period 1924 to 1925, a separate girls' hostel was built. By 1925, the Primary School counted 203 girls and seven staff members. In 1928, the school was extended with a boys' hostel. Between 1933 and 1942, during the period of Rev. S. Le Grove Smith, a complete Secondary School was established, admitting also male students. The school offered both a Junior Certificate and Matriculation.

In 1947, during the period of Rev. J.W. Hunt,[48] the Nuttall Training College at Edendale was joined with the Indaleni Mission Institute, as decided by the Conference of the Methodist Church of South Africa. A new men's hostel was erected for a maximum of 170 students. In February 1947, 139 boys and 39 girls were enrolled at the combined Training College. In 1952, the Training College was extended with a Diploma School for Art Teachers, later called the 'Ndaleni Art School', which offered a one year course for Primary School teachers.[49]

By then, the Indaleni Mission Institute ran a Primary (Practising) School, a Secondary School, an Industrial (dressmaking) School, a Teachers' Training College, and an Art School. Specific "religious activities" included regular prayers in the different hostels before supper, and during the morning assemblies on Mondays and Fridays. Classes were offered on Sundays after the Church services. On Sunday afternoons, Manyano services took place, led by the students. Moreover, students could take part in the Sunday School teaching and in the training for preachers. For some students, the Indaleni Mission Institute contributed not only to their physical and academic training, but especially also to their spiritual development: "The whole person of the student is looked after: body, mind and soul."[50]

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[48] Rev. John Wesley Hunt lived from 1942 until 1960.

[49] RBM: 1980#, p.6: "The Institution [Indaleni Mission Institute] was now firmly established as an Educational Centre with a Missionary influence."

[50] E.J. Madlala (RBM: 1980#, p.25): "Kubhekelwe bonke ubuntu bomfundi: inyama, ingqondo kanye nomoya... Impela uma ungumuntu othanda isonto isuke igcagcele esokemi kuwena lapha eNdaleni ngoba izwi lenkosi liyinala. Kuzozonke izinkonzo kukhona eyoManyano. Kulenkonzo kuya othandayo engene ezivathweni zakhe zebandla lakhe. Abaphatha inkonzo-ke lapha bakhethwa phakathi kwabo abafundi, abangamalunga aphelele emasontweni abo. Kwamukeleka wonke umuntu impela azizwe esekhaya athole ukuvuseleleka emphefumulweni. Liba khona futhi nethuba lofakazi kube yilowo nalowo azikhulumele ngenkosi yakhe... Uyalizuza ngempela izwi lenkosi lapha eNdaleni uma uzimisele ngalo futhi ulondeke kahle."

11.8 Ndaleni Art School

From 1952, a one year Diploma program for Art Teachers at Primary Schools was offered at what became known as the Ndaleni Art School. Although its primary aim was to train art teachers, it produced a number of practising artists. The school "was the 'dream child' of Jack Grossert, who [in 1948] had been appointed Organizer of Arts and Industrial Work for the Native Schools in Natal... Grossert believed that creativity in mankind was a vital factor central to the progress and development of all people."[51] It was established shortly before the Government had accepted the Bantu Education Law of 1953.[52] In 1954, the Law led to the establishment of the Department for Bantu Education, which discontinued all art in Secondary School curriculums. In 1956, the Ndaleni Art School was placed under the direct control of the Department for Bantu Education. In this context, the school tried to contribute to the emancipation and development of teachers and students. It stimulated "... an acknowledgment of one's creativity. Then a desire to evangelise, to pass on through teaching and by example the lessons one has learned, to show the world that Ndaleni graduates were more than just blacks with a smattering of art education, but blacks with a real sense of pride and ownership of that knowledge, blacks who could make a difference in the real world, whether it be in a rural or urban school, education administration, government, art museum, the commercial world, entrepreneurship, or as practising artist, locally and internationally."[53]

During its existence, from 1952 until 1981, about six hundred students graduated at the Ndaleni Art School and many came back for refresher courses. The language of instruction was English, as the students came from all over South Africa and from neighbouring countries. "While initially the content in art history was somewhat Eurocentric, by 1967 the curriculum included Bushman and African art, and in so doing was arguably one of the first art institutions in South Africa at the time to include African Art."[54]. Although different techniques were taught, the art making was dominated by sculptures in wood, clay and paper maché. Many sculptures have "a sense of nostalgia... a reflection of the departure from family and friends."[55] Other works have a Biblical theme or depict animals. On the premises of the Indaleni Mission several monumental sculptures in reinforced concrete were erected, especially in the period of Peter Bell, the first South African teacher at the school, from 1960 until 1963. Most of these monuments are still in place, however many of them damaged, such as Philip Ndwandwe's "Christ", which lost its hands, extended in blessing, during the 1990's, and its face in 2008.

11.9 Closure of the Schools

In 1956, the Department of Bantu Education took control of all education offered by the

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[51] J. Leeb-du Toit, 1999, p.6-7; J.W. Grossert, 1953.

[52] From 1952 until 1954, the Indaleni Mission schools were placed under the Native Section of the Natal Education Department; from 1954 until the final closure in 1981, under the Department of Bantu Education.

[53] B. Bel & B. Clark, 1999, p.1.

[54] J. Leeb-du Toit, 1999, p.16.

[55] B. Bel & B. Clark, 1999, p.30.

Indaleni Mission Institute, the Primary (Practising) School, the Secondary School, the Industrial School, the Teachers' Training College and the Art School.[56] Only the student hostels stayed under control of the Indaleni Mission. As a result, tensions, grievances and unrest became evident among students at the Mission, for example in 1961, during the term of Rev. S. Smith (1961-1975).[57] During the 1970's, the schools were phased out. The Secondary School was closed in 1976, the Industrial (dressmaking) Schools in 1978. The Training College remained until 1981, when it was moved to the Indumiso College of Education at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg. As a result, also the Primary (Practising) School was closed. During the same year, the Art School was moved to Mabopane, near Pretoria.

11.10 Indaleni Mission Development Centre

In 1981, during the term of Rev. E.G.E. Miya, the Methodist Church held the so called "Obedience '81 Conference", where alternative plans were developed for the use of the Indaleni Mission. The ambitious plans included the following projects:[58]

1. an Agricultural Training Centre;
2. a School for the Deaf;
3. a Day Care Centre;
4. a Ministry for Resettlement Areas;
5. a Child Minder Training Project;
6. an Industrial Training;
7. a Teacher Upgrading;
8. a School for Ministers;
9. a Retreat Centre.

Subsequently, in 1984, the 'Indaleni Mission Development Centre' (IMDC) was established, under control of the 'Indaleni Management Committee', chaired by Jonathan Cook. It formulated its aim as follows: "Indaleni exists to help people develop as a whole people, materially, mentally and spiritually. It does so through a diverse range of training and demonstration projects which serve both the local community and people from anywhere who wish to come and learn. These projects are sponsored by many different organizations but are linked together by the common goal of helping people to develop themselves and their resources and by a contractual agreement to maintain the Indaleni facilities. These services are offered unconditionally but underlying all is the invitation to respond to the Gospel which inspired this vision for Indaleni."[59] From 1984 until 1991, its director was Russell Pitcher with his wife

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[56] RBM: 1980#, p.3.

[57] C. Coulson, 1986, p.109.

[58] RBM: 1984#, p.2-4. The Agricultural Training Centre was run by the 'African Co-operative Action Trust' (ACAT), a Christian missionary development agency for agricultural developments in rural areas. The School for the Deaf was sponsored by the Health Care Division of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa. The Ministry for Resettlement Areas was a project by evangelist Mr Nomdlembu for people in distress in resettlement areas. The aim of the Child Minder Training Project was to train people to look after small children.

[59] RBM: 1984#, p.2.

Myrtle. Naas Bouwer and his wife Barbara succeeded them until the closure of the Centre in 1994.

The original plans of 1981 were only partially implemented. An Agricultural Training Centre was established by the African Co-operative Action Trust CAT in the former three-story girls' hostel, from where it ran developmental courses in and around eNdaleni. The courses included vegetable gardening, poultry keeping, sewing, candle making, budgeting, etcetera, all modules including spiritual training. On 8th March 1984, the Indaleni School for the Deaf was established with the aim to enrol 300 children. On 19th February 1985, the school was opened with 20 children in the buildings of the former Indaleni Art school. The School Leavers Opportunity Training (SLOT) program offered young adults short training programs for several types of jobs. The Methodist Church established in the IMDC a church training program, *Khayalemfundo* with tutors Rev. Hudson and Rev. D.K. Ntuli. *Khayalemfundo* offered training for evangelists and lay preachers. Furthermore, the premises of IMDC were used for ministers' retreats, youth synods and other training programs.

When, during the 1990's, the IMDC became a target of the political violence and political leaders started to interfere with its programs, the centre had to be closed. Only the Indaleni School for the Deaf, subsidised by the Government, managed to continue after the closure of the IMDC in November 1995. One day, its principal Mr. Louis Wiid, warned attackers to leave this "School of God" alone. A few days after the warning, one of the attackers suddenly died.[60]

11.11 Power Strugle in the eNdaleni Township

When James Allison established the Indaleni Mission in 1847, the area was already in use by a group of amaKhuze, who had fled KwaZulu, after their chief Miso Dlamini had been killed by King Shaka.[61] Partly, they amalgamated with the population of the Indaleni Mission.

Around 1850, the population at the Mission had risen to 1200 inhabitants. They were expected to obey the rules of the Mission: no liquor, no dagga, no polygamy, no immorality, no idleness and no 'heathen practices'. They were expected to dress themselves properly, come to church, and assist in the maintenance of the Mission. The inhabitants of the Mission established the 'AmaKholwa Vumindaba Tribal Authority', with James Milward Majozi as their first, chosen chief. In 1872, the chief, together with some other inhabitants, bought the farm Newland, just outside the Mission's premises, which became the present living areas eSimozomeni and kwaMagoda.

In 1913, at the time of the Richmond Native Commissioner C. Wheelwright, the major part of the Indaleni Mission was proclaimed a special reserve, the Ndaleni Reserve, consisting of 6400 acres. It was set aside for families, who belonged to the Methodist Church, but the Mission no longer had any authority in the reserve. It was to be ruled by the Vumindaba Tribal Authority.

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[60] J. Wrist, 2008*.

[61] During the first half of the 19th century, the amaKhuze were part of the southwards migration into Natal, where they were divided over different areas. Some settled with their Dalamini *inkosi* south of what is now called Bulwer. Some settled in what became the Indaleni Mission. Others crossed the uMkhomazi River and settled around the uMntungwane River in eMakhuzeni (Chapter 12) but they remained loyal to the Dlamini *amakhosi*. The amaKhuze who settled in the eNdaleni area, chose their own chiefs.

Chiefs in eNdaleni:

James Milward Majozi	(1847 - 1901)
Mchunu	
Gilbert Majozi	
Mafika Lazarus Mthemkhulu	(around 1919)
Mnukwa Ngwenya	
Eric Vivian Majozi	
King Mbhele	(chosen in 1958)
Mzwandile Pritchard Majozi	(chosen in 1984)

Source: S. Zungu (2008*)

Economically, most of its inhabitants were dependent on the nearby village of Richmond and the surrounding farms. A separate area of 500 acres within the boundaries of the Reserve was granted to the Indaleni Mission for educational purposes.

By the end of the 20th century, more than 30 000 people lived in eNdaleni, kwaMagoda and eSimozomeni.[62] In 1978, against the will of many inhabitants, the area became part of KwaZulu. In 1983, Mzwandile Pritchard Majozi, a Methodist lay-preacher and traffic police officer, was chosen as chief of the Vumindaba Tribal Authority representing the areas kwaMagoda, eNdaleni and eSimozomeni. During the late 1980's, the population in these areas grew strongly, especially through the influx of farm labourers, who were no longer allowed by farmers to permanently live on their farms. Some of the inhabitants of the areas started to oppose the Vumindaba Tribal Authority and accused Chief Majozi of corruption. They joined the United Democratic Front (UDF) in its fight against Apartheid and later the ANC, after it was unbanned in 1990. In 1991, Chief Majozi actively encouraged people to join the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP, established in 1990). During the same year, March 1991, supporters of the ANC openly clashed with supporters of the IFP, in what is still known as the 'Battle of the Forest'.[63]

A separate development, on the southern border of the area started with a conflict, in 1989, between residents of eSimozomeni and residents of ePhatheni. In 1990, the conflict spilled over to eNdaleni and, in 1991, to kwaMagoda with an attack on the house of Sifiso Nkabinde, also a Methodist lay-preacher.[64] The conflict turned into a political conflict, when the ePhateni area found support for their case from the IFP, and eNdaleni, eSimozomeni and kwaMagoda were supported by the ANC. In March 1991, the conflict cumulated into the 'Battle of the Forest' in which 55 people were killed.

Several attempts were made on the life of Chief Majozi. His house and the Vumindaba Tribal Authority court were burnt down, and Chief Majozi fled to Ixopo. The areas eNdaleni, kwaMogoda and eSimozomeni became no-go areas under the control of the ANC, led by Sifiso

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[62] In the year 2000, about half of the total 74 000 inhabitants of the Richmond Municipality lived in the areas eNdaleni, eSimozomeni and kwaMagoda.

[63] C. Goodenough, 2004, p.3.

[64] Sifiso Nkabinde lived from 1961 until 1999. According to C. Goodenough (2004, p.2), "In one of the early attacks..., Nkabinde's aunt was seriously wounded during an attack on their Ndaleni home towards the end of 1990... a rifle left behind at the scene became the pretext for an escalation in fighting... the... Nkobeni [Mkhobeni] community asking for the rifle's return since it was a 'community weapon' and the attack on iNdaleni had not been sanctioned by the 'community'. The failure... to return the weapon led to an attack on Magoda [the house of Sifiso Nkabinde where the rifle was thought to be kept] on 23 January, 1991, marking the start of an IFP offensive against the ANC." Contrary to Goodenough's account, it is believed that the political parties IFP and ANC were not yet involved in 1990 but that the attack in January 1991 took place after the communities of ePatheni and eNkobeni had asked the IFP for help and that, in effect, the communities in eNdaleni, eSimozomeni and kwaMagoda turned to the ANC for help.

Nkabinde.[65] Even the Methodist congregation became involved in the power struggle and according to some, was in danger of becoming "the ANC in prayer."[66] ENdaleni became one of the areas worst affected by the violence that killed in total about 11600 people all over KwaZulu-Natal between 1986 and 1996. The IFP, led by Paulus Vezi, was in control of the neighbouring areas eSitebhisini, eMkhobeni and ePhatheni. In the process of bringing the township eNdaleni under control of local warlords, many people were killed, or left the area. Even more were traumatized.

In 1994, the first general democratic elections in South Africa were held. Sifiso Nkabinde was elected as Member of the Provincial Legislature of KwaZulu-Natal. However, he had not been nominated as an ANC candidate for the National elections. The elections brought no immediate relief in eNdaleni. For two reasons the national ANC Government was not in control of the situation in and around eNdaleni. In the first place, before the 1994-elections, many ANC officials had stayed outside South Africa, often unaware of the actual struggle of local warlords and the power struggle within the local ANC branch. In the second place, in the run up to the 1994-elections, the national ANC leaders had agreed to the 'KwaZulu land deal', as a concession to the IFP, which was not willing to join the elections unless the control by the tribal authorities over tribal KwaZulu land was guaranteed.[67] The land deal led to the establishment of the 'Ngonyama Trust'[68] (par.7.12), the trust holder of all former KwaZulu tribal land and former Government Trust Farms in Natal, including 'tribal' areas, such as eNdaleni, kwaMagoda and eSimozomeni. Local ANC leaders in eNdaleni, kwaMagoda and eSimozomeni were adamant that their areas should not be controlled by tribal authorities, but that they should become part of the Richmond Municipality. On 11th February 1995, during a mass march from eNdaleni to Richmond, the local ANC-leaders made there demands clear that the areas had to be included into the boundaries of the Richmond Temporary Local Council, as stated by Sifiso Nkabinde: "We will not rest until these areas are included in Richmond."[69]

In 1997, Nkabinde was accused of being a police informer during the period of Apartheid,

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[65] A. Ragavaloo (2008, p.34): "The Richmond Interim Council, with Sifiso Nkabinde as chairman... came into being in 1994." In 1996, "Nkabinde was precluded from serving on the [Richmond Transitional Local Council] as he was a sitting Member of the Province Legislature. Whilst he conceded that he could not be a councillor, as chairman of the ANC executive committee he chaired the ANC caucus in Richmond and, therefore, would still wield power and be in a position to control council decisions from the outside" (idem, p.37). In 1996, six of the eight chosen councillors of the Richmond Transitional Local Council were members of the ANC, while also "the five proportional representative seats for Council had been allocated to the ANC" (idem, p.8).

[66] J. Wrist, 2008*; the role of the church during the violence is difficult to assess; for some the church was a 'third way' independent of the fighting political parties, which were continuously recruiting members; for many the prayers were a source of hope and comfort during peace meetings, during funerals, and at the homes of the victims.

[67] The IFP leader, D. Ntombela, explained the issue of control over tribal land as follows: "Chiefs need to retain control over rural areas to survive. If the 'inkosi' joins an urban council and hands over land to the municipality, he loses control over his land and power... The entire fabric of traditional Zulu society will disintegrate" (L. Kaunda, 1995a).

[68] On 25th April 1994, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly created the Ngonyama Trust as the owner of all former tribal areas and Government Trust Farms.

[69] L. Kaunda, 1995b; according to A. Ragavaloo (2008, p.7), in 1966, eNdaleni, eSimozomeni and kwaMagoda were included in the Richmond Municipiality.

and of undermining the ANC. He was expelled from the ANC, and became member of the United Democratic Movement (UDM).[70] Accordingly, the conflict turned into a conflict between members of the UDM and people loyal to the ANC. The violence continued until, on 23 January 1999, Nkabinde was killed.[71] As a result of the violence during the 1990's, many people left eNdaleni. Also the Indaleni Mission Development Centre, became a target of the violence, and, in November 1995, it had to close down. Probably, one of the reasons why the Mission was attacked, was the fact that is was controlled from outside the area. As such, it was a threat to the authority of local leaders.[72]

What originally had been the Indaleni Mission was reduced to the School for the Deaf, a partnership between the Methodist Church and the Department of Education.[73] There still is a Methodist congregation of about 200 members, led by Rev. I. Ndlovu. On the premises of the Mission, the Government Indala High School uses a new building erected in 1998. The Primary School still uses the buildings built for this purpose 1937. One of the Mission's buildings is in use as a Day Care Centre. Some of the former Mission houses are occupied by local inhabitants. Most of the other buildings are left behind as quarries for scrap metal and building materials.

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[70] Early in 1997, a new political party, the United Democratic Movement (UDM), was established by Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer. The UDM committed itself to individual rights, freedom and moral values. A common characteristic of its members is their rejection of other main stream political parties. Holomisa, a former leader of the African National Congress (ANC), had been the military leader of the homeland Transkei. Roelf Meyer, a former member of the National Party (NP), had been its representative during the negotiations about South Africa's new constitution and about the first general democratic elections in 1994. Sifiso Nkabinde, on 7 April 1997 expelled by the ANC, joined the UDM as its secretary general and leader of the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands.

[71] In 1997, a new wave of violence hit the western part of the Richmond district, including the village centre, eNdaleni, kwaMagoda, and eSimozomeni. In total, 120 people were killed, between 8th May 1997, the day on which the Richmond ANC councillor Rodney Van der Byl was killed, and 23rd January 1999, the day on which UDM Secretary Sifiso Nkabinde was killed. See: J. Denny-Dimitriou, 2008; A. Ragavaloo, 2008.

[72] J. Wrist, 2008*. According to Bishop B. Fennel (2008*) at that time chairman of the Governing Council of the Indaleni Development Centre: "It was more of a criminal problem than political ... Crime flourished because of the political situation."

[73] In 2008, a total of 14 staff members were employed at the Indaleni School for the Deaf, training 109 children from all over KwaZulu-Natal. The school offered Primary and Secondary Education up to Grade 8, and is expected to offer up to Grade 10 by about 2010. About one fifth of the children are trained in specific skills such as welding, woodwork, and home economics (including cooking, knitting and sewing), hairdressing and computer literacy. The skills training is offered in combination with basic Mathematics and English (S.C. Khwela, 2008*).

Chapter 12: Springvale Mission

12.1 Establishing the Diocese of Natal[1]

When, in 1843, the British Government annexed the Republic Natalia, Natal became a district of the Cape Colony with Theophilus Shepstone as Natal's 'Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes'.[2] Around the same time, the Diocese of Cape Town was established. On 29th June 1847, the first Bishop of the Diocese of Cape Town, Robert Gray, was consecrated in Westminster Abbey by the Archbishop of Canterbury to serve the Church of England in the Cape Colony.[3] In 1848, he appointed James Green as Vicar of Pietermaritzburg to serve the growing British population in Natal.[4] Between 1849 and 1851, some 4,000 settlers reached Port Natal (Durban), almost all of whom came from the United Kingdom. Moreover, a continuous migration of people from KwaZulu moving in a southerly direction had led to the formation of new Zulu settlements, for example around Port Natal. Shepstone held the view that the Church of England had a task not only for the British settlers but also for the hut-tax paying Zulu inhabitants of Natal. In his own words: "The present state of Natal and of the black population which has flocked there for our protection affords a noble opportunity for the diffusion of Christianity and civilization which it would be a disgrace to this country to neglect."[5]

Green strongly promoted the opinion that Natal should be established as a separate Diocese. His vision materialized in 1853, when J.W. Colenso was consecrated as the first Bishop of the Diocese of Natal.[6] According to B.B. Burnett, "Bishop Colenso belonged to the liberal wing of the Broad Church group [in the Anglican Church]... Colenso saw the National Church, as he called it, as the whole community in its religious capacity, and looked to it for the

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[1] The Anglican Church of Southern Africa, a name officially adopted in 2007, consists of different Dioceses, the earliest being the Diocese of Cape Town (established in 1847) and the Diocese of Natal (established in 1853). In 1865, Bishop John William Colenso of the Diocese of Natal was deposed and subsequently excommunicated, but refused to relinquish his position (which led to what later became known as the Church of England in South Africa). In 1868, the rest of the Church, distancing itself from Bishop Colenso, adopted a constitution, creating the Church of the Province of South Africa. In 1869, the Church of the Province of South Africa established its own Diocese in Natal, initially called the Diocese of Maritzburg, with William Kenneth Macrorie as its Bishop. Although, in 1893, Arthur Hamilton Baynes was appointed Bishop of both Dioceses of Natal, the Church of England in South Africa nonetheless adopted its own constitution in 1938. The Church of the Province of South Africa became the Anglican Church of Southern Africa.

[2] Theophilus Shepstone (1817-1893) and his parents arrived in South Africa as part of the 1820 settlers. In 1835, fluent in isiXhosa, he was appointed a clerk to the colonial service for matters concerning the amaXhosa. From 1843 until 1855 he was 'Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes' in Natal and from 1856 to 1876 'Natal's Secretary for Native Affairs'. His parents had worked as missionaries in the Eastern Cape, but "Theophilus Shepstone, abandoned the Methodism of his missionary father and assumed a prominent position among Colenso's [Anglican] lay supporters" (N. Etherington, 1997, p.95).

[3] NDAP: 1883#, p.110.

[4] In 1857, when St Peter's Cathedral was opened, James Green became Dean of Maritzburg.

[5] B.B. Burnett, 1953, p.22.

[6] At the same time, as J.W. Colenso (1814-1883) was consecrated Bishop of Natal, J. Armstrong was consecrated Bishop of Grahamstown.

protection of religious liberty."[7] From the start, the Diocese of Natal and the colonial powers in Natal , were entangled in a symbiosis.[8] [Natal's Secretary for Native Affairs] Shepstone's ideas about "civilization of the Black population" were congruent with Colenso's ideas of "uplifting the social system of the Africans."

Bishop Colenso, who regarded himself as a missionary Bishop, settled about seven kilometres outside Natal's capital Pietermaritzburg on a mission station (par.12.3), so he could be involved not only with the church work inside Pietermaritzburg but also with missionary work.[9] His vision about mission was shared by Rev. H. Callaway, one of the Bishop's assistants. In 1858, Rev. Callaway established a second mission station, 'Springvale', south of the uMkhomazi River, about 10 kilometres from eNkumane as the crow flies, in a southwesterly direction.

12.2 Springvale in eMakhuzeni

In 1858, the Springvale Mission was established by Rev. Callaway amongst the amaKhuze[10] living along the western banks of the uMntungwane river, a north flowing tributary to the uMkhomazi river. The amaKhuze, with family names like Bhengu, Dlamini, Khuzwayo, Mhlongo, Mzizi, Phungula, Soni, and Sosibo, arrived in this area just south of the uMkhomazi River during the first half of the 19th century. They were probably part of a similar migration, that brought the abaMbo to the northern banks of the uMkhomazi (chapter 4) but they had entered the area from a westerly direction.[11] In the course of time, some amaKhuze moved into the eMbo

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[7] B.B. Burnett, 1953, p.68.

[8] According to N. Etherington (1997, p.95), "As the Queen's chief ecclesiastical representative in Natal, Colenso looked to the State as his natural partner in the work of evangelism, and the State rewarded him with extensive land grants. Natal's Secretary for Native Affairs, Theophilus Shepstone, abandoned the Methodism of his missionary father and assumed a prominent position among Colenso's lay supporters." According to F. England (1989, p.15), "It is clear that at different times in the [Church of the Province of South Africa]'s history in South Africa there have been close political, economic and social connections between the Church and the authorities." The friendship between Bishop Colenso and Theophilus Shepstone ended when, in 1873, Bishop Colenso took up the cause of Langibalele Hlubiwho was accused of rebellion.

[9] B.B. Burnett (1953, p.39-40): "From here the Bishop felt he could effectively oversee both the European work in Pietermaritzburg, some four miles away, and the mission farm... He regarded the missionary's task as that of leavening the whole social system of the African with the light of the Gospel, and not merely converting detribalized individuals and turning them into black Europeans."

[10] The Springvale Mission constituted the western part of an amaKhuze area along the western bank of the uMntungwane River. The main part of this area (title deed *4671*) was planned by the Government to stay a location. V. Moodley (1984, p.75-76) mentions different groups of people present in the area between the uMkhomazi river and the present villages of Ixopo and Highflats during the second half of the 19th century: amaKhuze, amaBaca, Bushmen [= Khoi San], amaNgoza, amaPondo and amaChunu.

[11] The amaKhuze along the uMntungwane River state that they have family relationships with the amaKhuze in the Bulwer area, where their *inkosi* Dlamini resides, and with the amaKhuze in eNdaleni (par.11.11). M.M. Fuze (1922, 1979, p.17) mentions the amaKhuze as a branch of the Dlamini: "Note that there are many branches of the Dlamini tribe: there is the senior branch of the right hand side under Bhidla kaNgonyama; the Emakhuzeni under Khukhela [kaMmiso kaNomagaga kaNsele]; the Esiphahleni under Mbazwana; the Egugweni under Fodo; the Enhlangwini under Sidoyi [residing at the uMntungwane River]."

area and some abaMbo moved into the area of the amaKhuze. So, family names such as Mfeka, Mkhize and Ngcongo are also well represented in eMakhuzeni.[12]

Rev. Callaway obtained the western part of eMakhuzeni as a privately owned farm of about 3000 acres in size. "The spot was chosen for a mission station from it being in the midst of a large Kaffir population, entirely heathen and quite ignorant and uncivilized. It was a difficult thing to gain their attention and interest in anything. Dr Callaway began by showing them a better way of building their huts, and employing them to build his own. Then he taught them how to dig, and plough; and, being a very skillful physician, he was able to be of immense service to them in their sicknesses; and thus he gradually won their confidence, and with that their love."[13]

12.3 Henry Callaway

Henry Callaway, the eleventh son of an exciseman in Lymington, in Hampshire, was born on 11th January 1817 as. His mother was a farmer's daughter from Minehead, in Somerset. Soon after Henry's birth, the family moved to Southampton, thereafter to London and finally, to Crediton, in Devon. There Henry's father was appointed supervisor in the *Customs and Excise Department*. By that time, Henry's parents had already lost five of their eleven children. They were members of the Anglican Church but gave them little religious education.[14]

In Crediton, Callaway attended the Grammar School and in 1833, when he was sixteen years old, he became an assistant-teacher in a small school in Heavitree, Devon. Whilst he wished to become a minister of the Anglican Church, he was drawn to the Quakers' Society of Friends through the headmaster of the school in Heavitree, William Dymond, who was a Quaker himself and through a close friend, who introduced him to the Society. In 1835, he became private tutor in a Quaker family in Wellington, Shropshire and in 1837, he became member of the Society. He shared their belief in direct revelation as the only means of guidance.[15]

From 1837, he worked as a chemist assistant in Bridgwater, Somerset, and later in Southampton. During the course of 1839, he became a surgeon's assistant in Tottenham. In 1841, he began studying at the St Bartholomeus Hospital in London. It has been suggested that he

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[12] According to the NDAP files *Bhengu to Mhlongo - Springvale Farm* and *Mkize to Sondi - Springvale Farm*, the following family names were represented amongst the tenants of the Springvale Farm: Bhengu, Dhladhla, Dhlamini, Gumbi, Gumede, Hlongwa, Mhlongo, Kunene, Mfeka, Mk(h)ize, Moloi, Ndhlovu, Ngcongo, Nxele, Nxumalo, Nzimande, Nzuza, Phungula, Shange, Shoba, Sithole, Soni, Sosibo, and Zondi. As these names are common among abaMbo and amaKhuze the list does not confirm the idea that mission stations predominantly attracted outsiders, as is stated by N. Etherington (1997, p.97) about missionaries, that they "turned their backs on chiefs and tried to fill their churches with refugees"; or by B. Sundkler & C. Steed (2000, p.366), who state, referring to N. Etherington: "He claims that 46 per cent came from other political units than the area of a particular mission station." Probably, Etherington's claim must be seen in the light of the situation in KwaZulu around the middle of the 19th century. However, for the 19th century mission stations in Natal, such as Springvale, it is more correct to state that its inhabitants were (the children of) people who had fled from KwaZulu in a southerly direction, and were more or less in need of protection and land.

[13] N.N., 1871, p.81.

[14] M.S. Benham, 1896, p.2.

[15] M.S. Benham, 1896, p.3.

Henry Callaway's life in dates:

17/01/1817:	born in England
1841-53:	studied medicine in London
1844-53:	practitioner in London
14/10/1845:	married Ann Chalk
1854:	ordained as Deacon
1855-58:	Priest in Pietermaritzburg
1858-73:	Priest in Springvale
1874-86:	Bishop in eMthatha
26/03/1890:	died in England

(compare S.O. Spencer, 1987, p.9-11)

chose medicine hoping to become a missionary at a later stage.[16] In 1842, Callaway was licensed at the Royal Council of Surgeons. In 1844, after being licensed by the Apothecaries' Society, he opened his own practice as a general practitioner in Bishopsgate Street in London. On 14th October 1845, he married Ann Chalk, also a member of the Society of Friends. Before 1850, they had two children but both died within a few months after birth.[17]

During the years 1851 and 1852, Callaway suffered from TB, so he moved with his wife to France to recuperate there. During this period he re-evaluated his relationship with the Society of Friends and decided to resign from the Society because of, as he formulated in his letter of resignation, dated 23rd April 1853, the Society's "Scriptural unsoundness."[18] He returned to the Anglican Church, with a strong sense of being called outside England. Moreover, his health seemed unfit for the English climate.[19]

During the same year, 1853, Callaway obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine at the King's College, Aberdeen. In 1854, determined to use his knowledge in a mission setting, he wrote a letter to the newly appointed Bishop of Natal, J.W. Colenso,[20] offering his services as a missionary. Bishop Colenso, who made a preliminary visit to Natal, missed the letter but published an invitation in the Guardian for four clergy to assist him in working among the amaZulu in Natal. Callaway reacted on the invitation and he was accepted by The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to accompany Bishop Colenso, who was about to return temporarily to England, in 1854, in preparation for his final departure to Natal. During his waiting period Callaway wrote in a letter, dated 7th February 1854: "O Lord, Heavenly Father, give me, I beseech Thee, for Jesus Christ's sake, Thy blessed Spirit to be with me, to guide, to teach, and to keep me in this way which I go. Bless Thou the ministry of Thy Word by me, that many souls may be gathered to Thy Church, that so Thy Name may be glorified. Let no pride, no self seeking, no worldly interest, no fear of man, ever hinder Thy work in me, nor prevent my declaring faithfully to the people Thy whole counsel."[21]

On 13th August 1854, upon Bishop Colenso's return, Callaway was ordained Deacon in

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[16] S.O. Spencer, 1987, p.7: "Callaway was deeply religious and chose medicine as a profession with a view to it assisting him, at some future date, as a missionary."

[17] M.S. Benham, 1896, p.16.

[18] M.S. Benham, 1896, p.34. According to I.Darby, "About this time Callaway read the 'Kingdom of Christ' by F.D. Maurice. This work, which influenced Bishop Colenso's thinking, was primary a defense of the Church of England addressed to a Quaker" (NDAP: 1984#). According to S.O. Spencer (1987, p.7), "Callaway decided to leave the Quakers ..... dissatisfied with the absence of sacraments, and the fact that they had no programme for evangelism."

[19] According to M.S. Benham (1896, p.42), "Ever since the idea of taking orders had first presented itself to him, his thoughts... turned again to missionary work as to which he was specially called."

[20] John William Colenso (1814-1883) was the first Anglican Bishop of Natal, from 1853 until his death in 1883.

[21] M.S. Benham, 1896, p.43.

Norwich. Bishop Colenso preached during the meeting about the text "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men".[22] On 26th August 1854, he left England aboard the Lady of the Lake, to arrive in Durban on 5th December. From here, he went to Pietermaritzburg. Based in Pietermaritzburg, he was appointed as preacher in the Mission Church Ekukanyeni (= 'in the light') about seven kilometres from the city centre, at the farm obtained earlier that year by Bishop Colenso.[23] The services, held in English, were visited by amaZulu and by surrounding colonist farmers. Here, after his arrival in Natal, in 1855, Bishop Colenso established his residence and gave the place its name 'Bishopstowe'.

After Bishop Collenso's arrival, Rev. Callaway was released from his duties in Ekukanyeni and turned his attention to Pietermaritzburg. On 23rd September 1855, he was ordained priest of St Andrew's, which was officially opened on 14th October 1855.[24] The services in St Andrew's were held in English. On the Sunday afternoons and evenings, in his own house, Rev. Callaway held services in isiZulu, which were attended by nine to eighteen people. During the week, he held evening classes to teach reading and writing. The classes were attended by six to fourteen people.

On 18th October 1856, Rev. Callaway was licensed as a physician and surgeon in Natal. On 25th March 1857, at the opening of St Peter's Cathedral in Pietermaritzburg, the first Cathedral's Chapter was opened, with Rev. Callaway as one of its three Canons.[25]

12.4 The Concept of a Mission Station

From the start of his work in Pietermaritzburg, Rev. Callaway paid much attention to the study of isiZulu, not only with the general aim to communicate more efficiently with the local population but also with the specific aim of training local missionaries.[26] Moreover, he had the wish to establish a hospital and an orphanage.[27] Unfortunately, his relationship with Bishop

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[22] Luke 2:14 according to the King James Version.

[23] In 1855, Bishop Colenso settled at his farm 'Bishopstowe', the Bishop's residence, directly neighbouring a mission station, 'Ekukanyeni', with its own Christian community, church and school, "where sons of chiefs [*amakhosi*] should learn Christian leadership along with grammar" (N. Etherington, 1997, p.95). Acquired in 1854, Ekukhanyeni functioned as a school from 1856 until 1861.

[24] The new church building, St Andrew's, opened on 14th October 1855 and consecrated on 7th May 1856, was situated on the corner of Pietermaritz Street and St Andrew Street. The church building was erected, especially for the convenience of the people on the north side of the city centre. By this time, about 13 Anglican churches and chapels had already been built in Natal, but St Andrew was the first one to be officially consecrated. Rev. Callaway was its first priest, from 1855 until 1858, assisted by A.W.L. Rivett. On the day of its opening, 14th October 1855, Mrs. A. Callaway was baptized in St Andrew. Presumably, the choice of the name "St Andrew's" was motivated by the fact that Bishop Colenso had been consecrated as the first Bishop of Natal on St Andrew's day in 1853.

[25] The other two Canons were Archdeacon Charles Mackenzie and the Reverend John Jenkins.

[26] NDAP: 1871#, p.85: "What a training place for missionaries, what the means of rapidly mastering the language, and a practical insight into, at least, the routine of cases of disease among the natives."

[27] M.S. Benham (1896, p.50-51): "[Rev. Callaway] set himself with renewed assiduity to learning it [isiZulu] himself, with a view to the education of native missionaries. He worked on the language on average ten hours a day, assisted by his Kaffir servant... From the first, Callaway had a great desire to establish a hospital for the use of English and Kaffirs... He wished also to found an orphanage for Kaffir children."

Colenso was strained by several differences of opinion.[28] So, Rev. Callaway developed a plan to start his own rural mission station outside Pietermaritzburg, where teaching the Gospel and civilizing the population would go hand in hand. About this plan, he wrote in a letter dated 13th December 1856: "There is not a single thing that the Kaffirs do not require to be taught, from the washing of their bodies to the building of their houses... of course they are raw and troublesome, few people take any trouble to teach them... how few feel that he is a fellow man, a brother of the same blood, and for whom the one Blood of the Son of God was shed... What I want is to take them away from the city... I would purchase a farm, selecting such a position as is already thickly peopled with Kaffirs, as one in which they would like to live; a place with wood, water and grazing ground... They should build different huts, enclose their lands, and send their children to school. I could assist them materially by giving them seeds, teaching them to plough and other things... Who can tell how many would gather around me at first for loaves and fishes, who would at length come to confess that Christ is King![29] I long to carry out such a scheme... Christian teaching must be supplemented by teaching of another kind - in fact everything that is calculated to make them think and to be systematic in their action and provident in their concerns. To teach them to plough instead of to hoe; to enclose their land, instead of keeping people to watch it; to get the men to work, and to learn that women were not made to be their slaves, but their

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[28] Rev. Callaway and Bishop Colenso disagreed on several topics. Callaway was against the admission of people with a polygamous marriage, as members of the church. He disapproved the Bishop's liberal opinion about the infallibility of the Bible, and the Bishop's theology of Paul's letter to the Romans exposed in his book *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 1861. Finally, Rev. Callaway strongly opposed the use of 'Unkulunkulu' as the word for 'God' (I. Darby, 1984).
About the name 'Unkulunkulu', Callaway wrote: "They ['the Natives'] appeared fully to understand me, and, as is almost invariably the case whenever the name of God is mentioned to the kaffirs, assumed a reverent expression and gave an assisting nod to what I had said. I asked them what name they gave to God. They immediately answered Unkulunkulu, and then explained to me that the Abafundisa [-i?] called Him Utixo, but that they, the Kaffirs, called Him Unkulunkulu. I then inquired if they knew anything respecting Unkulunkulu before they were taught by the missionaries; they answered yes, that their fathers had taught them, and that God had made all things. He was dala, dala, dala, dala - that is old, old, old, old, their way of expressing their belief in His eternal being, a saeculis saeculorum. Another Kaffir, however, told him that Unkulunkulu and Utixo were two distinct deities, that Unkulunkulu began and died, but Utixo was there at all times, He exists now, but Unkulunkulu does not exist" (M.S. Benham, 1896, p.51-52). According to J. Whiteside (1906, p.261), "There was no word in [Xhosa] for God, and the word 'Utixo', primarily a Hottentot word, had to be introduced". 'Utixo' was used in the Xhosa Bible translation published in 1859 at the *Mount Coke Press*.
Rev. Callaway opposed the use of "Unkulunkulu" as the word for 'God' mainly on the basis of the argument, that 'Unkulunkulu' was a personal name, attached to a specific deity (M.S. Benham, 1896, p.55).
In 1864, Colenso was deposed from the office of Bishop, leading to a Schism in the Church of England. During the schism Callaway stayed neutral as long as possible. In a letter dated 1869, he wrote about Colenso's opponents: "I believe that their miserable narrow-mindedness and party spirit have done more harm in Natal than Colenso's heresies. There need not have been a schism" (M.S. Benham, 1896, p.158). But Callaway chose sides, when, on 25th January 1869, William Kenneth Macrorie (Bishop of the Diocese of Maritzburg from 1869-1891) was consecrated in Cape Town as 'Bishop of Maritzburg' and organized the first Diocesan Synod of the Church of the Province of South Africa, which was held from 21st to 29th July 1869. Rev. Callaway joined the Church of the Province of South Africa (Bishop Macrorie) and distanced himself from the Church of England (Bishop Colenso). According to W. Rees (1958, p.159), Rev. Callaway was "an outstanding figure among the anti-Colenso clergy in Natal".

[29] Reference to John 6:1-15,26, and to Philippians 2:11.

companions; to teach them to sit on chairs and eat off plates, instead of squatting on the ground and eating with a chip out of a pot; to teach them to build square houses, instead of round hovels, - are all parts of a missionary teaching."[30]

It is not clear whether Rev. Callaway discussed his vision for a mission station with the people who he felt would benefit from it. It is also not clear, whether or not he had any consideration for the social upheaval during the first half of the 19th century (par.11.1) and accordingly, attributed all shortcomings he observed in society, to an underdeveloped ("raw") character of the people.[31] Finally, it seems that Rev. Callaway hardly reflected on the viability of his scheme but took for granted that his romantic, not to say socially arrogant, view of an ideal rural setting would lead to the desired improvements. The scheme presupposed a belief in rational thinking and progress, culminating in the Kingdom of Christ. It further presupposed a belief in the freedom of autonomous individuals to take their lives in their own hands. It was exemplary for mission work in the second half of the 19th century as described by D.J. Bosch: "under the sway of the Enlightenment, culture really had become the dominant entity and religion one of its expressions... Whereas in earlier centuries the essential factor that divided people was religious, people were now divided according to the levels of civilization (as interpreted by the West)."[32]

In contact with amaZulu, Rev. Callaway tried to convince them that their religion was obscured and had to be developed to a higher level: "Speak to him from 'prophets of his own' - show him that underneath their tradition there is a wonderful substratum of truth - show that their own ancients knew more than they, and that it is clear that traditions orally received have lost much in transmission and had much added to them; you are then meeting them on their ground; they hear words and thoughts to which they are accustomed made [into] standing points from which to proceed to make known to them higher and holier truths."[33]

12.5 The First Fifteen Years

Within two years, in 1858, Rev. Callaway got the opportunity to implement his scheme by the establishment of a mission station, south of the uMkhomazi River. When, in 1857, the Natal Government announced the issue of farm sites south of the uMkhomazi River in what later was called the Ixopo District, he applied and was granted a site about 5 kilometres south of the Cunningham Drift, a major ford in the uMkhomazi south of Richmond.[34] This site was an

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[30] M.S. Benham, 1896, p.57-58.

[31] Evidently, Rev. H. Callaway must have been aware of the fact that the first half of the 19th century was a period of war and uproar. For example, he described Udulula, somebody he met in Pietermaritzburg, as follows: "He fought in the wars against Utyaka [= King Shaka], and points out Utyaka's wounds - then he has Udingane's [= King Dingane] wounds - and the lion's wounds" (M.S. Benham, 1896, p.147). Nevertheless, the 'native' society is described by Rev. Callaway more in terms of underdevelopment than in terms of temporary disorder.

[32] D.J. Bosch, 1994, p.296, 312.

[33] M.S. Benham, 1896, p.102-103.

[34] M.S. Benham (1896, p.60) about Rev. Callaway's application in 1857: "At this moment he heard that the Natal Government was making grants of land, of three thousand acres each, for settlers beyond the river Umkomanzi, and that the time for application would expire in two or three days. He sent in his name as an applicant - the plan was duly approved - and he set out with the Government surveyor to select the site." According to S.O. Spencer (1987,

abandoned Dutch farm in the area surrounded by people called "Nhlangwini"[35] The site was situated at the uNsunguza, a small tributary to the uMntungwane River, and at that time (until the road was diverted in 1888) about three kilometres off the main road between Pietermaritzburg and Ixopo.[36] Rev. Callaway decided to call the mission station 'Springvale'. It was already occupied with nine Zulu homesteads, consisting of about eight huts each. "The huts were of beehive shape. Many of the men had four or five wives, and some had as many as twenty-seven children."[37] Before he returned to Pietermaritzburg, Rev. Callaway found one of the local people, uZita, willing to build him two huts on the site during his absence. On 19th February 1858, he returned to Springvale, accompanied by his two helpers Mpengula Mbana and William Ngcwensa. There, under a Mimosa Tree, on 21st February 1858, the three of them held the first church service at Springvale.[38] As soon as his house was ready, Rev. Callaway fetched his wife and their adopted daughter, Jane Button,[39] from Richmond. On 17th June 1858, they arrived at Springvale. In

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p.8), Callaway wrote his application, on 22nd September 1857, "to the Government for a land grant two miles south of the Umkomanzi River. The query paper he completed in the following February in connection with this grant revealed that the land was intended for an industrial mission."

[35] NDAP: 1990#, p.1: "They found a deserted Dutch farm which was regarded as suitable for the Mission. The farm was situated amongst the Nhlangwini Tribe whose chief Sidoyi had been expelled from Natal for attacks on the Memela Tribe in 1857." According to S. Balson (2007, p.302), Sidoyi had crossed the Umzimkhulu River into 'Nomansland' [= East Griqualand]. He refers to him as "Sidoi, the chief of the M'hlangweni tribe and a good friend of [the Magistrate] Donald Strachan" (par.12.7).

[36] According to Ken Strachan (NDAP: 1990#, p.1), the surveyor, who accompanied Callaway from Pietermaritzburg, was Mr. Tatham. They were assisted by two ox-wagon drivers, Umpengula Mbana and by Utyanje. They travelled south via Richmond, to the farm Hill Top (Grant: 1883), where they crossed the uMkhomazi River at a ford called the Cunningham's Drift, locally kwaDungamanzi (= at making the water muddy [by crossing]) . Here they were joined by Mr. Sutherland, the Surveyor General. The site for the mission was chosen about 5 kilometres south of the Cunningham's Drift and about 3 kilometres east of the by then main road between Pietermaritzburg and Transkei.
During the middle of the 19th century, the Cunningham's Drift / kwaDungamanzi was a main ford through the uMkhomazi. At present, the northern riverbanks at the crossing are still known as kwaJu, a name referring to Joseph Harcourt, the first farmer at Hilltop, the farm directly north of the ford. The southern banks at the crossing are locally known as kwaNcibi, a valley with a small stream which stretches about 5 kilometres land inwards. From 1870 until 1871 the kwaNcibi Valley was used by Herbert and Cecil Rhodes to grow cotton. In par.2.10 this valley is referred to as the farm *Spitzkop*.
In 1888, the main road from Pietermaritzburg to Ixopo was diverted about 10 kilometres to the west, where a bridge was built over the uMkomazi, the Josephine Bridge (provincial road R56). According to V. Moodley (1984, p.35), in 1914 a one way, and in 1973, a two way traffic bridge was built. As a result, Springvale, initially situated along the road between Pietermaritzburg and Ixopo, was left remote from any main road.

[37] M.S. Benham, 1896, p.65; V. Moodley, 1984, p.41,44; the grant Springvale 1917 (later Springvale Mission 4343) was allocated as a private property to H. Callaway.

[38] M.S. Benham, 1896, p.66.

[39] On 26th August 1854, Henry Callaway boarded the Lady of the Lake as part of the Bishop Colenso's advance party of missionaries. This party also included Mr. James Clark Button and his wife and their thirteen children. Button was to be manager on the 6000 acres farm which the Natal Government had granted to Colenso at Bishopstowe. Sadly, Button died soon after his arrival and was buried in Bishopstowe (NDAP: 1990#, p.1). Callaway and his wife adopted Jane Button, about 17 years old, and they assisted her older brother Thruston, who later helped Callaway in Springvale and Highflats, until, in 1871, he became priest in Clydesdale.

December 1858, they were followed by a missionary assistant, Henrietta Townsend, and an agricultural trainer, Mr Weir, and his wife.

Initially, the main room in Rev. Callaway's house was also used as a schoolroom and as a church, while the verandah functioned as a clinic. Later on, a separate mission house, a school and a church were built and the original house was used exclusively as a clinic.[40] The Mission Station had extensive gardens and a wagon workshop, where new wagons were produced. It functioned as a Christian community and educational centre. The Natal Government granted Rev. Callaway a subsidy of 200 Pounds a year for Industrial Training.[41] The subsidy was partly used for cultivation and building projects, partly for a printing press. In June 1865, a qualified printer, J.A. Blair, arrived from England to operate this press[42] and to train new printers.[43] Rev. Callaway prepared several publications, including anthropological books, a Zulu Bible translation and a Zulu version of the *Book of Common Prayer*, printed at Springvale in 1866.[44]

12.6 Christian Community at Springvale

By the end of 1858, the community at Springvale consisted of Rev. Callaway, his wife, his adoptive daughter, Miss Townsend, Mr. Weir and his wife and "fourteen natives",[45] of whom only uMbana, his wife Maria and child Sajabula and Ngcwensa are known by name. The Mission Station functioned as a self-sustaining unit with its own horses, cows, sheep, pigs and chickens, producing corn, vegetables and fruits for its own use.[46]

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[40] NDAP: 1958b#: "Callaway's house in Springvale consisted of a large room with two smaller rooms on either side, plus two verandahs. The larger room was used as a schoolroom during the week and a church on Sundays. Being a doctor he treated the sick himself on the verandah. The building ....[was later]... used as a clinic. Later Callaway built the Mission House which is used as such today."

[41] According to B.B. Burnett (1953, p.49), "Assistance was procured in the form of a 200 pound grant from the Native Reserve Fund."

[42] NDAP: 1990#, p.2.

[43] One of the printers trained by J.A. Blair, was Satembe Jila. On 9th June 1873, at the age of eighteen, he was baptized at Springvale.

[44] V. Woodley (1984, p.45, 47): The Springvale printer was John Andrew Blair. On 7th November 1866, he married Eliza Bullinger at Springvale. Their son Perey was born at Springvale, and at six weeks old, was baptized on 26th September 1869.
Other publications printed at Springvale included: *Nursery Tales, Traditions and Histories of the Zulus* (1866-1868), *The Religious System of the Zulu* (three volumes, 1868-1870), a Zulu version of *Elementary Lessons and Services for Native Schools* (1869), and *Incwadi yamaHubo* (1871).

[45] M.S. Benham, 1896, p.67.

[46] According to M.S. Benham (1896, p.210), quoting Callaway: "We produce for ourselves everything we need but groceries and clothes." Surprisingly, in Callaway's letters, the Springvale farm is described as a subsistence farm only, while, during the 19th and early 20th century, most farms also produced at least one commercial product to be sold on the market. A single reference, dated 1871, is recorded about an attempt at Springvale to grow a commercial produce: "Here we found ploughing, harrowing, drilling, and hedging going forward, mealies, cotton, etc., gathered by the hands ..... of men, Christian men, working an honest day's wages" (NDAP: 1871#, p.82). The attempt to grow cotton at Springvale coincided with the attempt by the brothers Herbert and Cecil John Rhodes to grow cotton during the season 1870-1871, in the neighbouring kwaNcibi Valley, directly north of Springvale, on the southern banks of the uMkhomazi River (V. Woodley, 1984, p.35). According to C. Coulson (1986,p.164) several

In 1862, the Springvale congregation counted about forty three members, most of them were part of the mission community or lived on the premises of the Mission Station.[47] In 1871, two hundred residents were reported and 84 children attending school.[48] The relationship between the Mission Station and the surrounding amaKhuze was ambivalent. Most inhabitants of the Station came from outside the area. According to N. Etherington: "Springvale provides a good example of the social mix which characterized the early black Christian communities. The first residents were converts who followed [Rev. Callaway] from Pietermaritzburg in 1858. Newcomers to the station over the next twenty years included six groups of refugees, seven families from the immediate vicinity, seven families from Methodist Missions in the Transkei, ten families who came to join relatives, two former servants, a handful of brides acquired by male converts and five hired teachers. They were representatives of the San and Griqua ethnic groups as well as of the Xhosa and Zulu."[49] Their reasons fo entering the Mission Station were diverse, including religious motives, the search for employment and the mere accompanying of a missionary or a relative. Moreover, Christian communities like the one at Springvale functioned as an 'escape hatch' for refugees (also from outside KwaZulu-Natal), for displaced people (later on, especially those displaced by the Land Act of 1913) and for people who had abandoned or escaped their own communities.[50] Rev. Callaway was well aware of the fact that the community of believers (*amakholwa*) at Springvale was not representative of the surrounding community.[51] Also remarkable, was the presence of diviners (*izangoma*) and healers (*izinyanga*) amongst the first residents at Springvale. They got special attention from Rev. Callaway who compared them with priests and prophets and recorded anthropological and medical information from them.

In 1871, in response to a general request by the Synod of the Diocese of Maritzburg to train local clergy, Rev. Callaway trained two of his helpers, Mpengula Mbana and William

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neighbouring farmers were involved in the cotton experiment around 1870: "The place where cotton-planting was attempted in Natal about 1868 ... the cotton planters were well engaged, and among well-remembered names were Cunningham, Leslie, [Herbert and] Cecil Rhodes ..., R. Powys ..., Sewell, Gray, Ballantine and others." Probably, the attempt did not last longer than one or two seasons Par.2.2 & 2.5).

[47] According to S.O. Spencer (1987, p.8), in 1862, Springvale "had nine baptized families, viz. 19 adults and 24 children". The Sunday Services were attended by many more: "in less than five years nearly a hundred would regularly assemble for Divine Service in an accommodious [sic] building erected on the spot" (M.S. Benham, 1896, p.66).

[48] NDAP: 1871#, p.87; according to B.B. Burnett (1953, p.96), "The mission of Springvale was full of vitality. By 1873 there were 200 Christians there, and 108 children attending the school."

[49] N. Etherington, 1989, p.283.

[50] The term 'escape hatch' for Missions Stations was coined by N. Etherington (1989, p.283). The following example of people looking for a place to stay at Springvale is recorded by Callaway: "I have lately had a petty chief here; he has 25 huts under him now, which represent about 200 people. Well, he came to me and asked permission to settle here. He came with two kraals and now wishes to bring all his people to settle under us. I heartily wish I could locate him. But we have not room" (NDAP: 1871#, p.87).

[51] N. Etherington (1989, p.283) quotes a letter by H. Callaway, dated 6 February 1863, stating, that it is "not the élite of... society which first gathers around a Missionary; it is not even an average specimen of the natives."

Ngcwensa, to become the first indigenous clergy in the Diocese.[52] Not withstanding Callaway's respect for local customs and knowledge and his urge for an indigenous clergy, the impression, which prevailed at Springvale was, that to become a Christian one had to abandon one's African culture.[53]

12.7 Two Outstations

In 1863, Rev. Callaway purchased two farms, close to each other, about 25 kilometres east from Springvale. At one of the farms, Umtwalume Falls, he established Springvale's first major outstation, Ekuphakameni (= 'elevated place').[54] The second farm, Esparanza, developed into what is now the village of Highflats.

Within a year, under the responsibility of the Reverend W.O. Newnham, the Christian community in Ekuphakameni counted forty five members,[55] most of them originated from Springvale.[56] In 1871, the day school was attended by 42 children, the Sunday school by about 60. Every week, Sunday services were held in isiZulu. Services in English were held every two weeks. Rev. Callaway envisioned the two new farms together becoming the main mission centre: "Highflats is a natural centre, and we should have there our Hospital and Printing office, and as many young men, white and coloured, as we could get to devote themselves to the work of the ministry, for training."[57]

The work in Ekuphakameni and Highflats brought Rev. Callaway in contact with the Griquas.[58] These contacts led to the establishment of a second major outstation on the farm

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[52] G.D. Soni, 1995, p.171-173; Mpengula Mbana and his wife Maria had followed H. Callaway to Springvale. In 1858, their son Sajabula was the first Zulu-child baptized at Springvale (V. Woodley, 1984, p.46). Mbana and William Ngcwensa were ordained as Deacons on the fourth Sunday of Advent 1871.

[53] G.D. Soni, 1995, p.172.

[54] Reference to Matthew 5:14. According to V. Moodley (1984, p.44), "The Ekuphakameni Mission station was established on the other side of Highflats by Callaway in 1863. His assistant there was the Rev. W.O. Newnham, who later founded Hilton College in 1872." Presumably, Callaway attracted William Orde Newnham (1825-1893), because he wanted to start an educational facility at Ekuphakameni. Newnham stayed at the Station from 1863 until 1868.

[55] According to M.S. Benham (1896, p.159), "By March, 1864, the congregation [at Ekuphakameni] had increased to an average of forty-five - 'as many', Dr. Callaway wrote, 'as at Spring Vale after many years' work. There is no separate village of which they call believers at whom they look with suspicion and jealousy'."

[56] NDAP: 1990#, p.5: "[Thurston] Button [who was officially appointed as priest in Highflats-Ekuphakameni in 1872] took with him [from Springvale] the families of Malandas, Sikakanas, Mkize, Majola, Njapa and Mhlongwas to form a nucleus of the mission [in Ekuphakameni]."

[57] NDAP: 1871#, p.87.

[58] NDAP: 1871#, p.87: "Then I received a very interesting visit from a lot of Half-castes who are living on the Umkomanzi, about sixteen miles from Highflats, asking me to baptize their children... On the Umzimkulwana there is a Half-caste, a [certain] Fynn, who is a petty Chief, and who would be glad to have a Mission there. The Natives of Alfreda might be looked after by a Missionary located there, and he might also aid in the work in Griqua Land... There should be two Missions at once, one on the Umzimkulu,where there are about 30 white families settled, and a dense native population and another about ten miles further on, now a native location, and not far from Reit Vley, and the village of Windvogel on the Ibisi, which are inhabited by Griquas, that is halfcastes, who speak a corrupted Dutch." Probably, the "Fynn", mentioned by Callaway, was a son of Henry Francis Fynn (1803-1861), who became

Clydesdale, in East Griqua Land. The area was inhabited by about 4 000 to 6 000 Christian Griquas and about 15 000 Zulus.[59] In 1862, the Griqua had arrived in present day KwaZulu-Natal on the border with the Eastern Cape. They settled on, according to D. Oaks, "a small pocket of land between Natal and Transkei. Under Adam Kok III, the Griqua had trekked from the vicinity of Philippolis [West Griqualand], where they had lost their lands to immigrant Boers, to find a new home. Granted a safe passage by Moshoeshoe, they crossed Basutoland [Lesotho], using gunpowder on occasion to blast their pathway through the Drakensberg, and descended, after two years, to the territory known as Noman's Land [East Griqualand] between the [Eastern] Cape and Natal, in 1862. Insecure and distrustful, they lived in laager for some ten years, before founding their own town of Kokstad."[60]

In 1870, Rev. Callaway got permission to establish a mission station in East Griqua Land. Only two years earlier, the Griqua leader, Adam Kok III, had already successfully asked the London Missionary Society for a missionary. Therefore, it might be supposed that Rev. Callaway was not only invited by the Griquas but also by the local magistrate and businessman Donald D. Strachan. Rev. Callaway bought Strachan's farm Clydesdale, just south of the uMzimkhulu River, to build there a mission outstation. Within a year, he transferred the station to the local church

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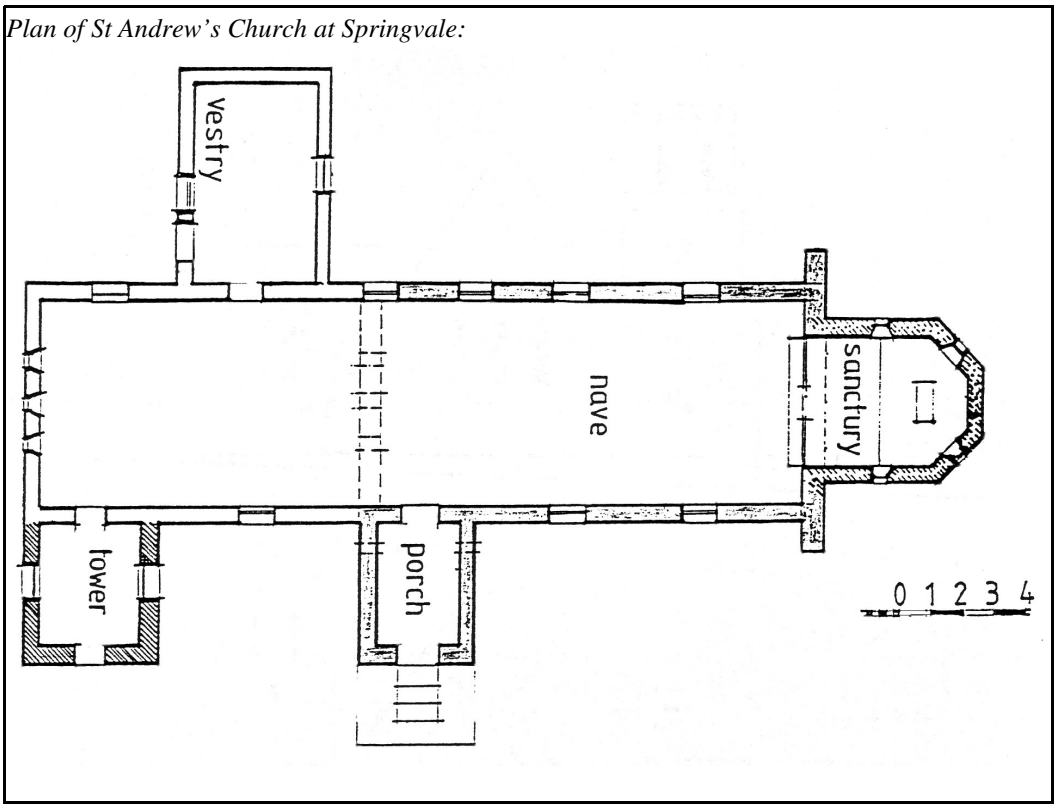
chief of three homesteads, scattered from the Bluff (Durban) southwards to the Mzimkhulu River (C. Ballard, 1989, p.118).

[59] NDAP: 1871#, p.88: " The inhabitants [of East Griqualand] consist of Dutch, Hottentots, and Slaves. There are 6,000 [sic] Christian Griqua families [=people?], and 15,000 Zulus of the Amabaka tribe ..... These Christian families have actually kept up Daily and Sunday Services amongst themselves, having no Minister amongst them but one, and he a Dissenting Minister [the Reverend William Dower of the London Missionary Society]."
In the middle of the 19th century, Robert Moffat (1795-1883), a missionary of the predominantly Congregational *London Missionary Society* (LMS), worked in West Griqualand. "In the years 1825-50 seven missionaries were posted [by the LMS] to Philippolis; the Griqua ordered six of these to leave" (B. Sundkler & C. Steed, 2000, p.338). The Griqua Republic "provided a key to the process and patterns of Christianization of some of the leading Bantu-speaking people" (idem, p.323). In 1862, the Griquas moved to East Griqua Land south of the uMzinkulu River. Around 1863, according to S. Balson (2007, p.226,238,245), "the London Missionary Society in Cape Town sent William Murray, a young priest, to minister to the people [in East Griqualand] fulfilling a promise they had made to Kok during his last visit to Cape Town .....The final task of the Kok's delegation [in 1868] was to approach the embarrassed and apologetic London Missionary Society for a new missionary to lead their people following the misplaced allegations of impropriety leveled against their former minister [Murray]. The Society acted quickly, appointing the Rev. William Dower to the task ... It was in the spring of 1869 that Dower, the missionary from the Kat River in the Eastern Cape, made his appearance. The London Missionary Society had once again kept their promise, and would again play a major role in the conversion of the Griqua people to Christianity."

[60] D. Oaks, 1994, p.190. A slightly different date for the arrival of the Griquas, in what became known as *East Griqua Land*, is recorded in NDAP, 1990#, p.4: "In May 1863 the Griquas arrived at their newly granted homeland." So, also S. Balson (2007, p.217-218): "It was in the spring of 1862, that ...[they]... started the tragic Griqua trek. Nearly 4000 [sic] men, women and children travelled through southern Basutoland, an unforgiving region ruled by a hostile Pushuli and Nehemiah the bandit, son of Moshoeshoe, king of the Basutos, who did not want to see them reach Nomansland. The trek would take nearly nine months and leave the once wealthy Griqua nation destitute and starving." They were led by "kaptyn" [= chief] Adam Kok III (1811-1875), who ruled the Griqua from about 1837 until his death, just a year after the annexation of East Griqua Land by the British Government.

council.[61] Three years later, in 1874, East Griqua Land lost its independence to the British Empire.

Plan of St Andrew's Church at Springvale:



[61] NDAP, 1990#, p.4: "After preliminary negotiations between the parties on 30th May 1870, Callaway, his wife and the Misses Button and Townsend set off on an exploratory trip to meet the Griqua Chief, Adam Kok [III] at Umzimkulu, and they returned to Springvale on 10th June. On 9th June 1870, Brisley, the Govt. Secretary, wrote to Callaway at Springvale informing him that the Volksraad [until 1874, the Griquas regarded themselves as an independent state] had decided to establish a Mission in Griqualand ..... Callaway duly set off for Griqualand to seek the suitable farm and he spent the night with the local Magistrate cum Trader called [Donald] Strachan, who had recently built a substantial house on his farm 'Clydesdale', which was situated near the Drift on the Umzimkulu, where the Magistrate's Office and Trading Station were. After breakfast Strachan accompanied Callaway to the top of the hill to show him the way he was to take, and when they were taking leave of each other Callaway remarked that Strachan's farm could make an ideal Mission. That was the end of the research - they returned to the house and after obtaining Adam Kok's approval Callaway paid Strachan 250 Pounds for the improvements - the house and a kraal - and Kok granted Strachan another farm. In Dec. 1871 the farm was transferred to the Kerkenraad van Griqualand en die Resident Leraar van Clydesdale, otherwise referred to as die Kerk van England, Provincie van Zuid Afrika in Nieuwe Griqualand. The farm was eventually sold by the Diocese in 1982. In May 1874, another farm, 'River Bank', was acquired by Callaway. It was either granted by Adam Kok or bought by Callaway for 250 Pound. It was intended as an endowment for a Hospital at Clydesdale."

12.8 St Andrew's Church Building

In 1873, appointed as bishop in the present day Eastern Cape, Callaway left Springvale for eMthatha[62] and donated the Springvale Mission to the Church of the Province of South Africa. By then, he had started to construct a church building at Springvale which would be called after St Andrew's Church in Pietermaritzburg. In 1875, his successor Canon T.B. Jenkinson completed St. Andrew's Church at Springvale.[63] Originally, it was a simple rectangular building with narrow windows and on its south-western corner a charming porch with a "radiating stone arch and sandstone corbels... The original unadorned rectangular building is probably very much in keeping with Callaway's Quaker background."[64]

In 1915, on the church's east side, a sanctuary and chancel were added, bringing the building in line with liturgical practices and increasing its size.[65] Other substantial changes to the church building took place shortly before Springvale's centenary. On 3rd December 1954, the St Andrew's Church was re-opened. The old narrow windows were replaced with wide metal frames and the nave was extended in western direction, almost doubling its size. On the south side of the extension, a bell tower was built and on its north side, a vestry. According to L. Pulkington, "The parish church now stands as an unpretentious blend of traditional stonework with machine age steel windows and a corrugated iron roof."[66]

12.9 Springvale after Callaway

Canon Jenkinson continued the work at the Mission Station as he had found it: "There were three or four cottages housing European catechists or teachers and their families... There were stables, a butchery, a smithy and a printing press."[67] The Rev. W. Greenstock, who

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[62] According to B. Sundkler & C. Steed (2000, p.413), in 1873, Henry Callaway was appointed as Bishop of St John's in the Transkei [= Eastern Cape], a position he held until 1886. In 1876 he settled at the uMthatha River, where for the first time, in 1877, he presided a Diocesan synod. Here, in 1879, the foundation stone of St John's College was laid. In 1880, Callaway suffered a light stroke. After a year in England to recuperate, he came back in eMthatha, until he moved to Clydesdale. "In August 1883, Henry Callaway moved to a farm he had bought overlooking Clydesdale which he called Bishopsdene, and where, once again, undaunted, he built a large house which he intended using as a Training College" (NDAP: 1990#, p.9). In 1886, Thruston Button was thrown off his horse and died. He was replaced by John Oxley Oxland, who had married his sister Jane Button (notes 26 and 41). Button's death shocked Callaway tremendously. He left for England, where he died on 26th March 1890.

[63] NDAP: 1885#, p.10: "The new church dedicated to S.[t] Andrew[']s, has at last been opened on 3 Dec 1884." NDAP: 1988#, p.6: "The style of the original building is undoubtedly Early English with narrow lancet windows, steep roof and random stone work. The facade of the porch shows considerable finesse and charm in detail of the entrance arch with its radiating stone lintel and the sandstone corbels and capping to the gable parapet."

[64] NDAP: 1988#, p.4,7.

[65] The date 1915 for the addition of the sanctuary is found on the outside gable above the sanctuary, which "is built of brick and plastered. There are ruled joints in the plaster to imitate Portland stone" (NDAP: 1988#, p.2).

[66] NDAP: 1988#, p.5.

[67] NDAP: 1958b#.

Clergy serving in Springvale:

1858-1873	H. Callaway
1873-1879	T.B. Jenkinson
1879-1886	W. Greenstock
1886-1891	H.T.A. Thompson
1892	H.J. Mitchell
1893-1897	P.T. Burges
1897-1917	J.G. Chater
1920-1924	R.B. Davis
1924-1932	W.F.D. Mzamo
1932-1944	C.H. Chater
1945-1949	A.F. Mylne
1950	K. Walker
1952-1965	K.B. Hallowes
1966-1972	E.V. Ngubane
1972-1973	T.S. Sibisi
1973-1981	A.E.T. Motaungo
1981-1988	J. Weaver
1989-1992	S.W. Ngcobo
1992-2001	A. B. Ngcongo
2002-2007	O.B. Mngomezulu
from 2008	Z.P. Shange

succeeded Jenkinson at Springvale, established the St John the Baptist Church in Ixopo, in 1883.[68]

At the beginning of the 20th century, during the period of the Rev. J.G. Chater, the Springvale congregation, including three minor outstations, counted in total 420 members, while in Highflats, including seven minor outstations, another 536 church members were counted.[69]

All Callaway's successors had an European background, until 1925, when the Rev. W.F.D. Mzamo became in charge of Springvale. In his time the Mission Station saw a revival with a strong growth in membership.[70] In 1899 in Grahamstown, Rev. Mzamo had been ordained after completing his studies at Lovedale in the present day Eastern Cape.[71] He composed several church hymns, some of which are included in the Anglican isiZulu hymn book. During his period at Springvale, a separate teacher, Simon S. Malinga, was appointed as the principal of the Mission School and the number of outstations increased. After Rev. Mzamo's death in 1932, the work at Springvale declined quickly. Many buildings at the Mission Station were left unused and several outstations were closed.

Rev. Mzamo was succeeded by the Rev. C.H. Chater as priest of Springvale. During Chater's period, funds to maintain the different outstations dried up and it was decided to sell Ekuphakameni. A main obstacle in the sale were the 29 tenants at Ekuphakameni, represented by Amos John Mtembu. They were ordered to leave their homes before 30th June 1938.[72]

During the period of Rev. Chater's successor, Rev. A.F. Mylne, the Springvale Clinic was re-opened.[73]

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[68] NDAP: 1980, p.1: "Rev. Canon W. Greenstock used to hold services about once a month in front of Grant's Hotel at Landsdow, and afterwards in the Courtroom [in Ixopo], which was ready in 1880." On 29th August 1886, St. John the Baptist Church, completed in 1883, was consecrated by Bishop W.K. Macrorie.

[69] NDAP: 1916#, p.4; in 1914, Springvale had three outstations, one at South Hill and two in eMkunya. The station Highflats (St James; Rev. P.T. Burges) had the following outstations: Dumisa, Ixopo, Lufafa, Mahlabatshana, Ngumatana, Thisa's, and Umgodi. The station Umzimkulwana (Rev. W.F.D. Mzamo), with four outstations (St Cuthbert's, St Peter's, St Mark's and St John's) counted an additional 900 church members.

[70] According to G.D. Soni (1995, p.175), Reverend Walter F.D. Mzamo was "the first black priest in charge of Springvale Mission ..... He soon attracted a large number of converts to the church at Springvale, so much that the existing church became too small."

[71] According to A. Hasting (1994, p.207): "In 1824 the Glasgow Society founded Lovedale [in the Eastern Cape], later to become probably the most influential of all Christian education centres in the south."

[72] NAP: 1937#: In 1937, Rev. C.H. Chater wanted "to sell the High Flats Mission in order to improve Springvale Mission."

[73] NDAP: 1852#: "This was started by Mrs. Mylne, and is necessary here where T.B. is rife."

12.10 Springvale around its Centenary

The Mission saw a second revival in the time of Rev. K.B. Hallowes, between 1951 and 1965.[74] According to V. Moodley, "He built fifteen churches and chapels, twenty nine outstations were attached to the Mission, some only accessible on horseback... In him and others, Callaway's hope was realised in some measure, that Springvale would be a training centre for missionaries."[75] The stations were visited by Rev. Hallowes and two assistants. Rev. Hallowes encouraged the local congregations to lead their own services, when nobody from the Mission was available.[76] The nearest outstations, St Mary's in eMkhunya, overlooked the eNkweletsheni area including kwaVishavisha, situated about 600 metre below the church building, at the uMkhomazi River, about 15 kilometres east from Springvale. In 1957, the wattle-and-daub building in eMkhunya was replaced by the present building made of stones and cement blocks.

The mission work had three main focus points: its school, the clinic and the church with its outstations. The school was attended by around 200 pupils up to Standard 6. The clinic, run by Mrs. Joan ("Nan") Hallowes, was visited on a weekly basis by a local district surgeon. Its mobile clinic visited the outpost eMkhunya, where patients were helped in a local shop just east from St Mary's Church.[77] The Clinic gave special attention to peri-natal care and TB. Mrs. Hallowes also organized the church's 'Guilds', especially the Girls' Church Guild and the Mothers' Union Group. In 1958, at the time of Springvale's centenary, she wrote about the mission with its endeavour to "preach the Gospel to every creature", that Springvale was still very much alive: "Five hundred Zulus spent the Advent weekend at Springvale to join the services, feasting, concerts and to see the nativity play."[78]

12.11 Mission under Attack

In an attempt to understand the social tensions in and around Springvale at the end of the 20th century, the journalist Jonny Steinberg, in his book Midlands, gives an analysis of the developments at Springvale until its present position as a parish church.[79] In 1996, the priest

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[74] Kenneth Bernard Hallowes (1913-1995) was Suffragan Bishop in Northern Natal and Pietermaritzburg from 1969 until 1980.

[75] V. Moodley, 1984, p.47. When Hallowes arrived, Springvale had 19 outstations (NDAP: 1952#). In the period 1951 until 1965, another ten outstations were added.

[76] NDAP: 1958b#, p.2: "In between their visits, the services at the outstations are run by the people themselves under Mr. Hallowes's guidance and instruction." One of the two assistants was "Father Tshabalala, the resident African Priest" (idem).

[77] According to V. Moodley (1984, p.48), treatment was given for sicknesses like TB, whooping cough, malnutrition , measles and skin ailments.

[78] NDAP: 1958b#, p.3.

[79] The findings of J. Steinberg are reflected in the eleventh chapter of his book *Midlands* (2002, p.138-152). Steinberg does not explicitly mention Rev. H. Callaway or Springvale, but uses self-chosen pseudonyms in his book. H. Callaway is referred to as "Oliver Swift... the British missionary who founded Izita... a medical doctor as well as a priest." 'Izita' is the pseudonym for the Springvale Mission. The name 'Izita' might have been derived from 'Uzita', the name of the first person in the area, who after Rev. Callaway's arrival in 1858, assisted him by building two huts

residing at Springvale, Rev. Aaron Ngcongo, was attacked twice in the space of six weeks, on 27th February and 16th April. Subsequently, Rev. Ngcongo abandoned his house at Springvale and left the Mission's sisters behind.[80] They endured several break-ins, until, on 17th August 1996, they were attacked themselves. In September 1996, a teacher at the Mission School was attacked and shot dead. Shortly after the incident, plans were realized to replace the school outside the premises of the Mission Station.

Steinberg suggests that the attacks were not isolated incidents but the expression of the frustrations rooted in the ambivalent relationship between the Mission and the people, in whose area the Mission was planted by Callaway. "The truth of the matter is that the missionaries of mid-nineteenth century Natal were not greeted with the open arms as [Callaway] suggests. Established African power kept the missionaries at a wary arm's length. Those Africans who did venture on to mission land to make a new life were generally at the margins of established African communities." Rev. Callaway's basic attitude towards the local community was that of a teacher. He never became part of the amaKhuze community but distanced himself from the people who according to his diary in December 1856, "need constant direction and supervision."[81] From the side of the community the distance between the community members and Rev. Callaway was expressed in the Zulu-name they gave him: 'uMvunywa', which means "one who is assented to, one with whom we agree. So a native on his way to see the doctor for the first time would have a hint, in the name itself, that he must assent to everything the doctor said as everybody else assented. Nobody contradicted him."[82]

From its start, as Steinberg argues, the Springvale Mission was isolated, both from the local amaKhuze community and from the surrounding farmers, who increasingly exploited the

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on the site, the first two buildings of the Springvale Mission. The identification of Izita with Springvale in this research is based on Steinberg's description of the area and its history, which adequately fits Springvale, and on the confirmation by some of Steinberg's informants.

[80] NDAP: 1996#: In December 1995, Sister Londiwe and eight novices of the Community of Jesus Compassion, founded in 1992, moved to their new home at Springvale. "Their aim is to do evangelism as well as works of mercy such as visiting the sick and poor and clothing the naked."

[81] J. Steinberg, 2002, p.143; M.S. Benham (1896, p.67) recorded about Rev. Callaway's position in the mission: "He himself continued to hold the office of overseer in matters temporal as well as spiritual. By being always ready to take part himself in whatever he directed them to do, - by every now and then taking the implements out of their hands, that he might show them the proper use of them, and how much might by continuous and judicious effort be achieved in a tithe of the time that they usually take; and also by placing constantly before their eyes the example of two or three steady, reliable workers when they think they can get anything by it."

[82] M.S. Benham, 1896, p.166. C. Cameron (NDAP: 1890#, p.76) gives the following example of the seemingly uncritical acceptance of Rev. Callaway and his way of life by the people in Springvale: "The deference with which Dr. Callaway's natives accepted anything connected with him, however startling in itself, is illustrated by the following occurrence: - He was sitting one day in his study at Springvale and saw a snake come from one of the medicine shelves into the room. The native with whom he was working saw it also, but did not stir. On Dr. Callaway's expressing somewhat vigorously his astonishment at the native's apathy, the latter replied, 'I thought it was one of umfundisi's friends, for it has been here for several days, and umfundisi has said nothing.'"
M.S. Benham (1896, p.100) reports another Zulu-name given to Callaway: *Umdvusela*, probably meaning "blister".

community as farm labourers.[83] Springvale, according to Steinberg, "was founded in the belief that the Christian project could only flourish in the safety of a cloister. Out in the world two evil powers were at work, the barbarism of African tradition and the white desire to enslave Africans and use them as menial labour."[84] It may be true, as Steinberg argues that Springvale produced the "first indigenous clergy", as may be proved by the ordination of M. Mbana in 1871, but Mbana did not originate from the local community. Moreover, 'indigenous' clergy were not represented in the church's decision-making bodies in the course of the nineteenth century. Until 1900, "you do not see the names of black clergy appearing in the synod register."[85]

During the first half of the 20th century, living conditions at Springvale worsened as a result of Rinderpest, locust plagues, TB and in particular the socio-political developments. Springvale, according to Steinberg, "soon became indistinguishable from the neighbouring reserves. Its soil unfit for cultivation, its plots too crowded to sustain its inhabitants, its adult population began to drift to the cities in search of work, just as the architects of the black labour market had planned. As [Springvale] slid into desperate circumstances, so the relationship between the church and its congregation began to sour."[86] To illustrate the general feelings in the area, Steinberg quotes a resident of Springvale about the situation during the second half of the 20th century as follows: "The lesson is that in no matter what disguise they come, white men are the same. The farmers and the Government pushed us into little ghettos, and the Church became the ghetto master, counting head of cattle, extracting rent."[87]

12.12 Steinberg's Analysis revisited: Mission in Isolation

Steinberg's analysis of the growing tensions at Springvale is appealing, as it clearly explains the collapse of the Mission Station in the context of its continuously ambivalent relationship with the surrounding community. Yet, Steinberg overlooks several aspects of the process which saw the Station collapse. In the first place, it is doubtful that Rev. Callaway intended Springvale to be a 'cloister', as Steinberg suggests, isolated from both 'white' farmers and African peasants. It is more appropriate to state that Rev. Callaway intended the Station to be a centre, where people from all nations would come together to meet God. In 1863, in connection with a new outstation, he wrote: "The night after returning from a hasty inspection, I awoke with the name Highflats - Empakomeni, - running in my mind, a beautiful name for our station, suggestive, I trust, of what it shall be, a City on the Heights, which shall be seen afar attracting

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[83] In 1862, Bishop Colenso warned Rev. Callaway, "that Springvale as a private estate, subsidized by the Government, to train the local population, would lead to frictions with surrounding farmers. Bishop Colenso now (in the summer of 1862) objected to this system, which he said was regarded with suspicion by Natal colonists; and requested that Rev. Callaway should give up the land to the control of the Government. Rev. Callaway believed that the bishop had no right thus to dictate to this clergy in private matters" (M.S. Benham, 1896, p.116).

[84] J. Steinberg, 2002, p.144.

[85] J. Steinberg, 2002, p.145.

[86] J. Steinberg, 2002, p.145.

[87] J. Steinberg, 2002, p.146.

many to the true Zion."[88] That the Mission became isolated, that its scope narrowed, was not Rev. Callaway's intention but an incidental process, already observed by him during his time at Springvale: "The mission of the Church must be to the total population of the country. It is only because we are out of joint that it is possible for us to break up the population of a country into classes."[89] What collapsed during Rev. Callaway's stay at Springvale was his ideology of the civilization of an underdeveloped culture, of Christianity as the highest form of development. The material reality was that the Government subsidized Callaway as long as this was feasible and that the surrounding community was placed not in a position of development but in a position of dependence. In 1869, Callaway wrote: "The Colony has become almost bankrupt... I expect daily to hear that the grant to this mission will be stopped or considerably reduced. It is used for my printing-press, which is almost wholly supported by the Government... We probably stand out before them ['the natives'] as the least of evils rather than as any great good."[90]

12.13 Steinberg's Analysis revisited: Revivals during the 20th Century

Steinberg's analysis, concentrating on the period of the Mission's establishment, fails to explain or even refer to the revivals at Springvale, especially around 1930, during the time of Rev. W.F.D. Mzamo and around Springvale's centenary in 1958, during the time of Rev. K.B. Hallowes. Around 1930, "Springvale was restored to its former glory."[91] In 1958, the residing priest wrote optimistically: "If the work of the Mission is to progress, many more new churches will have to be built in the near future. 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every nation.' - Mark 16:5."[92] On the day of the centenary festivities at Springvale, Saturday 13th December 1958, "over 500 people came from many of the twenty-nine outstations, the mission farm itself and the Zulu Reserve surrounding it."[93] At this occasion, Mr Obed Dhlamini "thanked Mr. Hallowes for the many services rendered to Christians and heathens; for starting afternoon

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[88] M.S. Benham ,1896, p.157; references to Matthew 5:14, Psalm 87:5, Isaiah 2:2. A similar opinion was formulated by Rev. Callaway in one of his letters to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, dated 1869 (C. Lewis & G.E. Edwards, 1934, p.362-363): "We do not contemplate making Highflats into a "missionary compound" to receive Natives professing Christianity. There is a danger of such stations becoming refuges for characters of the worst description. We must try to develop Christianity among Natives in their own homes and not separate them (as soon as they believe) from their relations to form a distinct class. As Christians they become the salt of the earth, and they should be encouraged to use their new power to bring their friends to Christ. We hope Highflats may be a centre where Native lads may be taught and trained if they seem fit for the ministry. Here, too, young Englishmen wishing to become missionaries might learn the language and the rudiments of medicine". Similarly, in a letter dated 1877 (idem, 1934, p.537): "I would try to establish strong centres from which would spread the energy of new life. I would also try to develop Christianity in the kraals of the natives round their hut fires, and not make it a speciality of a few gathered into a missionary compound".

[89] M.S. Benham ,1896, p.196.

[90] M.S. Benham ,1896, p.210-211. The Government subsidy was cancelled, as Rev. Callaway feared: "To add to his [= Callaway's] embarrassments, the Government Grant for industrial purposes has been suddenly withdrawn, and hence a heavy burden and anxiety, which we would fain to see removed" (NDAP: 1871#, p.83).

[91] G.D.Soni, 1995, p.175.

[92] NDAP: 1958a.

[93] NDAP: 1959#.

schools for herd-boys; for visiting the sick and transporting cases to hospital; fetching provisions and giving lifts... you have fetched the dead from hospital so that they could be buried among their own people."[94]

However, at the time of the centenary, new developments clearly showed the shrinking of opportunities for the Springvale Mission. Its Primary School had recently been transferred to the Government as a result of the implementation of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Moreover, it became more and more clear that the men of the community withdrew themselves from any involvement with the Mission. In 1958, Rev. Hallowes remarked: "Callaway's biggest response was from men. Today the men go to the towns and cities where they regard the Anglican Church as a White man's religion. Many of them join African sects... Often the members of the Mother's Union keep the church going. They run catechism classes, Sunday school and often the Sunday services. They visit the sick and even help with the building of new churches."[95]

The minimal and even relatively diminishing number of men in the church has been observed all over Southern Africa during the past centuries. "In the nineteenth century the church had largely been a youth movement. In the twentieth century it became largely a women's movement."[96] Around the turn to the 20th century, most men had become involved in labour migration and accordingly, had lost regular contact with not only their families but also with the churches at home. Women, on the other hand, became more and more involved with the organization of their churches and many became part of a pietistic revivalism which took shape in the form of prayer movements such as since 1907, the Methodist 'Manyano' and since 1908, the Anglican 'Women's Help Society'.

12.14 Steinberg's Analysis revisited: Indigenous Clergy

Finally, Steinberg's analysis simplifies the role of what he calls 'the indigenous clergy', suggesting that they were co-victims. He gives the impression that Springvale's founder was quick to ordain indigenous clergy but at the same time oppressed their development, stating: "Between 1871, when [Springvale's] first black clergy were ordained, and 1900, you do not see the names of black clergy appearing in the Synod register." Indeed, Rev. Callaway wished to establish a missionary training centre at Springvale and he was convinced, "that Christianity could hardly take firm root in the colony till it could be propagated by native teachers."[97] But the fact of the matter was that he was unable to find candidates to be trained. When in 1871, the Synod of the Diocese of Maritzburg proposed the ordination of indigenous clergy,[98] Callaway proposed Mpengula Mbana and William Ngcwensa, his two main assistants at Springvale. Mpengula

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[94] NDAP: 1958d#.

[95] NDAP: 1958b#.

[96] B. Sundkler & C. Steed, 2000, p.408.

[97] M.S. Benham, 1896, p.103.

[98] NDAP, 1990#, p.4: "At the Natal Diocesan Synod held in June 1871 the question of Native candidates for Holy Orders was discussed and it was agreed that is was as a rule a mistake to send them to be trained at overseas Theological Colleges and that the best training was a life of action, of mixing and of learning something of human nature."

Mbana had assisted Rev. Callaway since his arrival in Pietermaritzburg. In different documents, he is referred to as servant, labourer, ox-wagon driver or catechist.[99] About William Ngcwensa, it is documented that he "was, as a youth, committed to Prison in Maritzburg, and was befriended by the Keeper of the Prison who took a liking to the lad, and who passed him on to Callaway as a servant... [N]Gcwensa was the more brilliant of the two, but he was less deep and industrious than Umpengula."[100] Ngcwensa went with Callaway to Springvale, where he was employed as a teacher.[101] During the year 1871, both received a minimal training, given by Rev. Callaway in isiZulu and on Sunday 24th December 1871, they were ordained deacons.[102] No other indigenous clergy were trained by Rev. Callaway.

In 1873, Rev. Callaway left for England to be consecrated as the first missionary Bishop of the Diocese of Kaffraria.[103] The consecration took place on 1st November 1873 in St Paul's Episcopal Church, in Edinburgh. In June 1874, Bishop Callaway received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Oxford "for his ethnological and philological work."[104] In the meantime, Mpengula Mbana died, just 40 years old.[105] On 13th January 1874, he was buried at

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[99] In 1858, Mpengula Mbana married Maria at Springvale (M.S. Benham, 1896, p.66). The Baptism and Burial Registers indicate that they lived at Springvale, where they had seven children. Their eldest son was the first child baptized at Springvale. Three of their children died as infants:

Sajabula	born: 17/08/1858	baptized: 02/09/1858	buried: 13/03/1863	(father servant)
Samuel	born: 17/06/1860	baptized: 08/07/1890	(father labourer; mother servant)	
Jane	born: 23/04/1862	baptized:	buried: 31/04/1862	
Hlupekile	born: 22/02/1863	baptized: 22/03/1863		(father catechist)
Agnes May	born: 08/05/1867	baptized: 09/06/1867	buried: 06/06/1868	(father catechist)
Bonakale	born: 27/02/1869	baptized: 28/03/1869		(father teacher)
Zwangena Jabu Henry	born: 14/08/1871	baptized: 24/09/1871		(father teacher)

[100] NDAP: 1990#, p.2; according to B.B. Burnett (1953, p.97), "William had been put in the missionary's care by a Magistrate when Callaway ministered at St Andrew's in Maritzburg. At the age of nine he had run amok, and, temporarily deranged, by smoking isango, had killed his father and several others. The Magistrate intervened to prevent his destruction at the hands of his tribe and he was sentenced to fourteen years (presumably apprenticeship)."

[101] On 29th October 1867, William Ngcwensa married Anne kaShungelwana Sikakana at Springvale. The *Baptism and Burial Registers* indicate that they lived at Springvale, where they had four children, of whom one died as an infant:

Richard Mhlanhla	born: 16/08/1868	baptized: 20/09/1868		(father schoolmaster)
James	born: 11/01/1870	baptized: 27/02/1870	buried: 31/07/1870	(father schoolmaster)
Mikheli Warington	born: 29/05/1874	baptized: 21/06/1874		(father clergyman)
Cecil	born: 04/11/1876	baptized: 26/11/1876	(father clergyman in St John's, Kaffraria)	

[102] NDAP: 1990#, p.5: "Sunday 24th Dec. 1871 must have been a day of great achievement and rejoicing for Henry Callaway, for on that day two of his proteges, Thurston Button [brother of Jane Button; see note 26] and George Parkinson as well as George Smith were admitted to the Priesthood, and William [N]Gc[w]ensa and Umpengula Mbana were admitted to the Diaconate." Button, trained at St Augustine's, Canterbury, was appointed at Highflats. Parkinson was appointed at Clydesdale, but in 1872 he was replaced by Button, assisted by Ngcwensa. Smith went to Escourt. Mpengula stayed at Springvale.

0. Henry Callaway was Bishop of the Diocese St Joh'n, Kaffraria (Eastern Cape) from 1873 until 1886. In 1887 Callaway and his wife went back to England to settle for a time in Croydon. In 1888, they moved to Devon, where Callaway had spent his youth, and where he finally died on 26th March 1890.

[104] S.O. Spencer, 1987, p.9.

[105] According to B.B. Burnett (1953, p.98), "Mpengula died shortly after of malaria."

Springvale, the service being conducted by W. Ngcwensa. In 1872, Ngcwensa was appointed at Clydesdale. From 18th to 23rd December 1874, he was a member of the first Synod of St John's, Kaffraria, as the Diocese was then known.[106]

Although Bishop Callaway was instrumental in the ordination of the first two 'indigenous' deacons in Natal, the two candidates came from outside the community and were hardly seen as a role model for others. On the contrary, it might be assumed that their position in the Springvale Mission alienated them from the community surrounding the Mission Station. Around the time Bishop Callaway left Springvale, he was aware of the growing danger, that one day this community would turn against the Station. In a letter, dated 1870, he wrote: "We tax natives, make them pay rent, interfere with their customs by our laws, and we do not give them much in return that they can appreciate. They have security of life and property, good roads, markets for their produce and labour... But when they put these things against what they have had to give up they think little of their advantages. They may try their strength against us; and now Moshesh is dead may choose some other chief to drive the white man into the sea. Cetswayo is thought well of and may be a centre. It is said he is buying guns to fight the Dutch, and if successful will attack the English next."[107] A similar concern about the alienation of indigenous clergy was issued by Rev. Hallowes, who was the residing priest at Springvale about a century later. In 1976, by then Bishop of Natal, he wrote: "One thing which I have learnt to recognize and understand, although it doesn't particularly please me is that in the present tensions and feelings amongst Black people, anyone who has a close relationship with White people comes under suspicion. Our Black Clergy are in a very difficult situation and very often are not accepted by either Black or White people. Under these circumstances you can understand why they very often behave in an unfriendly way."[108] The position of indigenous clergy was not so much a position of co-victims, as well the position of socially displaced people. They were not fully part of the mission nor were they fully part of the local community.[109]

It can be doubted whether Springvale's priests, 'indigenous' or not, stood a fair chance against the problems emerging in and around the Mission Station at the end of the 20th century. Nevertheless, they continue to serve the Springvale congregation up to today.

12.15 Springvale Church and Farm

Throughout the 20th century, the Springvale Mission consisted of two units, the Church with its surrounding buildings (living quarters, Primary School, Clinic, etc.) and the farm, as Rev. Hallowes reported in 1952: "The Springvale Mission Church and farm makes up the home station. Here we hold services and visit the tenants and people in the adjoining reserve. Many of our

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[106] NDAP: 1990#, p.7.

[107] C. Lewis & G.E. Edwards, 1934, p.364-365.

[108] NDAP: 1976b#.

[109] J.N. Breetvelt (1989, p.176-177) indicates that 'educated Africans' trained in a Western setting have to find their positions in relation to their African traditions, their Western education and the actual socio-economic situation they are part of: "The basic pattern... remains the problem of dominancy vs dependency and superiority vs inferiority in the relationship between the West and the African tradition."

people come from the reserve, but there is a great deal to be done there yet. The work there has to be done on horse or foot, and it stretches way down to the uMkhomazi valley."[110] The people on the Springvale Farm held the position of tenants to the Mission Station.[111] When settling at the Farm, they had to sign a contract with the Mission, which stipulated the conditions to be held by the tenants on pain of eviction: "The farm is let to the tenants who are allowed four head of cattle per family and three acres of land. No goats or donkeys are allowed. One of the farmers nearby is responsible for collecting rent and dealing with control of stock etc."[112]

By the end of the 20th century, the Springvale Mission had ceased all its own farming activities and the only source of income from its farm were the yearly rents paid by its more than a hundred tenant families. In fact, the former farm had become a rural residential area with an over-representation of children and old people. J. Steinberg concluded: "For most tenants the farm functions solely as a place of residence, with their subsistence agriculture and livestock augmenting remittances received."[113]

During the late 1970's, tensions between the Springvale Mission and its tenants, supported by the inhabitants of the neighbouring location, became more and more evident, reflecting the growing unrest in South Africa as a whole.[114] The complaints against the Mission referred especially to poor service delivery in terms of health care and lack of development. In 1979, it was proposed to start a community project, consisting of a "health education division and an adult education division, as the area suffered from: chronic malnutrition, gross starvation, abject poverty, and multiple diseases visible in some members of the community."[115] The Mission envisaged that this project would be an initiative by the local community represented in its Community Clinic Committee, as the Springvale Clinic Committee had already planned to close the Mission Clinic.[116] The Clinic was actually closed in 1979, after the KwaZulu Government withdrew the subsidies for its mobile clinic in 1977 and for the salary of its professional nurse in 1979.[117]

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[110] NDAP: 1952#.

[111] During the 1960's, the tenants paid a yearly rent of six rand. During the 1980's the rent was R.10.00, with an additional yearly amount of R.3.60 for dipping fees (NDAP: 1990#).

[112] NDAP: 1952#; the three acres consisted of two and a half acres field and half an acre house site.

[113] J. Steinberg, 2002, p.146.

[114] According to D. Oaks (1994, p.472), " By 1979, increasing unrest, hostile frontline states and a broadening international campaign had become major problems for the South African Government." Divisions also arose within the Mission Sstation as can be illustrated with a letter from the Springvale Priest to the Bishop-Suffragan: "I kindly ask you to ask the person in-charge of the [Springvale] clinic not to let any of the clinic rooms as this is unhygienic... Just recently there have been many distasteful incidents" (NDAP: 1976a#).

[115] NDAP: 1979#.

[116] NDAP: 1976b: " I am glad to hear that the State Health Department are about to establish Clinics at various parts in Kwa Zulu, and that you will be able to hand over the Springvale Clinic when this has been done. I am sure this is the right thing at this stage." The intention by the Mission's Springvale Clinic Committee to close the clinic was opposed by the local Community Clinic Committee, but lack of funds made the closure unavoidable.

[117] NDAP: 1979a#: "Friends I thank you for coming to this meeting to finalise the closing of the Springvale Clinic, which was started by Canon + Mrs. Milne and then taken over by Ken + Joan [Hallowes], the latter developing the clinic into a very active organisation. When Ken + Joan left the district, it was very ably carried on by Rite + Hilton Elliot. The reason for closing the clinic is that we become very short of funds, the subsidies for the Ambulance +

In 1982, the Synod of the Diocese of Natal decided to start "self-help agricultural development projects in all Church-owned farm lands in the Diocese of Natal."[118] It sought advice from an agricultural consultancy, 'SA-Farm Consultants', which in 1984, strongly discouraged the Synod to take any initiative other than selling the Springvale Farm: "The Consultants find that the Springvale Farm has very limited agricultural potential and is in most respects (other than land tenure) similar to and typical of many parts of KwaZulu-Natal... The Consultants recommend to the Diocese that the Farm be subdivided and sold to its occupants... It is not recommended that the Diocese itself involves itself directly in rural development aid and it is suggested that the headquarters of the Archdeaconry be located elsewhere."[119] The Consultants' advice was based on the arguments that it would be very difficult to motivate its tenants to support any development initiative taken by the Mission, that the Mission lacked the necessary management facilities and that the area was not safe: "the Mission Farm is the centre of intermittent factional warfare. Murders and violent death have become a routine occurrence and the clergy and their families and helpers may be in as much danger as the tenants."[120] The Consultant saw "the presence and ownership by the Church as an obstacle for development... [and] recommended that the Diocese sell the farm to the existing tenants."[121]

The Consultant's report was accepted by the Synod of the Diocese of Natal in 1986 but the residing priest, Archdeacon J. Weaver, brought up several reservations. He suspected that the community members would have the impression that the Church was trying to run away from its responsibilities and "that the majority of the people at Springvale would not want to purchase land for agricultural purposes and would therefore have to acquire small plot[s] in a township type of development which might easily become a rural slump... There would be a minority who would purchase agricultural land and there would then be a situation where a small privileged group might be in conflict with an impoverished and discontented majority."[122] The Synod decided to consider corporate, rather than individual ownership of its farm, although this proposal was met with sharp criticism, not only from present tenants but also from former tenants who claimed ownership over parts of the farm. Finally, in 1998, the Springvale Residents' Association was established, which assisted in subdividing Springvale in separate plots. The farm as a whole was put in the hands of a local committee, consisting of 9 members chosen for life. In the meantime, the Mission buildings were ransacked leaving only the church and the unused rectory more or less intact.

Nurse were stopped, it then became impossible to carry on."

[118] NDAP: 1987#, p.1.

[119] NDAP: 1986#, p.1.

[120] NDAP: 1986#, p.14; idem, p.15: "The tenants utilise the farm as a residential area and derive most of their income from absentee members of their families [who earn their income elsewhere]. Their subsistence cropping and animal husbandry provide a small addition, in cash or kind, to family income. In this they are no different to their counterparts in KwaZulu or Transkei. There is no effective management presence. The security situation is bad and the lives of clergy, staff and tenants seem to be at risk in a situation of ongoing factional warfare."

[121] NDAP: 1986#, p.16,18.

[122] NDAP: 1987#, p.1.

12.16 Parish of Springvale

In 1964, the Diocesan Synod decided that all mission stations were to become parishes. The first priest at Springvale Parish was Rev. E.V. Ngubane. He extended the Parish to Dweshula (later eTholeni), close to Port Shepstone. Of the following priests and assistants, especially Rev. E. Thwala, assistant to Rev. A.E.T. Motaung (1973-1981), is remembered. Later, he became Bishop Suffragan.

The 14 congregations of the Parish of Springvale in 2007:

1. eKuvukeni (Cekazi):	26 members
2. Ncalo:	21 members
3. Church of the Holy Cross (kwaMzamo):	20 members
4. oPhepheni:	12 members
5. St Jude (Gumatana):	15 members
6. St Faith's:	3 members
7. St Michael's (Tholeni):	30 members
8. St Peter's (Ndwebu):	20 members
9. St James' (Mhlabashana):	18 members
10. Qurha:	10 members
11. St Matthias (Hlokozi):	30 members
12. Jolivet:	12 members
13. St Mary's (Mkunya):	12 members
14. St Andrew's (Springvale):	50 members

(Source: NDAP: 2007#)

Since the end of the 20th century, the Parish of Springvale consists of 14 congregations, St Andrew's at Springvale and 13 former outstations. Twice a year, the congregations meet at Springvale: in June, when the Bishop visits St Andrew's for the confirmation of new members and in December for the yearly Thanksgiving Service.

The work of the Assistants is taken over by 'lay ministers', members of the local congregations. Most of them are women. Since 2008, the Parish has been served by Rev. Zethu Priscilla Shange, who lives in Ixopo. She visits St Andrew's only once a month on a Sunday.

At present, the congregation of St Andrew's totals about 50 adult members including 10 men. It has a Mothers' Union with 35 members, for men the 'Bernard Mzeki Guild' (eight members) and for girls the 'St Agnes Guild' (four members). The total number of youths is about 20, with five members of the 'Amadodana'. The 'Servers' Guild' consists of four lay ministers, who lead Sunday services and prayer meetings on Thursdays and who visit the sick. The congregation has about 20 children.

The Parish of Springvale can be characterized by a faithful commitment of many to their church and worship, by the work and strength of the Mothers' Union, the lay ministers and the Parish Priest. The life in the Parish is hampered by a lack of youth, men and lay ministers and by the vast distances and transport expenses. At present, vandalism, poverty, unemployment and sickness and the active presence of other denominations and religions (especially the Roman Catholic Church and the amaNazaretha) form challenges for the Anglican parish.[123] In comparison with the Mission, the church no longer plays a role as a centre of the community. Instead, church members are encouraged to be part of the community and stimulate its development.[124]

[123] NDAP: 2007#.

[124] C.N. Mthembu, 2008*.

Chapter 13: St Bernard Mission

13.1 Mission and Roman Catholic Church before the Second Vatican Council

Since the Reformation, until the 19th century, missionary work in the Roman Catholic Church, especially in Europe, had a strong connotation of regaining ground lost to Protestants. In opposition to other, especially Protestant denominations, missionary work functioned as a tool to re-establish the position of the Church. At least, this was the opinion of Protestant writers such as D.J. Bosch: "After the founding of [*Sacra Congregatio de] Propaganda Fide* (1622) and, in fact, until about 1830, the main focus of the propaganda was on calling Protestants back into the true faith. And the missionary encyclicals of the twentieth century, from *Maximum Illud* (1919) to *Fidei Donum* (1957), were unashamedly anti-Protestant."[1] Bosch refers here to the four papal missionary encyclicals (papal letters to a general public) *Maximum Illud* (1919), *Rerum Ecclesiae* (1926), *Evangelii Praecones* (1951) and *Fidei Donum* (1957), but does not explain on the basis of which passages, he came to the conclusion that they are "unashamedly anti-Protestant". The letters are not so much anti-Protestant, as pro-Catholic. They emphasize that missionary work is an inalienable aspect of the Church. Missionary work is not an optional initiative to be taken by an individual, an organisation, or even a state.[2] It is the expansion of the Church, proving that the Church is really Catholic, indigenous to all nations of the world.

13.1.1 *Maximum Illud* (1919)

In the encyclical by Benedict XV, *Maximum Illud - on the Propagation of the Faith throughout the World*, dated 30th November1919, the motive for missionary work is Jesus' command in Mark 16:15: "Go ye into the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." The letter comments on this command: "The Holy Church of God, remembering the divine command, has never ceased through the centuries continually to send out heralds and ministers of the Divine Word to announce the tidings of eternal salvation brought to the human race by Jesus Christ."[3] About the aim of missionary work (God's Glory and the salvation of souls) and about its means (preaching and charity) the letter remarks: "The head of a Catholic mission, for whom God's Glory and the salvation of souls are nearest to his heart, calls in assistants... so long as Christ is preached. He makes use not only of men, but of nuns as well, for his schools, or orphanages, hospitals, hostels and other charitable institutions, which he knows are, with God's help, endowed with an extraordinary power to extend our faith."[4]

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[1] D.J. Bosch, 1991, p.462.

[2] For example, the Reformed *Confessio Belgica*, article 36, states about the civil government: "Their office is not only to have regard unto and watch for the welfare of the civil state, but also to protect the sacred ministry, that the Kingdom of Christ may thus be promoted. They must therefore countenance the preaching of the Word of the Gospel everywhere, that God may be honored and worshiped by everyone, as He commands in His Word" (Andrew Murray Congregation, 1986, p.19).

[3] Sword of the Spirit, 1960, p.1.

[4] Sword of the Spirit, 1960, p.5; reference to Philippians 1:18; idem, p.12: with reference to Colossians 3:12, no principle difference is made between preaching and charity: "Preaching by deeds is more efficient than by words."

Furthermore, the letter clearly limits missionary work to the period during which no local hierarchy had been established: "The main care of those who rule missions, should be to raise and train a clergy from amidst the nations among which they dwell, for on this are founded the best hopes for the Church of the future... Nor should the indigenous priest be trained for the sole purpose of assisting foreign missionaries in a subordinate ministry... as the Catholic Church of God is foreign to no nation, so should every nation yield its own sacred ministers... Wherever, therefore, there exists an indigenous clergy, adequate in numbers and training and worthy of its vocation, there the missionary's work must be considered to have been brought to a happy close; there the Church is founded."[5]

13.1.2 *Rerum Ecclesiae* (1926)

In the encyclical by Pius XI, *Rerum Ecclesiae - on Promoting the sacred Missions*, dated 28th February1926, another motive for missionary work is emphasized, the need of the world: "Impart the light of the Gospel and the benefits of Christian culture and civilization to the peoples sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death."[6]

Formulating the aim for missionary work, the emphasis moved to the expansion of the Kingdom of Christ. This expansion is seen as essential for the identity of the Church: "For the Church has no other reason for existence than, by enlarging the Kingdom of Christ throughout the world, to make all men participate in this salutary redemption... to win over and to join to Christ all those who are still outside the fold."[7]

About the means of missionary work, the letter remarks: "Spread out by means of stations, leaving missionaries in certain central points around which you may establish smaller [stations]... follow the same methods with the natives as did the Divine Teacher when He was on earth. He, before He taught the multitudes, was accustomed to heal the sick... how kind and loving Jesus showed Himself to infants and little children."[8]

In *Rerum Ecclesiae*, as in *Maximum Illud*, it is made clear that the end of a missionary project is reached with the establishment of a local hierarchy: "The ultimate goal of missionary endeavour, which should never be lost to sight, is to establish the Church on sound foundations among non-Christian people and place it under its own native hierarchy."[9]

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[5] Sword of the Spirit, 1960, p.6-7. According to G.S. Muluka (2008, p.33): "*Maximum Illud* stressed two very important issues which were pertinent for its time; first, the expansion of colonialism, and second, the lack of indigenous clergy." The encyclical *Maximum Illud* was preceded, in 1916, by the establishment of the 'Pontifical Missionary Union' and , in 1917, by "Canon 305 of the Code of Canon Law, which stated that one of the duties for Vicars and Prefects Apostolic was to 'take most pressing care, as a matter of conscience, to train candidates for the priesthood from among the indigenous peoples under their jurisdiction'" (idem, p.30). "Benedict XV also paved the way for the transfer in 1920 of the Society of St. Peter Apostle and, in 1922, the transfer of the Society of the Propagation of Faith from France to Rome. After 1922, [during the period of Pope Pius XI, 1922-1939] these missionary societies were directed entirely by Rome" (idem, p.35).

[6] Sword of the Spirit, 1960, p.20.

[7] Sword of the Spirit, 1960, p.20.

[8] Sword of the Spirit,1 960, p.39; idem, p.42: "the greater expansion of the Catholic Church."

[9] Idem.

13.1.3 *Evangelii Praecones* (1951)

In the encyclical by Pius XII, *Evangelii Praecones - on Promoting Catholic Missions*, dated 2nd June 1951, mention is made of "the growth of the Catholic mission activities in the first half of the 20th century; the Catholic missionary movement both in Christian and pagan lands has gained such force and momentum and is of such proportions, as perhaps was never witnessed before in the annals of the Catholic missions."[10] For example, between 1926 and 1951, the number of Catholic Mission Stations had grown from about 400 to 600; the number of priests involved in missionary work from about 14,800 to 26,800; and the number of Catholics in mission areas from about 15 to 20.8 million.

Reflecting on the motives for missionary work, in addition to motives mentioned in the above mentioned encyclicals, two new, ecumenical elements were introduced. They were international fellowship and justice: "For missionaries preach to all men the practice of natural and Christian virtues and that brotherly and common fellowship which transcends racial conflicts and national frontiers... eager only to bring the supernatural light of faith to all peoples and to promote the interests of civilization and culture, and fraternal concord among nations... what Christian, and especially what priest, could remain deaf to the heartfelt cries that call for justice and a spirit of brotherly collaboration in a world made by a just God?"[11]

Although the letter emphasizes a strong growth of Catholic missionary work, the frequent use of the word 'establish' suggests that the missionary work had entered a phase of stabilizing and strengthening. Reflecting on the aim of missionary work, the letter stresses the establishment of the Kingdom of God throughout the whole world .[12]
Reflecting on its means, the letter mentions that "two universities have been founded; high schools which formerly numbered 1,600, today number more than 5,000; the number of elementary and primary schools has been almost doubled; the same can be said for dispensaries and hospitals."[13]

About the realization of the final goal of missionary work, the letter states: "The ultimate goal of missionary endeavour... is to establish the Church on sound foundations among non-Christian peoples, and place it under its own native hierarchy... during the past twenty-five years eighty-eight missions have been entrusted to native clergy; moreover, with the establishment of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the appointment of native Bishops in quite a few places, it has become more apparent that the religion of Jesus Christ is really Catholic."[14]

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[10] Sword of the Spirit, 1960 ,p.43.

[11] Sword of the Spirit, 1960, pp.43, 52, 63. According to P. Dennis (1998, pp.277, 292-295), the justice motive meant for the Dominicans of Southern Africa a concentration of their work on disadvantaged communities: "Opening new communities in socially and culturally significant contexts... On the East Rand they were among the first to work in mine compounds. In the late 1940s they established a strong presence in the Free State Goldfields... Lastly one should mention the friars who worked in justice-related organisations during the 1970s and 1980s."

[12] Sword of the Spirit, 1960, p.44.

[13] Sword of the Spirit, 1960, p.45.

[14] Sword of the Spirit, 1960, p.52, 45.

13.1.4 *Fidei Donum* (1957)

Lastly, the encyclical by Pius XII, *Fidei Donum - on the present State of the Catholic Missions especially in Africa*, dated 21st April 1957, summarizes several motives and goals already found in the earlier encyclicals (in italics): "The Faith... strengthens and reinforces the bond of the *Christian community*, as the Apostle said: 'One Lord, one faith, one baptism'... The missionary spirit, animated by *the fire of charity*, is in some way the first answer to our gratitude towards God , in communicating to our brothers the Faith which we have received... and on the other hand the even more numerous mass of those who are still waiting for *the message of salvation*... the holy cause of the *expansion of the Church* in the world... For the *honour of God* and the splendour of His glory. We wish that *His reign of justice* love and peace be at last established in every place... Our appeal... that, through the grace of God, the missions will finally be able to bring the light of Christianity and the *progress of civilization* to the ends of the earth..."[15] Furthermore, the letter mentions a new motive for missionary work: "According to the words of Christ to His apostles: 'as the Father has sent me, I also send you'."[16] The *missio Dei* motive became a leading motive for missionary work during the second half of the 20th century.[17] In *Fidei Donum* the motive refers to the Church as being sent to extend itself: "Catholicity is an essential note of the true Church... Our Lord... loves His Church and would have her extended to and flourishing in every place on earth."[18] The *missio Dei* motive also refers to personal vocations, "an opening of the soul which renders them more sensitive to the universal interests of the Church."[19]

Among the different means of missionary work, the letter mentions: "Colleges and schools... organisations of social action... the Catholic Press... modern techniques for the diffusion of culture... Catholic Action."[20] About its ultimate purpose: "We have had the joy of establishing the hierarchy in many countries and of raising many African Priests to the fullness of the priesthood, in conformity with the "ultimate purpose" of missionary labour, which is to establish the Church". The letter states that the newly established Dioceses can not yet be left on their own: "Those young Christian communities cannot for the time being, [be] left to their own resources,

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[15] Sword of the Spirit, 1960, pp.74-75, 88, 97; reference to Acts 1:8.

[16] Sword of the Spirit, 1960, p.85.

[17] In *Fidei Donum* the term *missio Dei* is used in relationship to the extension of the Church. Yet, according to L.A. Hoedemaker (1988, p.171), around 1930, the term *missio Dei* was used by Karl Barth and Karl Hartenstein to accentuate God's initiative and sovereignty in his relationship with the world, contrary to 'mission' as the expansion of the church. In this line of thinking, the church does not send, but is sent by God to the world. After Hartenstein used the term *missio Dei* in his commentary on the World Mission Conference in Willingen (1951), it became closely associated with this conference. However, at the end of the 19th century, the term was already used by A. Kuyper (par.16.1). Disadvantage of the term *missio Dei* is, that it is used to describe every act of God in relationship with the world. As a result, the term becomes vague and is used with different meanings (par.17.3).

[18] Sword of the Spirit (1960, p.86-88), where reference is made to the prayer on behalf of the Church in the Canon of the Mass of the Latin rite: "In primis ..... pro Ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum."

[19] Sword of the Spirit, 1960, p.91; reference to Genesis 12:1.

[20] Sword of the Spirit, 1960, p.81.

[to] fulfill their duties".[21] Furthermore, it refers to the help offered by the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, "serving the progress of the Church in vast continents... [and to] the Pontifical Organisation of St Peter the Apostle. The subsidies which it distributes to seminaries in missionary countries are considerable."[22]

13.1.5 Mission as Expansion of the Church

During the 19th century, a new interest in missionary work in the Roman Catholic Church led to the formation of new Congregations, especially for missionary work in the southern hemisphere. The missionary activities of *Propaganda Fide*, especially in Europe, had almost collapsed during the Napoleonic wars. But after the Napoleonic period and throughout the 19th century, several Congregations with a zeal for missionary work were established or re-established.[23] The Congregations were supported by Pope Gregorius XVI, a former prefect of *Propaganda Fide*, in his *Probe Nostis* (1840), the first encyclical dealing with missionary work. Gregorius XVI established 44 new Apostolic Vicariates in areas where the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy had not yet been established in order to authorize and co-ordinate the missionary work done by the Congregations. The Apostolic Vicariates were the representatives of the Pope and accordingly, they were hardly represented at the First Vatican Council of bishops (1869-1870). After this Council, new attention was given by the Curia to missionary work and the establishment of the hierarchy in non-Catholic countries.[24]

During the first half of the 20th century, the papal reflections on Roman Catholic missionary work were documented in four encyclicals. The letters mention several motives and goals for missionary work. Initially, the main themes were *Christ's Command*, *God's Glory* and the *Salvation of Souls*. In the course of the first half of the 20th century, the focus moved to the promotion of *Christian culture and civilization* and the *expansion of the Kingdom of God*. Around the middle of the 20th century, themes like *International Fellowship* and *Justice* were prominent. During the second half of the 20th century, the *missio Dei* motive became a driving theme for missionary work including educational, medical and social help. The four encyclicals emphasize the need for a local hierarchy. Missionary work is not an outreach by the Church but a confirmation of its catholic character, the realization of its inherent belonging to all people of the earth. In the process of *implantatio ecclesiae,* the nations should become as much part of the

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[21] Sword of the Spirit, 1960, p.83.

[22] Sword of the Spirit, 1960, p.89-90.

[23] Congregations for missionary work established or re-established during the 19th century are, for example, the 'Society of Jesus' (re-established in 1814 by Pope Pius VII), the 'Oblates of Mary Immaculate' (1816), the 'Missionaries of the Holy Hearth of Mary' (1840) and the 'Missionaries of Our Lady of Africa' (1868; known as the 'White Fathers').

[24] During the period of Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) and Pius X (1903-1914) special attention was given to the training of 'indigenous' clergy in areas under the care of missionary Congregations and the Church hierarchy was established in five European countries, in the United Stated and in Canada, areas up till then under the care of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide.

Church, as the Church becomes part of the nations.[25]

13.2 Establishing the Roman Catholic Church in Natal

In the course of the 19th century, especially after the 1849-1951 immigration wave, which followed the annexation of Natal as a British colony in 1845, several Congregations from European origin entered South Africa and were met with interdenominational friction.[26] The Congregations, such as the Missionary Sisters of the Assumption and the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate started to work among Catholic Church members in settler communities, where they established monasteries, convents and schools.[27] Dominicans, already present in Portuguese colonies in Southern Africa since 1577, entered South Africa from 1838: "With the arrival of Bishop [Patrick Raymund] Griffith, an Irish Dominican, in Cape Town in 1838, the focus moved southwards. By then only four friars, including the bishop, were present in the Cape Colony. More numerous were the Dominican sisters, who arrived in 1863 and soon spread to Natal, the Transvaal and Rhodesia."[28]

In November 1851, the Roman Catholic Church was established in Natal by Jean-Baptiste Sabon and Bishop Allard.[29] Bishop Allard, member of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, was appointed as Vicar Apostolic of Natal. His main task was to care for the Catholic settlers. Yet, in 1854, under his authority, Father Joseph Gerhard established the first Catholic Mission Station in Natal, St Michael's Mission, on request of *inkosi* Dumisa from Hlokozi, near present day High Flats.[30]

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[25] O. Niederberger (1959, p.345): "Die Mission als 'implantatio Ecclesiae'... ist der kontinuierliche Strom der gesamten Offenbarungswirklichkeit... Die Heiden wachsen deshalb gerade so in die Kirche hinein, wie die Kirche in die Heidenwelt hineinwächst."

[26] H. Chamberlain & others (1999, p.188): "From its beginning, the Catholic Church in Southern Africa was the target of bitter anti-Catholic feeling among the early Dutch settlers."

[27] H. Chamberlain & others (1999, p.189): "There was little Catholic interest in converting the indigenous population during these early years ... the Missionary Sisters of the Assumption established the first school in Grahamstown in 1848, the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate arrived in 1852."

[28] Ph. Denis, 1998, p.IX.

[29] Ph. Dennis (1998, p.91): "The Natal Vicariate was established in November 1851. Propraganda instructed Jean-Francois Allard, the newly-appointed vicar apostolic, to care primarily for the Catholics (*pro domesticis fedei*) - which in practice meant settlers - and to start missions among the blacks only when personnel and means would allow." Marie Jean Francois Allard (1806-1889) was a member of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, established as a missionary society by Bishop Eugène de Mazenod in 1826. Allard was Vicar Apostolic of Natal from 1851-1874. According to C.Ballard (1989,p.131), Allard was assisted by Rev. Jean-Baptist Sabon (1819-1885). The first Catholic Bishop in South Africa was Bishop Patrick Raymund Griffith, an Irish Dominican, who arrived in Capetown in 1838 (J. Brain, 1997, p.195).

[30] V.Moodley, 1984, p.8. St Michael's Mission is situated between High Flats and eMzinto, about 20 kilometres south of Groot Hoek. In 1854, it was established as a mission station, consisting of a church, a farm and a school, by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate but, within two years, it was closed. In 1882, is was reopened by Bishop Jolivet and, in 1890, transferred to the Trappist Monastery Mariannhill. During the following years, its influence was extended in a northerly direction with the establishment of the stations St Gabriel (in eMakhuzeni, about six kilometres south-west of Groot Hoek) and St Rafael (in eMkunya, about 6 kilometres south-east of Groot Hoek).

13.3 Mariannhill

By the end of the 19th century, the missionary Congregations started to extend their attention to indigenous people. They concentrated on preaching the Gospel, education and charity.[31] In Natal, this change was most obvious in the Trappist Monastery Mariannhill, established in 1882 by Abbot Francis Pfanner.[32] In 1879, Abbot Francis had favourably answered the call by Bishop James David Ricards[33] to establish a monastery in the Eastern Cape, with the words: "If no one goes, I will go". During that year, the Dominican Bishop Ricards, Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern Cape, visited Europe to raise funds and find monks, especially among the Trappists, for his Mission Station Dunbrody.[34]

On 28 July 1880, already 54 years old, Abbot Pfanner and thirty other Trappists arrived in Port Elizabeth, from where they moved to Dunbrody. From the start, it was clear that Dunbrody was not fertile enough to become a self-sufficient farm. Abbot Pfanner returned to Europe to raise funds for a monastery in Natal. In the meantime, the Trappists contacted Bishop Charles Constant Jolivet, the Vicar Apostolic of Natal.[35] He advised them to go to St Michael's (par.13.2) and assist with the planned reopening of this Mission Station. But the monks rejected the proposal, because also St Michael's did not seem the right place for a self-sufficient farm. When Abbot Pfanner returned, they purchased the farm Zeekoegat in the valley of the uMhlathuzane River, about six kilometres southwest of Pinetown, which they renamed 'Mariannhill'.[36] On 27th December 1882,

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[31] A. Camps (1988, p.238-240), about the new interest in Mission during the time of the Popes Gregorius XVI (1831-1846), Pius IX (1846-1878), Leo XIII (1878-1903) and Pius X (1903-1914).

[32] According to K. Heussi (1981, p.367), in 1664, in the Cistercian monastery La Trappe in Normandy, the Trappists Order was founded by Jean le Bouthillier de Rancé; the Trappists' device 'Ora et Labora' referred to their life of contemplation and manual labour; they observed seven periods of prayer, throughout the day and the night, and rules of silence and a vegetarian diet; initially, the Trappists used to greet each other with the words 'memento mori'. Abbot Francis Pfanner (1825-1909) was born as Wendelin Pfanner, in Langen in Vorarlberg, Austria. In 1850, he became priest, and in 1869, he established 'Mariastern', a Trappist Monastery, in Bosnia. In 1885, after he had left, the monastery was made an abbey. For more information about Abbot Francis Pfanner, see A.L. Balling, 1979; A.L. Balling & H. Ratering, 2006; and a novel about his life by M.C. Green, 2008.

[33] G.Sieber (1999, p.57-58): "Bishop James Ricards, who was the vicar apostolic of the Eastern Cape from 1871 to 1893, was convinced that by putting new convents in a few centres... much might be done to stop the ever-growing leakage from the faith."

[34] In 1879, Bishop Ricards published his book *The Catholic Church and the Kaffir*. According to Ph. Denis (1989, p.91): "Ricards had no other intention than to justify starting a mission to the natives in his diocese, after almost fifty years of Catholic expansion. He hoped to attract the Trappists and collected funds for that purpose."

[35] Bishop Charles Constant Jolivet (Oblates of Mary Immaculate) was the Vicar Apostolic of Natal from 1874 until 1903. According to J. Brain (1997, p.199), several Catholic mission stations were established under his authority: 'St Francis Xavier' at the Bluff in Durban, 'Oakford Mission' at Verulam, and 'Maryvale', outside Pietermaritzburg. On his initiative St Michael was reopened in 1882 by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. In 1890, it was transferred to the Trappists of Mariannhill.

[36] Mariannhill was established with the approval of Bishop Jolivet, the Vicar Apostolic of Natal. According to M.C. Green (2008, p.182), "Chief Manzini in the Shozi Reserve near Dassenhoek in the neighbourhood of a town called Pinetown had asked for missionaries to come and 'teach his people the book'." According to A. Buschgerd (2009, p.9-10) the name 'Mariannhill' refers to a monastery Abbot Francis had planned to build in Bosnia, 'Mariannaberg': "It was named after the daughter and second wife of his benefactor Trappentrue of Munich, each called Maria-Anna,

the first Mass in Mariannhill was celebrated.

In accordance with the Benedictine-Trappist motto '*Ora et Labora*', the Trappist Monastery Mariannhill was intended to be a place of contemplation and of manual labour on its farm and in its carpentry and blacksmith's workshops. However, almost from the start, Mariannhill got involved in missionary work through the establishment of local schools in several Zulu communities.[37] The preaching of the Gospel was a central element in the school curriculum. A second element was the training in practical skills, such as farming, wagon repairing, sewing, etc.

In 1886, four years after the establishment of Mariannhill, Abbot Pfanner was approached by *inkosi* Sakayedwa to establish a mission station and ten schools at the iPholela River, between the present villages of Bulwer and Underberg, almost 200 kilometres from Mariannhill.[38] Abbot Pfanner accepted the request and at the end of the same year, Mariannhill's first outstation was established, Reichenau.[39]

The strict Trappist rules were difficult to combine with a missionary zeal and the establishment of more and more mission stations by Abbot Pfanner was received in the Congregation with disapproval.[40] In 1892, the friction resulted in Abbot Pfanner's suspension. "At the end of October 1892 the Cistercian General Council of 1892 decided to suspend Pfanner for a year, but before the time was up, he resigned and took up his residence at Emaus, near Lourdes, in

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whose memory he wished to honor... there was to be no Mariannaberg in Bosnia... [Yet] in his 1888 'Memoirs' Abbot Francis wrote:... 'So now I have established another Mariannaberg [Mariannhill]... with 150 monks, 100 sisters, and 6 stations'."

[37] A.L. Balling (1979, p.66): "Abbot Pfanner could not and would not resist the pressure of the local people [asking for schools]... they came to the services even the pagans." Other facilities at Mariannhill were its hospital and orphanage. According to A.L. Balling (1979, p.67): "From the start there was a single principle [of mission work for Abbot Francis], one concept, one method, one program: as long as Christ was preached." Reference to Philippians 1:18. According to G.S. Mukuka (2008, p.4): "The first Zulu Catholic priest was Edward [Müller Kece] Mnganga [1872-1945], who returned to South Africa in 1898 after his ordination in Rome, where he had been sent to study... for the priesthood by the Trappist Abbot Franz Pfanner."

[38] V. Moodley (1984, p.8): "There are many small Catholic Mission Stations throughout Natal, because branch-stations were opened in answer to numerous applications by rural chiefs." Woodley suggests , that a main reason for the *amakhosi* to apply for a Mission Station was the need for schools in their communities. In 1852, shortly after the arrival of the first British immigrants in Natal, Jean Baptist Sabon and Bishop Allard established the Roman Catholic Church in the Colony (see note 28). One of the earliest applications for a Mission Station was made by *inkosi* Dumisa from Hlokozi, east of High Flats, where in 1854, the St Michael's Mission was established by Father Joseph Gerard (Oblates of Mary Immaculate). The Mission was closed within five years, but in 1890, reopened by the Trappists from Mariannhill.

[39] A.L. Balling (1979, p.78-80): "When a Zulu chief asked for a school on the Polela River on the western border of Natal, Pfanner felt he had no choice... the new station which Father Pfanner... named Reichenau." M.C. Green (2008, p.281): "Franz [Pfanner] named our new acquisition Reichenau... 'Here on the Polela, Reichenau shall be to the heathen Africans what Reichenau on the [start of the River] Rhine was to the barbarous Alemans and Bavarians, a haven of culture and Christianisation'."

[40] A. Buschgerd (2009, p.22): "For the greater part of his life Abbot Francis did not belong to a Trappist Order but to a Trappist Congregation... The fact is that until 1892 when the Trappists were established as the Order of Reformed Cistercians (OCR), they were divided into three separate Congregations...: the Congregation of Rancé based at Sept-Fons [of which Abbot Francis was a member], the New Reform of Cistercians based at La Trappe, and the Congregation of Belgium based at Westmalle."

East Griqualand (par.12.7). Here, on land recently purchased from the Griqua magistrate Donald D. Strachan, with two brothers who accompanied him, Abbot Pfanner developed a small model farm, where he worked until his death in 1909."[41]

In 1909, Mariannhill and its members were separated from the Trappist Order as the Religiosi Missionarii de Mariannhill. Later, in 1920, it became the 'Congregation of Missionaries of Mariannhill' (CMM). By that time, almost 300 priests and monks worked in Mariannhill, including about 26 stations. About 2000 persons lived on the premises and were dependent on it, about 1000 children visited its schools and about 12000 people had been baptized.[42] Moreover, in 1885, Abbot Francis had established in Mariannhill the 'Missionary Sisters of the Precious Blood'. Initially a community of five young women, the community has now grown to about 1000 sisters active in over 20 countries.[43] They look after the physical and spiritual needs of the people, especially women, they serve.

13.4 Einsiedeln established

In order to maintain contact between Mariannhill and Reichenau, a distance of about four days by ox-wagon, Abbot Francis established three more mission stations along the route: 'Maria Einsiedeln', between Eston and Richmond, 'Mariathal' in Ixopo and 'Kevelaer' near Donnybrook.[44] "Since the journey from Mariannhill to Reichenau took several days by ox-wagon

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[41] J.B. Brain,1978, p.161. M.C. Green (2008, p.422) about the purchase of Lourdes under protest of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

0. J.Brain, 1997, p.199. In 1884, "Pfanner had a staff of two priests, thirteen choir monks, and sixty-four lay brothers. By 1898, with 285 monks, Mariannhill had become the largest abbey in the world" (idem).

[43] G. Sieber (1999, pp.91, 94, 96): In 1997, in South Africa, the Congregation of Missionaries of Mariannhill (CMM) had 90 brothers; the *Congregatio Praecipui Sanguinis* (CPS), Precious Blood Sister, established in 1885, 245 sisters; and, also based in Mariannhill, the Diocesan religious community *Familiaris Sancti Francisci* (FSF), established in 1922, 201 sisters.

[44] According to M.C. Green (2008, p.281), in 1886, the first journey by ox-wagon from Mariannhill to Reichenau took ten days. With the help of three in-between stations, this time span was brought back to four days by ox-wagon. During the first day, a journey of about 50 kilometres was made from Mariannhill in a westerly direction, across the uMlazi Valley, through the Eston Village, ending in the first in-between station, Einsiedeln, along the road between Eston and Richmond. During the second day, a journey of about 50 kilometres was made in a southwesterly direction, across the uMkhomazi Valley at the Cunningham's Drift (Hill Top; par.12.5) and across the iNhlamvini Valley ending in the second in-between station, Mariathal, just north of the Ixopo Village along the road between Richmond and Ixopo. During the third day, a journey of about 40 Km was made in a northwesterly direction from Mariathal to Kevelaer, just northwest of Donnybrook along the road between Donnybrook and Bulwer. Finally, during the fourth day, a journey of about 30 kilometres was made in a westerly direction from Kevelaer to Reichenau in the Pholela Valley along the road between Bulwer and Underberg. Abbot Francis established Einsiedeln and Mariathall in 1887. Kevelaer was established 1893. It was named after a German shrine situated near the point where the River Rhine crosses the border with The Netherlands.
The activities at the three in-between station had a triple focus: a church, a farm and a school. At present, the three churches still exist, but the farmland is sold or rented-out and the schools are placed under the Department of Education, except in Kevelaer where the school buildings are used by the 'Zinga Training Centre'. Moreover, the three in-between stations were used as centres from where other new mission stations were established, for example, in 1888, Centocow, located on the southwesterly banks of the uMzimkhulu River, about 40 kilometres both from Mariathal and from Kevelaer. According to S. Coan (2009), "[Abbot Francis] named the station after the shrine of

Pfanner now bought a small farm to act as a half-way house. This was Rosebank near Richmond and after the Trappists took it over in 1887 it was renamed 'Einsiedeln' after a Marian shrine in Switzerland. This was not an ideal place for a mission station because it was enclosed on all sides by 'white' owned farms, but a school was opened for the children of the farm labourers and vegetables and grapes were grown here. In 1905/6 there were 69 names in the baptismal register."[45]

This first part of Rosebank obtained by Abbot Pfanner was about 23 acres in size. It was meant to be a self-sufficient mission station with two houses, a chapel, a school and a shop and it could offer tenants the opportunity to settle there. Yet, as it was small and surrounded by commercial farms with small communities of labour tenants, it hardly fulfilled its purpose. The school attendance was minimal and the shop had to be closed shortly after being opened. The surrounding fields were too small even to supply sufficient yield for the Station's inhabitants.

During the 1890's, Abbot Francis made several efforts to boost the Station. In 1894, the building of the Einsiedeln Church was completed and during the following years baths, sheds and a wine cellar were added to the existing buildings.

13.5 St Bernard at the iLovu River

In 1896, a second part of the farm Rosebank was obtained, including a mill in the iLovu River, about 622 acres in size, situated about five kilometres east of Einsiedeln, also along the road from Eston to Richmond.[46] Although established as a separate mission station, called 'St Bernard',[47] the combination of Einsiedeln and St Bernard would form a self-sufficient missionary

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our Lady of Czestochowa in Poland, as a Polish princess gave a donation to buy the land." In Centocow a hospital was established, the 'St Apollinaris Hospital'.

[45] J.B. Brain, 1978, p.150.

[46] CPSJ: 1920#, p.1: "Einsiedeln, früher Rosebank genannt, wurde von Mr. W[illiam] W[atts] Cato als Zwischenstation Marianhill und Reichenau gekauft im Jahre 1887 ... St. Bernard am Illovo Fluss wurde unter P. Amandus und zum Zweck einer Kaffermission gekauft am 1. Dezember 1896. Der Besitzer war Mr. Aug. Christ. Conrad Beissner." Apparently, the Einsiedeln Mission had been established not as a centre for missionary work, but as a wayside station ('*Zwischenstation*') to facilitate the transport between Mariannhill and Reichenau. Later on, in 1896, the St Bernard Mission was added as a separate centre for missionary work ('*Kaffirmission*'). Not mentioned in the quotation, is that the addition of St Bernard served a second purpose, the self-sufficiency of the mission unit Einsiedeln - St Bernard. St Bernard was a farm, which was to produce food and income for both stations.
A similar pattern was followed at Mariathal, close to Ixopo, the next *Zwischenstation* on the way to Reichenau. In 1891, five years before the establishment of St Bernard, Mariathal was extended with a second independent station, St Isidor Mission. Just like St Bernard, St Isidor was established as a farm with its own maize mill, diary, hayloft, brick factory, piggery and it had its own chapel and accommodations (C. Goodenough, 2008). Contrary to St Bernard, St Isidor survived as a farm, until it was sold in 1996. Apparently, the policy about the development of mission stations had not been changed directly after the suspension of Abbot Pfanner in 1892 (par.3.3). Mariathal became known also for its seminary. First, in 1925, a Minor Seminary known as the 'Mariathal Latin School' was opened. In 1929, is was extended with a Major Seminary, which was officially opened in 1931(G.S. Mukuka, 2008, pp.5,135,136).

[47] The name St Bernard Mission refers to Bernard de Clairvaux (1091-1153). In the year 1113, St Bernard entered as monk in the Cistercian monastery in Citeaux, and, in 1115, as abbot in the monastery Clairvaux. He became known for his 'Christ Devotion' (K. Heussi, 1981, p.203), a concentration on and submission to the suffering Christ, and for

project. St Bernard had possibilities for farming and for evangelization among amaZulu by allowing the immigration of tenants. The personnel of both stations was mainly of Polish nationality.[48]

Unfortunately, in 1897, only a year after it had been established, the project was struck by the 'rinderpest' that killed about sixty of its seventy five cows.[49] In 1898, as even more cows died by lack of a dipping tank, it was decided to abandon St Bernard as an independent mission station and to unite it with Einsiedeln. In 1900, after only four years, the central part of the farm, 105 acres including the main buildings, was sold to Montague A. Cockburn, a farmer on the neighbouring farm Cliffside (par.2.5).

13.6 Einsiedeln in the Beginning of the 20th Century

Surrounded by commercial farms but without a farm of its own, the Einsiedeln Mission struggled to survive.[50] In 1906, the Station counted about 22 farm animals.[51] It was financially dependent on the income generated by its shop and school. The situation in Einsiedeln hardly changed during the first half of the 20th century. In 1938, when Einsiedeln still had six Sisters of the Precious Blood, one gardener and three assisting girls, Father Severin wrote about the Station: "Einsiedeln has not enough to live and not enough to die. The place should be abandoned and sold. Yet, as our founder Abbot Pfanner has worked here elaborately, and several memories about him are related to this place (for example, here [in 1892], when he received the message about his dismissal [= suspension], he cried and put his Cross of Office over the statue of the Mother-of-God), so the Sisters decided to take the responsibility for the Station and promised to maintain it for the missionary [work]."[52]

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his promotion of the strict observation of the rules of the Cistercian Order, from which the Trappists originate.

[48] MMA: Monastery Chronicle, entry 1896.

[49] "The word 'rinderpest' is German for 'cattle pest', and rinderpest is one of the most infectious of animal diseases. The 1896-1897 outbreak of this disease in South Africa was a disaster of the first magnitude" (R.O. Pearse, 1981, p.81).

[50] CPSJ: 1917#, p.3: Father Solanus Peterek: "Einsiedeln und St. Bernard haben als Missionsstationen Pech gehabt ... dass von St. Bernard der Kern, d.h. die Gebaüde mit den umliegenden ebenen Landstreifen an Mr. Cockburn verkauft worden ist. Damit hat man der Mission von Einsiedeln das Leben genommen, wenn von einem Leben überhaupt die Rede sein kann. Einsiedeln war stets ein Stiefkind und eine Station wie Nazareth im Volksmunde zur Zeit Christi. Kranke und Ausrangierte schickte man nach Einsiedeln."

[51] CPSJ: 1920#, p.2: "In Kafferaufstand anno 1906 kam Einsiedeln mit dem blossen Schrecken davon - die Aufständigen stahlen zwar der s[t]ation 22 Stück Farmvieh, das aben bald durch Hilfe der Polizei wieder den Dieben abgejagt und retour gebracht wurde."

[52] MMA: 1938#, p.14: Father Severin: "Einsiedeln is eine Station die zum Leben zu wenig und zum sterben zu viel hat. Der Platz sollte auch schon aufgelassen und verkauft werden. Da aber hier unser Stifter Abt Pfanner verschiedenlich gewirkt hatte und verschiedene Erinnerungen an ihn mit dem Orte verknüpft waren (hier soll er ja seine Absetzung [sic!] erhalten und dann sein Abtskreuz weinend dem Muttergottesbilde umgehängt haben) so übernamen die Schwestern die Station und versprachen dafür den Missionar zu erhalten."
M.C. Green (2008, p.385): "We were told only that [Abbot Francis, when suspended] refused to go to Rome, and chose instead as the place of his banishment Lourdes, the most remote of the stations he had established... A rumour spread that whilst resting at Einsiedeln en route Franz hung his cross around the figure of Our Lady in the chapel and

The Mission Station's income was largely derived from the earnings of its shop, which included the sale of homemade clothes. Furthermore, the Station sustained itself from its livestock: four dairy cows, one horse, one pig, a substantial number of chickens, vegetables and honey. The Primary School at the Station received a minimal state subsidy (four pounds a month). In 1938, the school had 40 children, mostly girls. Its 23 boarders assisted at the Station but most of them did not pay any fees. For transport, it was dependent on its ox-wagon with six oxen.

13.7 St Bernard in eNhlazuka

In 1908, the Einsiedeln Mission got its first Missionary, Father Alanus from Mariannhill.[53] He succeeded in opening an outstation (*Katechetenstelle*) at Amandus Hill, on the farm Strehla (par.2.5), directly south of Einsiedeln. Around 1910, his successor Father Solanus Peterek[54] sold the remaining part of St Bernard at the iLovu River to Montague Alexander Cockburn (par.2.5) in return for Cockburn's farm Woodleigh situated at eNhlazuka. The newly obtained farm was situated directly north-east of Groot Hoek and about three kilometres north of the uMkhomazi River.[55] Cockburn received the 517 acres of land including a watermill at the iLovu River, in return for 1390 acres of land including his abandoned farm buildings near the iNhlazuka Mountain.[56] The newly obtained farm *Woodleigh* was renamed 'St Bernard Mission'. Eleven Zulu homesteads, consisting of in total 32 huts, were situated on the premises of the new St Bernard Mission. The Mission Station was surrounded by dozens of other homesteads, especially to its south in the direction of the uMkhomazi and to its east in an area called eNgilanyoni (officially, after 1913, the location Umlazi; Chapter 4). By moving St Bernard to eNhlazuka, Father Solanus hoped to extend the missionary work among amaZulu.

On 1st October 1910,[57] the first Mass was held at the new St Bernard Mission. During the following year, 1911, Father Solanus moved to St Bernard and left a chaplain in charge of Einsiedeln.[58] The purpose of St Bernard had remained the same: farming to support both Mission

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put his ring on her finger."

[53] CPSJ: 1917#, p.2: Between 1887 and 1908, Einsiedeln was led by the following rectors: Father Manuel, Father Leonard and Father Anselm.

[54] Around 1910, Solanus Peterek (1861 -1943), a Trappist from Poland, became Rector of Einsiedeln Mission.

[55] The farm Woodleigh consisted of two neighbouring plots, Inhlazuka View A 5356 and Inhlazuka View No.2 7842, with in total about 1000 acres. The south eastern corner of the farm runs up to the top of the iNhlazuka mountain, which marks a corner of the Location Umlazi 4676. The southwestern corner of the farm neighbours Groot Hoek 1000. To the west and northwest the farm neighboured the farms Sptizkop (Presently: Cockburn 14645 and Holtlodge 1902) and Kleinthal 17976, both owned around 1910 by A.H. Cockburn, a brother of Montague Alexander Cockburn (par.2.5).

[56] Locally, the story is told, that the farmer left Woodleigh, because a snake had killed one of his children on the farm.

[57] CPSJ: 1917#, p.11: probably by mistake, F. Solanus' Chronicle mentions 1st October 1911 (in stead of 1910).

[58] The two stations, Einsiedeln and St Bernard, were treated as one missionary project between 1898 and 1916. In 1896, the old St Bernard at the iLovu River had been established as an independent mission station. Two years later, in 1898, St Bernard was dissolved as an independent mission station, and joined with Einsiedeln. In 1911 the priest of both Stations, Father Solanus, moved from Einsiedeln Mission to the new St Bernard Mission in eNhlazuka. According to a letter dated 31st October 1910, quoted by G.S. Mukuka (2008, p.95), it was discussed to transfer the

Stations, Einsiedeln and St Bernard and the preaching of the Gospel.

St Bernard proved to be very suitable for farming with three springs situated on the farm. Farming at St Bernard continued all through the year. Among the crops, were sweet potatoes, bananas, yam (*amadumbe*), potatoes, fruit trees like oranges and naartjies and wattle trees. The Zulu families living on the farm were instructed to plant similar crops. The farm buildings were restored and by 1912, St Bernard Mission consisted of the following buildings: a church (which just as at Einsiedeln, had been constructed on top of a cellar[59]), a cattle kraal, living quarters for the brothers, a work shop, a blacksmith's shop, a meal stockroom, a shed for corn-cobs, a pigsty, a poultry-house, horse-stables, a wagon shed and servants' quarters. During the years 1914-15, on the east side of the compound, a school was erected with its own kitchen. On 21st October 1915, the school was consecrated and dedicated to St Ursula.

Most of St Bernard was situated at the foot of the iNhlazuka Mountain. Only the southwestern corner of the farm reached the top of the mountain. Here, on top of the mountain, overlooking St Bernard, Father Solanus envisaged a huge cross on a base of natural stones.[60] The pile of stones is still present on the mountain but the cross was never erected. Father Solanus moved back to Einsiedeln in 1918.[61]

13.8 Extending the Church

In 1908, Father Alanus had established an outstation consisting of a church annex school at Amandus Hill, situated between Einsiedeln and St Bernard. This farm, owned by John Schmidt, was part of the farm Strehla, which was owned by Schmidt's parents, a German Protestant father and an English mother (see par.2.5). John Schmidt had married a Zulu wife according to traditional Zulu custom. The marriage was apparently not acceptable to the Protestant Church and they turned to the newly arrived Catholic Church. According to Father Solanus, the marriage of John Schmidt and his wife was not properly solemnized until Father Alanus managed to baptize the 'girl' and subsequently united them in a Christian marriage.[62] On 2nd February 1911, for the first time, the Mass was held at Amandus Hill.

During the same year, 1911, Father Solanus held a first Mass in eNgilanyoni, about 35

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whole missionary project to eNhlazuka. Yet, in 1916, the two Stations were separated again, and they continued to exist as two independent Mission Stations, each with its own priest.

[59] CPSJ: 1917#, p.15: "über diesen Keller ist ein grosser Raum met 5 Fernstern in der Front, der als provisorische Kirche dient."

[60] CPSJ: 1917#, p.21: In his Chronicle, Father Solanus reports the completion of the base: "Am hohen Inhlazukaberg das Postament ein bis 16' hoher Pyramidenbau aus Steinblöcken erbaut, auf dessen Spitze das ersehte Kreuz kommen soll." Probably, it should read: a 6 (not 16') feet high pile of blocks. This pile is still present at the northwestern corner of the top of the mountain.

[61] Father Solanus was Rector of the combined stations Einsiedeln and St Bernard until, in 1920, St Bernard was separated from Einsiedeln as an independent mission station. Father Solanus lived at St Bernard Misison from 1911 until, in 1918, he moved back to Einsiedeln Mission. In 1935, he was appointed at the seminary in Mariathal in Ixopo.

[62] CPSJ: 1917#, p.94: according to Father Solanus, "lebten diese zwei in wilder Ehe, bis es Rev. P. Alanus gelang das Mädchen zu taufen und beide ins christliche Ehejoch zu lingen."

*The expansion of the **Maria Einsiedeln Mission** into other stations until 1920:*

St Joseph ← **Einsiedeln**
(in Richmond) ↓ ↓
↓ ↓ **Amandus Hill**
St Gabriel ↓ ↑
(in ePatheni) **St Bernard** → **Ngilanyoni** (in *Umlazi*)

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*The expansion of the **St Bernard Mission** into other stations until 1929:*

		Established:
eNhlazuka:	St Bernard	13/10/1910
Amandus Hill:	St Konrad Parzkamm	02/02/1911
eNgilanyoni:	St Raphael	11/03/1911
Ismont:	St Ambros	12/05/1921
Mid-Illovo:	St Jakob	21/04/1921
eNgwegwe:	St Nikolaus	12/02/1926

kilometres east of St Bernard. He had been asked by people living in eNgilanyoni, who were already Christians, to assist them with church services and confirmation class.[63] On the 11th March 1912, Father Solanus held a meeting with the local *amakhosi* Bubula from eNgilanyoni (par.4.2) and Mqolombeni from eZulwini, south of St Bernard (par.4.8). At the meeting, Father Solanus asked for permission to open church annex school buildings in the areas under their authority, which was generously granted by the two *amakhosi*.[64] On an appointed day, youngsters from eNgilanyoni came to St Bernard on foot to carry the necessary building material all the way home. Impressed by the course of events, Father Solanus informally renamed the iNgilanyoni Mountain *Engelenberg* (= 'Angels' mountain').

In 1912, Father Solanus found his first catechist Johannes Ngcobo, later followed by his brother Gabriel Ngcobo.[65]

In 1913, the Church extended in a westerly direction to the village of Richmond. On 6th April 1913, the Roman Catholic Mass was held for the first time, in an Anglican Chapel on a farm at Victoria Street in Richmond, adjacent to St Mary's Anglican Church. The farm, locally known as 'eSidakeni' (= in the mud), belonged to Mr. E.A. Clark, who had married a Zulu wife

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[63] CPSJ: 1917#, p.15: according to Father Solanus: "Als nun St. Bernard ins Leben trat, und ich mich da niederliess, waren bald auch jene Christen da; denn St. Bernard liegt ihnen, obschon sie auch hier her einen Weg von 20 bis 25 englische Meilen haben, immer noch am nächsten... Daher baten mich jene Leute, ich möchte zeitweilig zu ihnen kommen, um dort Katechese und Gottesdienst zu halten."

[64] CPSJ: 1917#, p.13: "Beide chiefs gaben bereitwilligst dazu Erlaubnis."

[65] CPSJ: 1917#, p.17; Johannes and Gabriel Ngcobo are occasionally mentioned in MMA: 1937#: "16.XII.1929 - Aloisia Ng[c]obo Weib den John Ng[c]obo an einer langwierigen Krankheit gestorben." Idem (28.II.1936) mentions Gabriel Ngcobo, as chairperson of the *Abalimi baseNhlazuka*.

according to Zulu custom.[66] In January 1913, the Chapel had been built to separate the Zulu services from the English services in St Mary's.[67] The separation of the English speaking and the isiZulu speaking part of the Anglican congregation caused severe friction and, on 18th February 1913, Eliyah N(d)zo(y)iya,[68] the Zulu evangelist who was appointed to the Chapel, wrote a letter to Father Solanus with the request to join the Roman Catholic Church:

> "Dear Father
> I ask that you meet me and my children [= church members?].
> I ask, Father, that you come here in Richmond, so we may talk.
> I ask that I become part of you, that I and my whole congregation join you in the Roman [Catholic Church].
> I propose, Father, that you choose a day on which you will come here in Richmond, so that I know [when] to invite the men of my congregation.
> I ask to be under your care.
> We just need to see each other and talk with you.
> Undersigned, Eliyah Oziya Nzoiya [= Ndzoyiya]."[69]

The letter and its reception illustrate the presence in Richmond of a group of isiZulu speaking (Anglican) Christians under local indigenous leadership, separate from the English speaking Parish of St Mary's. Apparently, (part of) the group had come into conflict with the Parish and looked for refuge at the Roman Catholic Church. The aspect of looking for refuge, was also relevant for the owner of the farm, whose traditional Zulu marriage had brought him trouble with the mainstream churches and with the community as a whole. Finally, the request made by local Christians to 'come over and assist'[70] seemed to have functioned as a legitimate reason for the Church to establish a Catholic Mission Station in Richmond beside the Protestant Churches, already present in the village.

The Sunday services on Mr. Clark's farm lasted less than one year, until his farm was sold

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[66] CPSJ: 1917#, p.20: "Mr Clerck [= Clark], der mit einer Schwarzen - Heidin - in wilder Ehe lebte." C. Coulson (1986, p.279) refers to the place as: "Archdeacon Burger's African chapel in Victoria Street."

[67] C. Coulson (2003, p.1,5): "It was the arrival... of the 1850 Byrne Settlers that brought about the establishment of the town of Richmond and the Anglican Parish of St Mary's. Revd T.G. Fearne was appointed as its first vicar (rector) on March 3rd 1853... It[s stone church building] was consecrated St Mary's Anglican Church on 3rd April 1856 by Bishop Colenso and it is the oldest Anglican Church in the Diocese of Natal today... around 1913, Rev. Ernest Burges believed that the African people should be ministered to in their own language. Mr Charlie Orchard, who gave his services free, built a wood-and-iron church behind St Mary's in Victoria Street." Archdeacon Ernest Travers Burges was rector of the Parish of Richmond-cum-Byrne from 1913 until 1921.

[68] CPSJ: 1917#: about the evangelist, whose name is spelled in Solanus' Chronicle in different ways, like Nzoya (p.20), Eliyah Oziya Ndzoyiya (p.26), Eliyah Nzviya (p.38), little information is given, apart of the fact that he owned a chapel on the Clarck's farm (p.20), and that he was influenced by an American sect, which was opposed against statues in the church (p.38).

[69] CPSJ: 1917#, p.26; MMA: 1917#, p.2-3: "Dear Father. Ngicela ukuba ungitole kanye nabantwana bami. Ngicela Father ukuba ufike lapa e Richmond, sizokuluma. Ngicela ukuba ngibe owako, ngingene nebandhla lami lonke kuwena e Roma. Ngiti-ke Baba unqume ilanga uzofika ngalo lapa e Richmond, ukuba ngikwazi ukubiza amadoda ebandleni lami. Ngicela ukuphatwa uwena. Kufuneka nje ukuba sibonane, sikulume nawe. Yimina Eliyah Oziya Nzoiya"

[70] Reference to Acts 16.9.

and consequently, the Chapel had to be abandoned. The services continued outside the village on the road to Mid-Illovo/Eston, until, in 1917, a site in the southwestern part of Richmond was purchased to build a new station.[71] On 7th March 1917, the site was dedicated to St Joseph. For about eighteen years, services were conducted in a temporary building. On 29th December 1935, a red stone church building was dedicated. The building activities had been co-ordinated by Father Charles from St Bernard. In 1941, St Joseph's became an independent mission station with its own priest, Father Benedict. In 1951, living quarters for a priest and several nuns were added.[72]

Lastly, east of Einsiedeln, an outstation was opened in Eston Village. In 1929, it was started as a school only but, in 1938, a first Mass was held in the same building.

13.9 Mission and Commercial Farms

In 1920, St Bernard was separated from Einsiedeln as an independent Mission Station. By that time Einsiedeln had established three more outstations: Amandus Hill, situated on the commercial farm Strehla between Einsiedeln and St Bernard; and in a westerly direction St Joseph (in Richmond Village) and St Gabriel (in ePhatheni, a 'township' south of Richmond). St Bernard had established one outstation, Ngilanyoni, situated in what, in 1913, had become the location *Umlazi*. Further expansion of the work in the vicinities of the Mission Stations, concentrate on commercial farms. Einsiedeln was surrounded by farms and St Bernard bordered on farms to its west and its north.[73] During the 1920's and 1930's, St Bernard established three new outstations on farms in Ismont (1921), Mid-Illovo (1921) and Ngwegwe (1926)[74] and Einsiedeln established another two outstations on farms: Hill Top (1928; on the old road from Richmond to Ixopo at the uMkhomazi River) and St Theresa (1933; north of Richmond at the uMlazi River). The buildings, made of wattle-and-daub, were used as schools during the week and as churches on Sundays.

The missionary work on commercial farms was difficult to develop. Firstly, because several farmers were reluctant to allow Catholic Church services or even schools on their premises. Some of them gave permission for services and schools on their farms under the condition that labour tenants or their children from other farms would not attend. Other farmers

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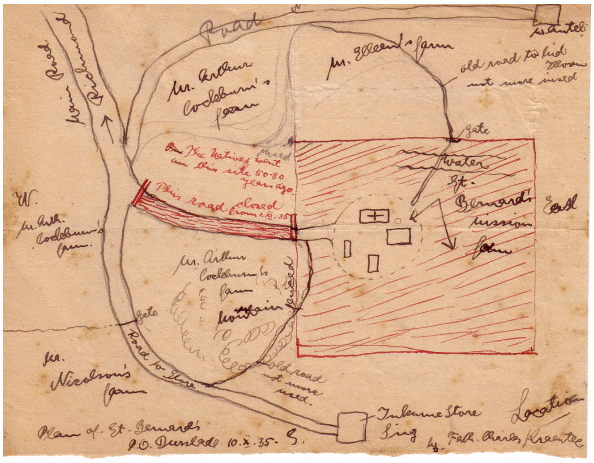
[71] C. Coulson (1986, p.279): "The first Catholic service held in Richmond was on the 6th April 1913 in Archdeacon [Ernest Travers] Burges's African chapel in Victoria Street. The Catholic priest, Father Solanus, lived at Einsiedeln Mission, a Trappist foundation. Later [in 1914], Mr Jim-Bob [James Montague] Comrie offered them a plot of ground on the Mid-Illovo Road where there was an old hut which could be used as a church. After repairs, Father Solanus held services there, until in 1917 a plot of ground near the water works in Richmond was acquired from a Mr Essop."

[72] C. Coulson (1986, p.281): "The Sisters from Mariannhill ran a school in the church grounds for Black and Coloured children."

[73] In 1913, the first person to be baptized at St Bernard Mission was a 70 year old lady, Maria Nongazi MaMkhize, according to the baptismal register, living on the farm Durslade (= Karlshaven), owned by R. Cockburn (par.2.5); locally she is remembered as an inhabitant of the neighbouring area eMpangisa.

[74] MMA: 1937#: "12.II.1926 - Auf Voxin [=Alfred Fawcus'; par.5.5] Grund (Engwegwe) ein Platz für eine Schule ausgesucht... 1 Febr.27 Eröffnung der Schulle am Engwegwe (St Nikolaus)."



Map of St. Bernard and surroundings, by Father C. Kraeutle, 10/10/1935. (Compare Chapters 2 and 3)
Indications around St Bernard read,

in the north-east:	*Mr.* [Walter] *Antel*
in the north:	*Mr Elleent's* [?] *farm*
in the west:	*Mr. Arthur Cockburn's farm*
in the south-west:	*Mr.* [Philip] *Nicholson's farm*
in the south:	*Inkum*[an]*e Store Sing*
above the main road to St Bernard, blocked by Arthur Cockburn:	*The natives went in this site 50-80 years ago. This road closed from 1 XI.35*

refused the proposal for Catholic services and schools on their farms outright.[75] One of the reasons to refuse, might have been that the farmers, being members of Protestant Churches, were not in favour of Catholic missionary work. For example, the farms of the families Cockburn and Antel (par.2.5), directly surrounding St Bernard, were part of the Anglican Mid-Illovo Parish. During the 1920's, regular Anglican Church services were held on these farms, especially on Kleinthal, Durslade, Cliffside and even on Strehla, where the Catholic outstation Amandus Hill was situated.[76] The Mapstones, situated north of Richmond were members of the Methodist Church in the village. Whatever the farmers' reasons were to block Catholic missionary work on their farms, the result was that the labour tenants on many farms lived rather isolated, without even the opportunity to go to a church or to send their children to a school. In 1938, Father Severin, priest at Einsiedeln, reported about the farms: "I know of no place, where Christians are so ignorant in matters of faith as on the farms of Mabiston [=Mapstone], Atshi [= Cockburn; par.2.5 and 6.3] and Fouller [=Ferrero?]. Rarely, a child from there visits a school; women baptize their husbands and children themselves, but none of them

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[75] MMA: 1938#, p.24: "Ein Farmer, Mabiston [=Mapstone] in Emakuzane [directly north of Richmond] , sagte mir selbst, als ich im bat für meine kath. Arbeiter dort Messe lesen zu dürfen: '50 jährige Erfahrung hat mich gelehrt, dasz die Mission die eingebornen Arbeiter verdirbt. Ich gebe die Erlaubnis nicht'." In a separate incident, on 01/11/1935, Arthur Cockburn closed the main road to St Bernard Mission, which crossed his farm (MMA: 1937#).

[76] For example, Vicar Arthur E. Thrupp of the Church of the Province of South Africa gave the following account of Sunday services in December 1922 on several farms surrounding St Bernard, all part of the Anglican Mid-Illovo Parish (NDAP, 1923#, p.17): "'**Waterfall**': We are glad to hear that Mrs [Isabella] Antel is now much better. Service was held here on Dec. 10th, when there was a full house, including some visitors from the Coast. After a very hot ride, it was pleasant on the lawn in the shade. '**Durslade**': A big gathering of 28, including 14 children, assembled for service at this centre (Mrs. R. [Louisa] Cockburn's) on the 17th. The Vicar had been up to '**Woodleigh**' [= St Bernard Mission, since 1910; par.13.6] in the early morning to hold service for the natives, and left in a blistering sun for 'Kleinthal' at 12 o'clock. '**Kleinthal**': Mr. and Mrs. A.H. [Archie] Cockburn had some difficulty in finding accommodation for all the persons who assembled here on the 17th, at 3 p.m., there being 32 present; and the offerings amounted Pound 2-0[s]-6[p]. We hope the scheme to build a Hall at Rosebank may go ahead, but what will happen if there is not that ever welcome cup of tea after service, to say nothing of the croquet lawn." During the 1930's, reports about the Mid-Illovo Parish especially mention the farms **Cliffside** (Archibald Antel) and **Durslade** (Walter Antel).

visits a church service, or maybe just once a year."[77]

Secondly, the missionary work on farms was hampered by the fact that the permission given by a farmer to conduct church services or to establish a school, would lapse as soon as the farmer died, or the farm was sold for other reasons. In 1941, the Einsiedeln Mission was responsible for three farm schools and two farm churches. In 1942, one farm church, St Elisabeth's, was closed after the farmer died and the farm was sold. In 1942, St Theresa's was closed for a similar reason.[78]

Thirdly, the mission work on farms was hampered by the living conditions of the labour tenants. In return for their right to live and have their own fields on the farm, the labour tenants and their sons were obliged to work on the farm for about eight months a year, often seven days a week, without any financial return. According to Father Severin, in 1939: "The rule is: not showing up for work for one day (also Sundays) results in two days Police detention. Usually, the men and boys have to work for the farmer unpaid for a period of six to eight months a year, to have some fields and a homestead of their own. The rest of the time the man works somewhere else to be able to pay his tax, buy clothes, etc. Moreover, a boy has to save money to buy cattle etc. for his bride and accordingly, has no time for a confirmation class."[79] Apparently, the situation deteriorated for the labour tenants in the period after the Second Word War. In 1946, Father Severin reported: "The Natives become more and more slaves. The farmers want them, including the school children, to work for the whole year."[80] As a result, the labour tenants' attendance in church and school could only be minimal, even if they were willing to attend Sunday services, or send their children to school.

Lastly, the missionary work on farms was hampered by the poor position of church assistants (*Katecheten*) located at farm churches and farm schools. Their position was often too insecure to continue to work for the Church. Some started their own Church,[81] whilst others had to

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[77] MMA: 1944#, p.76: Father Severin: "Nirgends fand ich die Christen noch so unwissend in Glaubenssachen, wie auf den Farmen von Mr. Mabiston, Atshi und Fouller. Selten dass ein Kind von dort die Schule besucht, Frauen taufen Mann und Kinder selbst, aber keiner von diesen Leuten besucht den Gottesdienst, oder vielleicht nur einmal im Jahr."

[78] MMA: 1944#, p.75: "St. Elisabeth [established 22/11/1914] stand auf der Farm [Preston Park] eines Mr. [Fred] Mapstone in der Nähe des Umlaas [uMlazi River] an der Strasze [mit] Mr. Fawkus-Darnville. Der Eigentümmer der farm starb [presumably, in 1915], sein Bruder [William Mapstone] kaufte diese Farm von den Erben und kündigte sofort die Kapelle." Idem (p.109, entry 1942): "Die St. Theresia Schule [established 29/11/1933 on Fowkes' farm, also at the uMlazi River] ist endgültig verloren da die Farm verkauft wurde und der neue Farmer sich sogar weigerte meinen Besuch zu empfangen."

[79] MMA 1944#, p.49: Father Severin: "Es gilt als Regel: Einen Tag (auch Sontag) nicht zur Arbeit erschienen heisst 2 Tage Polizeiarrest. Durchschnittlich müssen die Männer und Burschen 6-8 Monate beim Farmer dafür gratis arbeiten, dass er ihnen einige Felder und [einen] Wohnplatz gewährt. Die übrige Zeit geht der Mann irgendwohin in [= zur] Arbeit um seine Steuer zahlen und Kleider etc. kaufen zu können. Ein junger Bursche soll auch noch die Ochsen für die Braut etc ersparen und hat so naturlich auch keine Zeit um zur [= für] Taufe zu lernen."

[80] MMA 1944#, p.111: Father Severin: "Es geht immer mehr an die Versklavung der Natives. Farmer verlangen Arbeit durchs ganze Jahr, auch der Schulkinder."

[81] MMA 1944#, p.26, entry 1938: "Es soll da vor 20-30 Jahren ein katholischer Katechet gewesen sein, Native aber auch selbst Besitzer einer kleinen Farm, der auf seiner Farm eine Kirch baute, aber dann abfiel und seine eigene Kirche gründete."

leave their duties because of poor wages.[82]

13.10 Closure of Mission Schools

By 1948, the education of 'black' people was for more than 90 percent a missionary enterprise.[83] This situation completely changed through the introduction of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (par.11.2) which brought almost all 'black' schools under direct control of the Government. The Act was based on the report of the 'Werner Eiselen Commission', which recommended that the Government should take control of all 'black' education. The Commission, established in 1949, concluded in 1951 that the about 4500 African Mission Schools were not in compliance with the Government policy of Apartheid and "achieved nothing but the destruction of Bantu culture... nothing beyond succeeding in making the native an imitative westerner."[84] The Act intended to place all 'Bantu education' under the control of the Department of Native Affairs. By 1953, the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa ran 6 training colleges, 688 state aided schools and 130 private schools with in total 11 361 students, "about 15 percent of the black school-going population in South Africa... Catholic bishops saw Catholic schools as essential to the church's evangelising effort in gaining converts and in the continuing education of Catholic children in a distinctly Catholic atmosphere".[85] The schools played a central role in the Catholic missionary work and the Act, leading to the closure of the Mission Schools, was seen as a major threat to the Church. Contrary to other church denominations, which decided to close their schools because of the Bantu Education Act, the Catholic Church decided to keep them open as long as

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[82] MMA 1944#, p.28-29: "Heute, 9 Januer[= Januar 1939], kam der Katechet Bernard Hlongwane fast weinend und bat um die Erlaubnis für 6 Monate in Maritzburg in Arbeit zu dürfen. Er habe nichts mehr zu leben und geliehen bekomme er auch nichts mehr, weil er eben seine Schulden nicht bezahlen könne... Bernard Hlongwane war von P. Thomas aus Citeaux geholt [in 1937] und als Katechet für St. Bernard angestellt worden, natürlich in Einverständnis und unter Gutheiszung des Hochwürdigsten Herrn. Bernard solte gratis in Amandushill wohnen und dazu noch monatlich 2 [pound] Lohn erhalten. Er kam, baute sich mit Hilfe fremder Leute eine Hütte und liesz auch seine Frau und Kind nachkommen. ... Für 3 Monate, Juli, August, September bekam er sein Gehalt nicht, ja er muszte nun wie jeder andere Pächter 4 [pound] Jahres Rente zahlen. Dazu sollte er die neu in der Amandushillkapelle eröffnete Schule führen mit Bezahlung durch die Kinder... Jetzt erkrankte auch noch seine Frau und er hat nicht einmal genug zum Essen."

[83] During the first half of the 20th century, a similar situation developed in Rhodesia / Zimbabwe. Especially after, in 1922, Rhodesia had become a British self-governing colony, missionary organizations became increasingly involved in and financially dependant on Primary and Secondary Education. "From the twenties to the fifties there was a remarkable expansion and development of the educational missionary work... The African teacher on the mission field [was initially seen as] the most important instrument or channel to communicate the gospel to his [sic] compatriots by word and way of life" (W.J. van der Merwe, 1981, p.89). However, over the years, 'African education' became an aim in itself and, in the partnership between Government and the mission stations in providing education, little missionary zeal was left. By the middle of the 20th century, it was concluded "that our schools no longer exert the same spiritual influence as formerly... The schools can no longer be considered as a strong evangelistic influence; there is too little contact between the school and the indigenous church leaders" (idem, p.93).

[84] D. Oaks, 1994, p.379; see also B. Fleisch (2002) about the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Native Education 1949-51 (the 'Werner Eiselen Commission').

[85] H. Chamberlain & others, 1999, p.191.

Einsiedeln and its outstations in 1941 (in brackets the number of school children enrolled in February 1941):

Einsiedeln:	church	&	school (46)
Amandus Hill:			school (12)
St Leopold:			school (16)
St Theresia:	church	&	school (22)
Hill Top:	church		

possible.[86] When, by 1957, all state subsidies for private schools had stopped, the schools survived on donations and teachers' salaries were sharply reduced, until, in 1972, the bishops decided to close all primary schools or hand them over to the Government.[87]

The withdrawal of Government subsidies to schools such as those in Einsiedeln and St Bernard and their outstations had drastic consequences.[88] It forced the Mission Stations to transfer the schools to the Government. The Primary Schools at Einsiedeln and at St Bernard are still situated on the premises of the two Mission Stations but there is no formal link any more between the schools and the Stations, apart from the fact that, at the moment, Sister Othmar at Einsiedeln is also the principal of the Primary School there, employed by the Department of Education.

13.11 Second Vatican Council

One of the major points stressed in the missionary Encyclicals of the first half of the 20th century was the need for local 'indigenous' clergy (par.13.1). However, in practice, "at many mission stations there was a tendency to resist the policies of Rome."[89] For indigenous clergy in South Africa, it was difficult to find their place in the local Church hierarchy.[90] Moreover, generally speaking, local Church hierarchies were to a great extent dependent on the central Church hierarchy. These imbalances were addressed during the Second Vatican Council and during the period of its preparation.

The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), convened by Pope John XXIII,[91] facilitated a process of renewal in the Roman Catholic Church paralleling and reacting on similar processes in the world as a whole, like the decolonization in Africa and the growing want for democratization. "It opened the way to indigenisation and inculturation and assisted the new generation of bishops in dealing with the problems of the post-independence era."[92] In the period of preparation for the

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[86] P. Kearney, 2006, Chapter 9: *Resisting Bantu Education*, p.111-118.

[87] J. Brain, 1997, p.205: "Some secondary schools stayed open."

[88] MMA: 1944#, p.107: already in 1943, Father Severin noticed the growing involvement by the Government in private schools: "Nach neuem Gesetze müssen alle Privatschulen registriert worden, ein Schritt näher zur Verstaatlichung."

[89] G.S. Mukuka, 2008, p.30.

[90] G.S. Mukuka (2008, p.113) mentions several reasons why, during the first half of the 20th century, local clergy in South Africa were not accepted as equals in the local church hierarchy: "All had been to Rome and acquired doctorates in theology and philosophy; this in itself may have created some problems of jealousy... they were aware of the power struggles between [the Zulu and the Western] cultures... they may have thought they could associate with the white priests but, when they were continually ill-treated, the trust broke down. Due to their high levels of education, they were quite possibly also alienated from African society."

[91] In 1963, during the course of the Council, Pope John XXIII died and was succeeded by Pope Paul VI.

[92] Ph. Denis, 1997, p.228.

Council, Rome made clear that it intended to strengthen the African Church structures and involve them in the preparations for the Council. "Rome accelerated the setting up of ecclesiastical hierarchies and increased the number of African born Bishops... The South African bishops were slow in their response to this initiative, revealing either a failure to see its importance or a lack of interest... The contributions by the South Africans dealt mainly with matters affecting the inner life of the Church. These included: the limited use of the vernacular language in the liturgy; a collegial approach to Church Government; greater jurisdiction for the bishops in their Dioceses and the restoration of the permanent diaconate."[93] Major contributions to the Council were made by Dennis Hurley, archbishop of Durban: "Hurley's main concern was to encourage and nurture the Church's pastoral commitment... he was deeply conscious of the limitations that the traditional way of thinking imposed on the Church's ability to confront the challenges of modern society."[94]

In several Decrees, which were issued as results of the Council's deliberations it became clear that the Church intended a new orientation in several areas.[95] The restoration of unity among all Christians was one of the major concerns of the Council. "The term, which enunciates the ideas of both unity and mission and which found expression in various study documents, is 'common witness'."[96] The Council marked the end of a history of controversy and confrontation with other Christian denominations and non-Christian religions.[97]

Another point of reform was the renewal of the internal organization of the Church, resulting in more independence and equality for the Dioceses. The focus of attention shifted from the central hierarchy and the universal Church to the local Dioceses as equal manifestations of the church. "The fundamental innovative feature of the new development was the discovery that the universal church actually finds its true existence in the local churches... the distinction between sending and receiving churches became pointless."[98]

The Missionary Decree *Ad Gentes* opened the way for a new understanding of the

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[93] M. Abrahams, 1999, p.214-215.

[94] Ph. Denis, 1997, p.255. Idem (p.231): "When the hierarchy was established in Southern Africa in 1951[sic], the Natal vicariate became the Durban archdiocese and [Dennis Hurley] became its first archbishop." Archbishop Hurley (1915-2004) was member of the Central Preparatory Commission of the Second Vatican Council and played a major role in its Commission on Seminaries, Universities and Catholic Education. He became known for his dedication to the renewal of the Church and his stand against Apartheid (P. Kearney, 2009).

[95] About the documents issued by the Second Vatican Council, Archbishop Hurley (2005, pp.179,180) states: "The four constitutions - on the Church (*Lumen Gentium)*, the liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*), revelation (*Dei Verbum*) and the Church in the modern world (*Gaudium et Spes*) - vie with each other in significance... I would consider that the most significant statement from the Council is the conclusion to section 17 of the Constitution on the Church (*Lumen Gentium*), which reads as follows: 'Thus the Church both prays and works so that... the whole world may move into the people of God, the body of the Lord and the temple of the Holy Spirit, and that in Christ, the head of all things, all honour and glory may be rendered to the Creator, the Father of the Universe.'"

[96] D.J. Bosch, 1991, p.463.

[97] The dogmatic constitution dealing with other religions was called *Nostra Aetate*. About this document, S. Rakoczy (2005, p.291) stated: "The 'Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions' (*Nostra Aetate*) was a dramatic reversal of the Church's traditional position that 'outside the Church there is no salvation'. It spoke in positive term of the world religions and said that 'the Catholic Church rejects nothing of what is true and holy in these religions'."

[98] D.J. Bosch, 1991, p.380.

Church's Mission, without the connotations of paternalism and qualitative distinction between local Churches. It was stressed during the Council, "that it was not sufficient to speak about the 'missionary work', but rather of the missionary nature of the church, for evangelisation is the essential function of the church."[99]

The Conciliar constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium* dealt especially with the reform of the liturgy. "This document sets out a vision of the liturgy in which the entire Christian community actively participates... it states, 'this full and active participation by all the people is the aim to be considered before all else'."[100] It opened the way for the use of the vernacular during the Mass, which was the first sign for ordinary members that a substantial reform was taking place in the Church.

13.12 Impact of the Second Vatican Council

The Second Vatican Council took place in a period of relative stability at St Bernard Mission. During the period from 1939 until 1984, the Mission Station was continuously served by only two priests, Father Hilarius Lechner until 1962, when he was replaced by Father Nikodemus Kops.[101] Before this period, the Mission Station was more or less neglected by the Church hierarchy to the extent that, in 1940, it considered selling the Station.[102] Yet, during the period of the Fathers Hilarius and Nikodemus, a renewed interest in the Church's stations, a different interpretation of what Mission is and the reorganisation of the Church hierarchy, opened a new future for St Bernard Mission.

When, in 1953, the Catholic Hierarchy was established in South Africa,[103] St Bernard Mission, like most of the South African mission stations of the Congregation of Missionaries of Mariannhill, lost its status as mission station and was transferred from the Congregation to the Catholic Diocese of Mariannhill as a Diocese's parish. The transfer was followed by extensive

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[99] M. Abrahams, 1999, p.233. According to D.J. Bosch (1991, pp.371,372,381), "the real breakthrough in respect to mission occurred not in the missionary decree [*Ad Gentes*] but in *Lumen Gentium* (Dogmatic Constitution on the Church) ... The church is no longer described as a societal entity on a par with other societal structures like the state, but as the mystery of God's presence in the world ... it does not define itself in legal categories or as an elite of exalted souls, but as a servant community... [However, in *Ad Gentes*] mission was again one-way traffic from West to East, and the overriding aim of mission remained *plantatio ecclesiae*."

[100] M. Abrahams, 1999, p.241.

[101] Father Hilarius Lechner (1903-1988) served St Bernard Mission from 1938 until 1962; Father Nikodemus Kops (1921-2000) from 1962 until 1984.

[102] MMA: 1944#, p.82-83 (entry 1940): "Aber wenn Amandushill und schlieszlich auch Hlazuka [=St Bernard Mission] verloren gehen für die Mission, dann ist es durch die Schuld unserer höchsten Oberen. Hlazuka mit seinen 3000 acres hatte einst Sachen in Hülle und Fülle. Aber dann kam ein Schaffner, den man sonst nirgends haben wollte und der grundsätzlich gegen den Rektor arbeitete. Der Rektor fand weder Hilfe beim Bishof noch beim Provinvial. Einer schob es auf den anderen, obwohl jeder dem Pater recht gab. So verarmte das grosze St. Bernard, es verarmte noch mehr moralisch. Zuletzt bot Sr. Excellenz die Missionsfarm der Regierung zum Kaufe an... Jede, auch die beste Missionsstation, kann und musz zu Grunde gehen, wenn die Oberen ihr nicht geben was sie braucht."

[103] B. Sundkler & C. Steed (2000, p.829): "In 1953 an 'ecclesiastical hierarchy' was established for South Africa with four archdioceses (archbishops in Durban, Cape Town, Bloemfontein and Pretoria) and in total twenty-three dioceses."

Priests who served at St Bernards Mission for at least one year:

1910-1918	S. Peterek
1918	L. Siller
1918-1919	M. Wittekind
1920	P. Quiotek
1920-1922	C. Ruthig
1922-1929	M. Wittekind
1929-1933	P. Müller
1933-1938	Ch. Kräutle
1939-1962	H. Lechner
1962-1984	N. Kops
1987	P. Dlungwana
1988-1991	H. Miya
1991-1993	C. Ngcobo
1994-2005	W. Tauer
since 2006	R. Mthembu

building activities during the 1960's. St Bernard's old Church building was replaced by a new, much bigger one. A new priest's house was built and the sisters' house was extended.

Initially, the transfer from the Congregation to the Diocese went unnoticed by the Church members, as the priest at St Bernard Mission was still a member of the Congregation. Father Nikodemus Kops, born in The Netherlands, considered himself as a missionary at St Bernard Mission but he did not define his work in terms of planting the Church, or saving people. He saw himself as being sent to serve and suffer. Reflecting on his work, he combined a modern, late 20th century interpretation of the concept *missio Dei* with a traditional concept, *imitatio Christi*. The motive of *missio Dei* was used, in 1957, by Pius XII in his encyclical letter *Fidei Donum* (par.13.1.4). Also outside the Roman Catholic Church, during the second half of the 20th century, "Mission was understood as being derived from the very nature of God. It was put in the context of the doctrine of the Trinity... The classical doctrine on the *missio Dei* as God the Father sending the Son, and God the Father and the Son sending the Spirit was extended to include yet another 'movement': Father, Son and Holy Spirit sending the church into the world."[104] By adding the concept of *imitatio Christi* to this modern interpretation of *missio Dei*, Father Nikodemus defined missionary work as a going into the world in obedience and suffering: "Christianity, Christ to the Zulu-families means: Christ incarnate. By the words: *et incarnatus est*, that is God came to us, in the Person of Christ. That is mission divine. The imitation of Christ, has 3 items: a) deny yourself, b) take your Cross every day c) follow Christ... *imitatio Christi* is our Mission-Mandate."[105]

During the period of Father Nikodemus at St Bernard Mission, just as elsewhere in the Catholic Church, Latin was gradually replaced by the vernacular. Apart from the sermons, the Mass was now also held in isiZulu. A consequence would be the appointment at St Bernard of priests who use isiZulu as their first language. This was realized in 1987, when Father P. Dlungwane was appointed as priest at St Bernard. Since then, a more open attitude towards other church denominations has developed.

13.13 Immigration of Labour Tenants: Joseph Kuku Shange

Because St Bernard Mission was not designated as a 'natives' living area' in the Land Act of 1936, for many years its tenants needed a 'supplementary permission' from the Governor General to stay on the Mission Station. An application for the permission, made by Father Hilarius

[104] D.J. Bosch (1991, p.390) concerning the definition of 'mission' after the Willingen Conference of the International Missionary Council in 1952.

[105] MMA: 1977#, p.6.

*Part of the **Shange** family tree:*

Mefane Shange
|
Ntakane (Ndaleni)
|
Kuku Joseph (*kwaBontisi*; *St Bernard*)
|
Xhegu Isaya * MaThuli (born ±1940)

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*Part of the **Dlamini** family tree:*

Luthayi * MaManyide
|
Mkomazi Joseph * MaSithole
|
Alphina MaDlamini * Johanisi Mkhize
(born ±1925)

in 1938, listed 25 families, who had settled at the Station between 1913 and 1942.[106] Apparently, the permission was given and the Station was accepted as an influx area.

Especially around 1970, several farm labourer families migrated into St Bernard Mission, as their living conditions on the farms worsened. Their main complaints entailed the extensive work periods, including Sundays, and the restrictions on privately owned cattle (par.5.7 and 6.8). Several interviewees put the blame for the deteriorating circumstances on the farms on a rather metaphorical 'new farmer'.[107] Migrants into the Mission Station became rent paying tenants, the rent being R.10.00 per year during the 1960's, gradually increasing to R.20.00 during the 1990's. The only condition on immigration was, that they had to be members of the Catholic Church, or had to promise honestly that they would become members.

An illustrative example of the migration into St Bernard Misison around 1970 is the story of Kuku Joseph Shange.[108] During the 1930's, Kuku Shange moved from eNdaleni (Chapt.11) to the farm kwaBhontshisi (= Kleinthal; par.2.5) owned by Madokozo (par.6.6). At the farm Kuku Shange established his own family. He worked on the farm as a builder and as a herdsman. When the farmer's son Denisi "took over the farm", he warned Kuku Shange, that his sons should assist on the farm or leave its premises.[109] Kuku's sons refused to work on the farm, as the herding and milking of cattle would bind them to the work seven days a week. Kuku, who had already retired from full time work, decided to leave with his family, in part because he was afraid that his family would not get permission to bury him on the farm. Returning to eNdaleni was not an option, as his father Ntakane had died and other people

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[106] NPA: 1943#: The 1943 application by Father Hilarius for a supplementary permission to stay in a area designated 'for whites', for 23 tenants who settled at St Bernard Mission between 1913 and 1938 included the following names of heads of households, all of them paying a rent of two pounds per year to the Mission:

Mkize: Elias, Nikolas, Simon, Paulus, Philip, and Magdalena (widow)
Ngcobo: Alban
Mbhele, Lawrence
Shange: Andreas
Ngidi: Simon, and Ambrose
Mtshali, Edward, and Bernardina (widow)
Kunene, Petrus, and Erasmus
Sithole, Johannes
Ngcongo, Joseph, and Ambrose
Gwamanda, Petrus and Abraham
Dlamini, Thomas
Mtembu, Michael

About one third of them had entered the Mission Station after 1936.

[107] The term 'the new (or last) farmer' appears in several oral accounts as an explanatory term for deteriorating circumstances on a commercial farm. It frees 'the former farmer' from any blame. Compare par.6.5.

[108] The story is told by his son Xhegu Isaya Shange (2008*).

[109] In fact, uDenisi (= Dennis Cockburn) worked together with his father uMadokozo (= Arthur Archibald Cockburn). Both died in 1971(par.6.6).

had taken over the site of his vacated homestead. Kuku discussed the matter with Father Nikodemus, who used to conduct services on the farm. Father Nikodemus gave Kuku Shange permission to become a tenant at St Bernard Mission.

13.14 Immigration of Labour Tenants: Alphina MaDlamini Mkhize[110]

The second example of migrants moving into the St Bernard Mission during the 1970's is the story of Mrs. Alphina MaDlamini Mkhize. She remembered her youth at the farm of Galbodi[111] along the uMzamini River, a tributary of the iLovu River, joining it just northeast of the Einsiedeln Mission. Her family had lived on the farm as labour tenants for at least two generations. They had enjoyed relative independence with their own fields and cattle. Alphina remembered her mother MaSithole growing her own potatoes, beans, sweet potatoes, yam (*amadumbe*) and maize and selling or bartering it to neighbours. The family had about 15 head of cattle of their own. Alphina never went to school but she and her family attended a nearby Methodist Church. She married Johanisi Mkhize, a farm labourer and tractor driver on the neighbouring farm Kincairn[112] owned by Angus James Comrie. Johanisi was the son of Michael Mkhize, a lay preacher in the nearby Methodist Church. When this Church was closed, the family Mkhize started to attend the Roman Catholic services in Einsiedeln. During the early 1970's, the living situation for labour tenants at Kincairn worsened. They blamed the new owner of the farm, Comrie's son in law, who as they remember, obtained the farm after Comrie's death.[113] The most difficult problem for the labour tenants was the implementation of restrictions on the number of cattle privately owned by the tenants. Each homestead was allowed no more than five head of cattle (par.6.6). If a family received *ilobolo* (par.8.2), it was temporarily allowed to graze six cows on the farm. At the farm's dipping tank, the cows were regularly counted and new born calves were bought by the farmer for a price imposed by himself. In the given situation, Johanisi Mkhize decided to leave the farm. He discussed the situation at Einsiedeln Mission and got permission by Father Nikodemus to move his family to St Bernard Mission. So, around 1975, Johanisi Mkhize and his wife Alphina, their two sons (a third son had died) and five daughters entered St Bernard Mission as rent paying tenants. Asked, how she had managed to raise her children in these difficult years, Alphina answered that in fact, she had always been busy working, because they needed the money. The children raised each other.

The broader picture of the story, told by Alphina MaDlamini Mkize, is that the conditions on the farm were already changing during the 1960's. The farm, originally called Rosebank, had been property of the Comrie family since James Comrie, who came from Perthshire in Scotland,

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[110] The migration story in this paragraph was provided by Alphina MaDlamini Mkhize (2008*).

[111] Grant Polteney 1829; the local name Galbodi might have been derived from the personal name Gilbert; Polteney and the farm directly west of it, Kincairn, are situated directly north of Einsiedeln Mission , on the other, north side of the road Eston - Richmond.

[112] TOP: Grant Rosebank 1932#.

[113] After transferring his farm to his son in law, in 1974, Angus James Comrie and his wife retired to Richmond. He died in 1986. Apparently, in the eyes of the labour tenants, Comrie is excluded from any responsibility for the changing circumstances on Kincairn.

St Bernard and its outstations in 2008:

St Bernard
Amandus Hill
kwaBhontshisi (*Kleinthal*)
Enkasa (Mpangisa)
eMbuthisweni
eNkumane
St Ambros (Ismont)
St Mary (east of Ngilanyoni)
St Paul (Mgwenya)
St Rafael (Ngilanyoni)
kwaTomi (Mahlabatini)

had bought the 1000 acres farm in 1857. In a letter to relatives in Scotland, James Comrie described the variety of produce grown on his farm in a rather basic form of English: "We grow here sugar coffe arraroot tobacke cotton indigo there is know oatmeal we have got mealel... milk."[114] In 1893, in the year he married, his son Alexander built a new farm house, Kincairn, north of the road between Richmond and Eston, directly north of what would become the Einsiedeln Mission. Alex(ander), just like the surrounding farmers, produced a variety of farm products, mostly to fulfill the needs of his own family and one crop to be sold commercially, in his case: wattle. "On Kincairn Alex went for mixed farming, growing maize, potatoes, 'mabela' [= sorghum] and wattles. All ploughing was done by oxen, which were eventually sold as beef. Most of the early farmers attempted to supply all their own needs - growing all their own fruit and vegetables, their own meat and poultry and produced their own butter, hams, bacon and salt beef."[115] The balance between subsistence and commercial farming changed, when, in 1962, Alexander's son Angus started to plant sugarcane. Sugarcane, processed in the 'Ilovo-Beach' sugar-mill, became the farm's main commodity. In 1974, the farm was taken over by Angus' son in law, Dr. Michael N. Morris, a doctor in Biochemistry, whose main interest was sugar cane.

It was the change to growing mainly sugarcane on the farm that had a tremendous impact on the lives of the farm's labour tenants and resulted in the deterioration of their living conditions. Restrictions on private cattle owned by labour tenants (including a ban on bulls) had always been in place but were implemented more strictly to prevent roaming cattle from damaging the crop. Moreover, the labour tenants were required to be involved in the farm work for more than the original agreed six months. The farmer's reason being that more labour was needed on the farm throughout the year. During the 1960's, the labour tenants gradually moved from the position of peasants or subsistence farmers, with the duty to provide free labour to the landlord for about six months a year, to the position of farm labourers with a partial compensation for their labour and shrinking opportunities to own and tend their own cattle and fields.

13.15 St Bernard today

In 2006, most of the land of the St Bernard Mission was transferred to its inhabitants. A committee of local residents, holding office for a maximum of at most three years, takes care of the affairs of the estate. The inhabitants' socio-economic situation was described as follows: "The majority of households comprise an extended family with the average household numbering eight inhabitants. The level of unemployment is high which forces some people to travel to the cities in order to find work. A number of residents are employed in the surrounding forestry and sugar-

[114] C. Coulson, 1986, p.193.

[115] C. Coulson, 1986, p.197.

cane plantations. An important source of income is old-age pensions."[116]
The Primary School, with its five teachers and about 200 children, falls under the responsibility of the Department of Education and new teachers are chosen by the principal from a shortlist, made by the Department.

By now, the premises of the parish are restricted to the direct surroundings of the Church building, the priest's house, the sisters' house and the school. The Church life of the parish centres around the church services and the Mass and the 'sodalities' of its members. There are four sodalities, associations of church members, with their own uniform and special meetings. The most notable of these is the sodality of married women, marked by their blue and black uniforms. The other sodalities are: one for unmarried girls,[117] one for children and a 'mixed' association with a general admission of members. The sodalities form the backbone of church life, whilst the liturgy is in the hands of the local priest, at present Father Rafael Thobani Mthembu. The church services are attended by up to 200 people, the maximum attendance at the church feasts like Christmas, Palm Sunday and Easter. Men are remarkably absent.

The priest, financially supported by the parish, is assisted by three Franciscan sisters, who play a major role in the spiritual care for the members of the parish . Apart from St Bernard Mission, he is responsible for 10 outstations.

According to one of St Bernard's sisters, sister Anacleta, the Church is part of the identity and the life of the parish members. It has become part of their tradition. It fulfills a major role by providing comfort and hope. People ask for prayer in times of need and important decisions and personal prayers have a central place in their daily lives.[118]

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[116] MMA: 1998#, p.2.

[117] Originally, the sodality for unmarried girls was established on 8th November 1929 as the '*Maria Verein*'.

[118] Sister Anacleta (2008*).

Chapter 14: Conclusion to Part 2

14.1 Definition of Mission in Action

The three missionary projects described in the previous chapters had several characteristics in common. They were all situated in the southern part of the Midlands in what is now KwaZulu-Natal. All three projects flourished during the period between roughly 1843, the incorporation of Natal into the Cape Colony of the British Empire, until 1948, the implementation of the Apartheid Policy by the South African Government. During this period, the Government supported the projects as educational institutes situated in Zulu living areas. However, with the introduction of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the projects lost their Government Subsidies and collapsed as missionary educational institutes.

As proponents of different European denominational churches, the three missionary projects were more or less exponents of the colonization of Natal. All three projects involved the purchase of vast tracts of land already more or less occupied by local people. Although initially meant for agricultural training and for farming to provide a living for the missionaries, the land owned by the missions was predominantly used to settle displaced people.

The intentions of the three projects can be summarized in the following definition of 'mission': the sharing of the Gospel in a structured way with people in need, across cultural barriers. Moreover, each of the projects was part of the introduction and expansion of a European denominational church with the objective of establishing a church presence and maximizing the number of baptized people. However, the projects hardly contributed to an increase in the number of active church members and were unable to function without external support. The importance of the projects can best be described in terms of 'mission' as an intrinsic aspect of Christianity, as its outreach to and orientation in a non-Christian environment. The projects were started by missionaries born in Europe who spent several years of their lives in a predominantly Zulu surrounding sharing the Gospel and attempting to improve the living conditions of the local population according to their missionary ideals.

14.2 Missionary Projects in Retrospect

Since about the middle of the 20th century, the understanding of what constitutes 'mission' has changed substantially. Generally speaking, major missionary projects in the previous period can be described in terms of the following characteristics: they were supported by or at least protected by local governments; they were representatives of established denominational churches; they settled in different parts of especially the southern hemisphere to share the Gospel with the local population.[1] Although generally correct, this description does not

[1] D.J. Bosch 1991, p.1: "Until the 1950s 'mission', even if not used in a univocal sense, had a fairly circumscribed set of meanings:. It referred to (a) the sending of missionaries to a designated territory, (b) the activities undertaken by such missionaries, (c) the geographical area where the missionaries were active, (d) the agency which dispatched the missionaries, (e) the non-Christian world or 'mission field", (f) the center from which the missionaries operated on the 'mission field'... (g) a local congregation without a resident minister and still dependant on the support of an older, established church, or (h) a series of special services intended to deepen or spread the Christian faith, usually

fully fit many missionary initiatives for at least two reasons. Firstly, a number of missionary projects cannot be characterized as church denominational projects. For example, during the 18th century, many projects were undertaken by individuals who held a pietistic conviction that they were personally called by God to share the Gospel in another culture with people in distress.[2] Also the late 19th and early 20th century 'faith missions' cannot be called 'denominational'.[3] Secondly, it cannot be stated that all missionary projects were supported or protected by local governments. Nevertheless, it can be maintained that the three mission projects discussed in the previous chapters fit the following general description: supported or at least protected by the Government, representatives of established denominational churches settled in different parts of the southern Midlands in the present KwaZulu-Natal to do 'missionary' work.

Since the middle of the 20th century, 'mission' has become difficult to define and because of this, it is difficult to evaluate the three missionary projects in retrospect.[4] Probably, their intention was most likely to share the Gospel with people in need, across cultural barriers. To realize this goal they established churches and other services which facilitated the spreading of the Christian Gospel, the improvement of living conditions for the target population and the change of their traditional way of living. Especially the last aspect, the intention to change a traditional way of living, has become a major source of criticism of missionary projects.[5]

By the middle of the 20th century, independent churches were established all over the world and the need for overseas missionary projects was generally questioned (par.19.5). It became suspect to make a principle difference between sending missionary churches and receiving mission churches, and the foundation, motives and aim of overseas missionary projects became increasingly difficult to define. Since the International Mission Conference in Willingen (1952) the frequent use of the term *missio Dei* made clear that 'mission' was no longer seen as

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in a nominal Christian environment."

[2] As examples of early 18th century missionary projects often opposed by denominational churches, the projects among slaves and among the Khoikhoi in Genadendal, east of Cape Town, can be mentioned. Many of these projects had a Moravian pietistic background (par.15.10; E. Elbourne & R. Ross, 1997, p.32-39).

[3] D.J. Bosch (1991, p.332-333): "Many of the newer type of [late 19th century] Protestant missionary agencies belong to the category usually referred to as 'faith missions'. The pioneer and prototype of all these societies... was the China Inland Mission, founded in 1865 by J. Hudson Taylor... Here the eschatological motive dominated."

[4] According to D.J. Bosch (1991, p.3-4) missionary work by Western churches is in a crisis: "As far as the Christian church, theology, and mission are concerned, the crisis manifests itself, inter alia, in the following factors: The advance of science and technology and, with them, the worldwide process of secularization...; the reality that the West... is slowly but steadily dechristianized....; we now live in a religiously pluralist[ic] world...; the West - and also Western Christians - tends to suffer from an acute sense of guilt...; the younger churches refuse to be dictated to and are putting a high premium on their 'autonomy. In addition, Western theology is today suspect in many parts of the world."

[5] E. Elbourne & R. Ross (1997, p.47): "From the very beginning, the idea of converting the 'heathen' was... inextricably linked to that of 'civilizing' them... changes in consciousness could both lead to spiritual salvation and provide the 'secondary blessing' of social and economic progress." C. Villa-Vicencio (1995, p.59): "Despite the fact that individual missionaries championed the cause of the African people, they simultaneously helped undermine the African social fabric and therefore the base from which resistance could be launched against colonisation... African society... was condemned by both missionaries and colonists as a life of laziness and indolence. They both agreed that the African should be taught the dignity of labour."

the responsibility of certain churches or missionaries, but that it was God's own initiative. At present, 'mission' is either seen as an aspect of the church as a 'global missionary community', or it has been absorbed into other terms like 'church growth' or 'ecumenical movement'.[6] What remains is the critical function of mission, its prophetical task to remind people that, while there are still people in need and while there are barriers dividing people, there is a good reason to share the Gospel beyond the boundaries of local churches. 'Mission' is not in the first place an extension of or an outreach by the church. By actually crossing the barriers, 'mission' becomes a criticism on the church, reminding the church that it is not identical with the Kingdom of God, that God's priorities are not automatically the same as those of the church and that as a consequence, the church needs to continue crossing its own boundaries.[7]

14.3 People in Need

The three missionary projects described in the previous chapters targeted people in need. Most of the time, the needs were defined by the missions, but sometimes the needs were highlighted by a local community itself, which approached a mission with the request for the establishment of a mission station in its area. When the need was indicated by a community, the target population, it functioned as an argument for the Mission to extend its working area. On request of the local population, the Springvale Mission opened an outstation in East Griqualand, Clydesdale. In a similar way, Catholic outstations were opened in Reichenau, Amandus Hill, and Richmond Village. The request for help originated from a local leader, an *inkosi* (in the case of Reichenau), an evangelist expelled by another church (in the case of Richmond), a political leader (Adam Kok III; or the local Magistrate, Donald Strachan, in the case of Clydesdale), or even a farmer (in the case of Amandus Hill). When the request was done by a local leader, it might be assumed that it was well considered. In all cases, lack of educational possibilities for local children was one of the needs that contributed to the request for help. Another reason to ask for help, was the assumption that the presence of a Mission would offer contact with the wider world, especially with the Government. In the eyes of local communities, missions would offer education, communication, protection and an improvement in material living conditions.

The needs defined by local communities were not necessarily in line with its needs as understood by the missions. When missions defined the need of the local populations, they were formulated in spiritual terms, or in terms of the lack of civilization, education, or development from which the local people were deemed to suffer. The 19th century missions were deeply influenced by the Enlightenment philosophy that people differed in terms of the level of development, that people strived for a better life, and that the missions were able to release them from obstructions such as war, superstition, idleness, lack of knowledge, sickness etcetera. For example, the Springvale Mission was established with people from Pietermaritzburg, most of whom were displaced in the wars that raged during the first half of the 19th century. Rev. Henry Callaway firmly believed, subscribing to an utopian idea, that bringing them together in a

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[6] J.A.B. Jongeneel & J.M. van Engelen, 1988.

[7] J.Verkuyl, 1981, p.553: "De missiologie zal mensen moeten leren alert te zijn voor de wisseling der prioriteiten, maar tevens zal altijd ook gelet moeten worden op het geheel van het heil."

Christian rural community with opportunities to develop and grow spiritually, would make them leaders of development. In a similar way, Rev. James Allison brought a mixed group of people, including several people from Swaziland, to an undeveloped area, forming with them a new, Christian 'household' and a centre for industrial training. Like other Methodist Missions, the Indaleni Mission put strong emphasis on the 'saving of souls' as the principle need in the community. It believed that people were not victims, or outcasts, but human beings with God-given potential and with the promise of forgiveness and eternal life. Through proper education and training, it was believed that they would grow to their full potential and be evangelists themselves. By granting land and subsidies for education and training, the Government supported the missions as institutions that were able to communicate with local communities and to possibly assist them in their basic needs.

The Catholic Mission Stations Einsiedeln and St Bernard highlight another aspect of the needs which led to the establishment of missionary projects. The place, where Einsiedeln Mission was established, was chosen because the Church needed it there. There was a need for a 'halfway-house' between Mariannhill and Reichenau. In general, Mission Stations did not only serve the needs of the local population, they also served the needs of the Church. They were centres from where surrounding areas became 'occupied' and were thus affirmations of the belief that the church was expanding in the world and that the church was truly catholic.

The needs defined by the local communities differed, even clashed, with the needs as defined by the missions. The missions used to formulate the needs in spiritual, educational, medical, or socio-economic terms offering the Gospel and a church community, educating, training and providing medical care, shelter and poverty relief. On the other hand, local communities and inhabitants of mission stations, especially after the missionary projects had been in existence for some time and a local leadership had been raised, defined their needs in terms of lack of power and lack of land. The *Unzondelelo* movement at the end of the 19th century illustrates the clash in priorities between the Methodist missionaries and the local church leaders. The local evangelists were convinced that they were more fit to spread the Gospel than the missionaries, and criticized them for not properly equipping local leaders and not ordaining them as ministers in their own right. After the missions' capabilities to run their own educational institutes were undermined by the Bantu Education Law of 1953, the symbiosis between missions and local communities faced its most serious threat, as the missions were no longer able to provide the communities with that which had led to their long-term relationship: primary and secondary education. In the struggle against Apartheid, many missionary projects became the targets of criticism. They were seen as repressive institutions opposing the fulfilment of the needs of local communities and local leadership. By the end of the 20th century, the Springvale Mission was seen as a landlord, who did not care for the people. The Indaleni Mission was seen as an obstacle in the process of taking ownership of the location eNdaleni by the local political parties.

By the beginning of the 21st century, all aid projects initiated by the three missionary projects described in the previous chapters had collapsed, leaving behind parish churches with less than 200 members per congregation. The 'School for the Deaf' in eNdaleni, is the only example of a mission initiated project that is still alive, although it presently falls under the legislative Department of Education.

14.4 Sharing the Gospel in a Structured Way

Around the end of the 19th century, there was a strong belief that mission was about preaching the Gospel, "announcing the tidings of eternal salvation", as formulated in the encyclical *Maximum Illud* (par.13.1.1). In reality, the announcement came in a specific, structured way. The Gospel had to be translated into the vernacular, as was done by Rev. Callaway, not only in his Bible translation work, but also in his ethnological studies. The Gospel was proclaimed in the context of a denominational church's liturgy, or in the form of more or less spontaneous revivals. Apart from holding church services in private houses, church buildings were erected, not only at the mission stations, but also in the surroundings. Permission to do so was needed from local communities, farmers or the Government. In some cases, the local communities had already been introduced to the Gospel and saw themselves as Christians. For example, Rev. Callaway established the Clydesdale Outstation to offer common worship and pastoral care to Christian Griquas and European settlers.

For educational purposes schools were erected, often in combination with church buildings. In Springvale, a clinic was also established. Large farms were bought to maintain the mission projects, sometimes in areas already occupied by local communities, who became labour tenants or tenant farmers to the mission stations. Missionaries defined the rules at their stations and by doing so, they set patterns of authority. It may be assumed that in many cases, the missionaries did not reflect on the relationship between the way they preached the Gospel and the way they ran their stations. Nevertheless, for local communities the pattern of church-school-clinic-shop-fields in all its variations was the form in which the Gospel was shared at the stations.

The content of the Gospel thus came in a specific structured form, often in combination with a message about civilization, development or deliverance. Rarely, was it offered in line with local customs such as bride's price, polygamy, and the communication with ancestors. Typically, local traditions were opposed at the stations. However, the common factor was that many of the 19th century mission projects were there to stay serving the communities on a continuous, structured basis, often with the support of the colonial Government.

14.5 Crossing Cultural Barriers

What was probably most specific about the mission projects, described in the previous chapters, compared with Church work in general, was the crossing of cultural barriers. These barriers might have been ethnic, linguistic, or social, but crossing them was an essential element of missionary work. For example, James Allison moved from England, via the Cape, Orange Free State and Swaziland to the amaKhuze in eNdaleni, where he established a Christian community. Henry Callaway, a General Practitioner from London, shared the Gospel with people of different backgrounds in a rural area south of the uMkhomazi River: amaKhuze; English speaking commercial farmers; Dutch speaking Griquas. Trappist monks from Germany and Poland settled amongst commercial English speaking protestant farmers and predominantly isiZulu speaking farm labourers. By doing so, they made clear that the Gospel is not for a specific group of people and that the Kingdom of God is not restricted by human barriers nor that the

sharing of the Gospel is under the monopoly of people with a common cultural background but that God overcomes limits which seem impossible to overcome to human beings. Often, missionaries were opposed in this process of crossing barriers. Commercial farmers closed their farms to the missionaries of Einsiedeln Mission and St Bernard Mission. Methodist evangelists were of the opinion that they were better enabled to preach the Gospel, than overseas missionaries. The Government subsidy for Springvale's mobile clinic was withdrawn, because it crossed 'white' farms on its way to a Zulu outstation. Even by the end of the 20th century, the Indaleni Mission was attacked and looted, partly because it was seen as a 'white' institute. Nevertheless, in all these examples, the missions fulfilled their critical, prophetic task of showing people that human boundaries are not decisive in the Kingdom of God.

Around the beginning of the 20th century, many African Independent Churches were established, often serving a specific ethnic group of people. At the same time, the main denominational churches were organized in separate congregations divided along ethnic lines. During the first half of the 20th century, ecumenical initiatives by, for example, the Christian Council of South Africa, were opposed by a growing nationalism. Yet, the number of Missionary Organizations working in South Africa grew rapidly: "The forty-three mission societies in 1911 had increased to fifty-eight in 1925 and eighty-five in 1957."[8] Especially, after the introduction of Apartheid, the South African Government stimulated the Afrikaans speaking Churches to start missionary projects, which led to new initiatives by especially the Dutch Reformed Church in what is called 'the Great Missionary Revival of 1955-60".[9]

14.6 Reformed Mission under Question

When, in 1959, the Kampen Mission established itself in the Richmond District as the 'Reformed Mission' and opened its Mission Station in eNkumane, the local community was already aware of the phenomenon 'mission'. In 1847, in eNdaleni, near the Richmond Village, about 35 kilometres west of eNkumane, a Methodist Mission had been established; in 1858, about ten kilometres to the south, on the other side of the uMkhomazi River, an Anglican Mission; and in 1910, about five kilometres to the east of eNkumane, a Catholic Mission had been established. It may be presumed that the eNkumane community had well-founded ideas about what to expect from a new mission station in their area. They might have assumed, on the basis of what they knew from the other mission stations, that the foreign missionary would try to make them come to his church (*ukusontisa*), that he would have his own means of existence, probably by farming (*ukulima*) and that he would be there to help the people (*ukusizabantu*).

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[8] B. Sundkler & C. Steed, 2000, p.824.

[9] B. Sundkler & C. Steed (2000, p.825-826): "This awakening directed its energy especially at the Transkei. Surprisingly, the most important factor in bringing about this change was the publication of a national Commission report in 1955, the so-called Tomlinson Report, for social and economic development of the Bantu Areas... It is rare for an official report on economic problems, even in South Africa, to include missiological perspectives of such magnitude... Tomilson felt there was need to change an arrangement common to all missions. They were no longer to be hampered by the five-mile radius rule, and the Commission recommended the abolition of that rule... the object being 'to ensure thorough attention to the spiritual needs of the Bantu. Churches and State *must* go into action with closed ranks'."

Apart from these expectations, the question can be raised, in accordance with the definition of ‘mission’ formulated earlier in this chapter (par.14.1), how the Reformed Mission Enkumane shared the Gospel in a structured way with people in need, across cultural barriers? To answer this question, the Mission must be queried about: its origin; its motives; the contents of its message; the way it was spread; the needs it found; the way it offered help; its actually crossing cultural barriers. In order to evaluate this information and describe the Mission’s position in the local community, an analysis must be made of local church life in eNkumane.

In Part 1 of this research, it was found that the eNkumane community was not a static entity but consisted of differing population strata some of which consisted of people in constant migration over several generations. In Part 2, it was found that the missionary projects in the direct surroundings of eNkumane were also involved with people who led transient lives and that even the projects themselves were in a process of constant adjustment to stay in contact with the local communities. Common aspects of the three missionary projects, described in Part 2, were the involvement in the following activities: proclaiming the Gospel; offering training and education; establishing churches; helping to people in need; maintaining a position in the surrounding community.

The missionary projects, described in Part 2, entailed Government-subsidized training and education, which not only provided the projects with opportunities to be in contact with the surrounding communities and to share the Gospel, but also with a substantial financial basis for their operations. The withdrawal of Government subsidies proved to be disastrous for the functioning of the projects and led to a downscaling of their activities. The projects also led to the establishment of European Initiated Churches and indirectly, to the establishment of African Initiated Churches. Although the size of the congregations meeting at each of the former mission stations at present is up to about 200 members, it is difficult to assess what the lasting effects of these projects on a broader scale have been. Moreover, the projects had an aspect of helping people in need. The help was offered in the form personal assistance and structurally, in the form of refuge, educational or medical facilities. Finally, a common aspect of the projects was their complex relationships with the surrounding communities. In certain cases, the members of these communities were concurrently fellow-Christians, employees and tenants. The material sources under control of the missions, including the authority over land, were a continuous source of friction and underlined the inequality of missionaries and local population. Their presence as foreign entities became a stumbling block especially after they lost Government Subsidies for training and education.

In the next chapters, in Part 3, the specific case of the Reformed Mission Enkumane will be described. These chapters will deal with the motivation and aim of this missionary project, its integration into the eNkumane community and the way in which it dealt with the issues of marginality and transition. Part 4 will deal with its prospects.

Part 3

REFORMED MISSION ENKUMANE

Chapter 15: Formation of Reformed Churches in The Netherlands

15.1 Introduction

Part 1 of this research was used to describe the history of the area where, around 1960, the Reformed Mission Enkumane was established. In Part 2, missionary work in the present KwaZulu-Natal, especially around the eNkumane area, was described. Part 3 (chapters 15, 16 and 17) focuses on the background and the activities of the Reformed Mission Enkumane. In chapter 15, a summary is given of the history of the Reformed Churches in The Netherlands with special attention to the missionary task of the Church; chapter 16 describes the history of the Reformed Mission Enkumane during the second part of the 20th century; and chapter 17 gives a description of the present activities of this missionary project. Finally, in Part 4, an analysis will be given of missionary motives and themes, and questions will be asked about the prospects and challenges of the Reformed Mission Enkumane.

In this chapter, chapter 15, attention is given to the complex history of the Reformed Churches in The Netherlands, to the struggle for their orthodox principles and to the conviction in the orthodox Reformed Churches that missionary work is the task of the local Church. During the 19th century, several schisms took place in the Reformed Churches in order to re-establish an orthodox Reformed Church based on the *Dordtse Church Order* and on the *Reformed Creeds*. By the end of the 19th century, the united orthodox Reformed Churches decided that missionary work was one of the main duties of the Church. In 1896, at their third combined Synod in Middelburg, it was decided that missionary work should not be left to voluntary missionary societies, but should be organized by and placed under the authority of official Church structures. Accordingly, the Synod in Middelburg in 1896 became known as the 'Mission Synod' of the united orthodox Reformed Churches.[1]

15.2 Reformed Church in the 16th Century

During the 16th century, the Calvinist Reformed Church played a crucial role in the formation of the Republic of the United Netherlands. In 1581 the seven northern provinces of The Netherlands formally separated themselves from the Spanish King Philip II. Their War of Independence (1568-1648) estranged the newly established Republic not only from the ruling House of Habsburg (Austria), but also from the Roman Catholic Church. The Reformed Church became the only officially recognized Church in the Republic. Roman Catholic properties were confiscated by the new authorities and allocated to the Reformed Church, or used as funds for the salaries of ministers and schoolmasters. The old order in which the king and the Catholic bishops played the central roles, was replaced with a new order in which crucial decisions were taken by the city and province-based civil Governments and Reformed ministers.

In 16th century Europe, it was quite common for a government to associate itself with a single church denomination, to authorize church meetings, appoint or approve religious leaders

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[1] C.J. Haak (1996, p.9): "Geen wonder dat de Middelburgse besluiten wel eens als de 'Magna Carta' van de Gereformeerde zending zijn getypeerd."

and to pay their salaries.[2] For the northern provinces of The Netherlands, united in the 'Union of Utrecht' (1579), this church was the Reformed Church.[3] The southern provinces of The Netherlands, united in the 'Union of Atrecht' (1579), remained loyal to the Spanish King and to the Roman Catholic Church.

During the formation period of the Republic, several Synods were held to establish the Reformed Church in The Netherlands. The Synods dealt with topics such as the translation of the Bible in the vernacular, the *Reformed Creeds*, and the *Church Order*.[4]

15.3 Bible Translation

The general feeling at the National Synods in the 16th century was that a new Bible translation had to be made based on the original Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek texts and that explanatory annotations had to be added to the translation. Translations of parts of the Bible in the vernacular had been available since the 13th century.[5] The first Bible printed in The Netherlands was the *Delftsche Bijbel* in 1477, containing the Old Testament only, followed by the *Keulsche Bijbel* in 1478, which was printed in both a western and in an eastern Dutch version. Until the 15th century all Bible translations were based on the Vulgate. In the 16th century, some translations were based on the Luther Bible, for example the Bible printed by Jacob Liesveldt, which in its edition of 1526 was partly, and in its edition of 1535 completely, based on the Luther Bible. In its edition of 1542, it also contained Reformed annotations. Very popular was the *Deux-aes Bijbel* of 1561/2, also based on the Luther Bible, but with Reformed annotations. Finally, the Synod of Dordrecht (1618/19) decided to ask the Republic's General Government to facilitate a new translation of the Bible, based on the original texts and annotated with explanatory remarks. The translation work, begun in 1625, resulted in the *Statenbijbel* of 1635, a literal translation from the source languages, Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek. It would retain its central place in the Reformed Churches until the 20th century.

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[2] The close relationships between European civil Governments and Church denominations was an important aspect of several wars during the 16th century, including the War of Independence in The Netherlands. In 1555, in present day Germany, a special peace treaty was made, the '*Augsburger Religionsfriede*', which gave local rulers the freedom to associate themselves with the Reformation or to stay loyal to the Roman Catholic Church. The freedom was called the '*ius reformandi*', later expressed in the formulation '*cuis regio, eius religio*' (K. Heussi, 1981, p.305).

[3] Article 13 of the Union of Utrecht stressed the principle of sovereignty of the individual provinces of the Republic in church matters. It allowed the provinces to make their own regulations about not officially recognized church dominations: "Ende soe veel t poinct van den Religie aengaet, sullen hem die van Hollant ende Zelant draegen naer haerluyden goetduncken" (O.J. de Jong, 1978, p.154)

[4] Originally, the dogmas and church order of the Reformed Churches in The Netherlands were strongly influenced by Jean Cauvin (1509-1564), especially by his *Institutio Religionis Christianae*, 1536 (W. Balke & others, 2008). For the minutes of the 16th century Convent in Wezel (1568) and the following National Synods of Emden (1571), Dordrecht (1578), Middelburg (1581), and Den Haag (1586) see F.L. Rutgers, 1899. For the Church Order developed and amended during these synods, and finally accepted at the General Synod in Dordrecht in 1618/19 see G.H. Kersten, 1980.

[5] About Bible translation work in the Netherlands until the 17th century see C.C. de Bruin, 1937.

15.4 Reformed Creeds

Another topic dealt with by the 16th century National Synods was the acceptance of Reformed Creeds.[6] The Synods accepted the *Belgic Confession* (*Confessio Belgica*) and the *Heidelberg Catechism* (*Catechism of the Paltz*). In 1561, the *Belgic Confession* was made by Guido de Brès. The following year, it was submitted to King Philip II to protest against the oppression of the Reformed Churches in his kingdom and to prove that Reformed people were faithful citizens and true Christians, who obeyed the Bible.

The *Heidelberg Catechism* was written by Zacharias Ursinus, professor at the University of Heidelberg, and by Caspar Olevianus, preacher at the court of Frederik III of the Paltz, who asked them to make this catechism as a Reformed handbook for doctrinal teaching during Sunday afternoon services. The original, published in 1563, was translated into Dutch by Petrus Dathenus, who included the translation in his Dutch version of the Geneva Psalter in 1566. The *Belgic Confession* and the *Heidelberg Catechism* were accepted by the 16th century Synods as the *Reformed Creeds* (*Forms of Unity*) of the Reformed Church in The Netherlands. The National Synod of Dordrecht (1618/19) added a third document to the *Reformed Creeds*: the *Canons of Dort* (*Five Articles against the Remonstrants*). A central notion in the *Canons of Dordt* is 'predestination', the belief that salvation is a free gift from God who elects His people unconditionally. The relationship between God and His people is not initiated by the latter's belief, but by God's covenant of grace with those whom He chooses.[7]

The *Belgic Confession*, the *Heildelberg Catechism*, and the *Canons of Dordt*, were accepted as doctrinal standards of the Reformed Church in the Republic, with which all office-bearers in the Church were required to agree. Nevertheless, in the history of the Church, the question was continuously raised as to what extent these doctrinal standards were binding.

15.5 Dordtse Church Order

A third major topic, dealt with at the 16th century National Synods, concerned the Church Order. The Convent in Wesel (1568) had already drafted a Church Order,[8] based on John Calvin's *Ordonances ecclésiastiques* and on the *Christlicke Ordinancien*, made in 1544 by Maarten Micron for the Reformed Church in London.[9] The Articles of Wezel were revised during the subsequent National Synods and finally accepted by the Synod of Dordrecht (1618/19). The Church Order regulated the types of office bearers and their Councils, it prescribed faithfulness to the Reformed doctrine and it gave instructions as to how to use the sacraments, about Church

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[6] In this research references in English to the *Reformed Creeds* are based on the following publication: Andrew Murray Congregation of the Dutch Reformed Church: "Doctrinal Standards of the Dutch Reformed Church consisting of The Belgic Confession, The Heidelberg Catechism and The Canons of Dort", 1986.

[7] *Canons of Dordt* (I, art.6): "That some receive the gift of faith from God, and others do not receive it, proceeds from God's eternal decree" (reference to Acts 15:18; Ephesians 1:11). *Canons of Dordt* (III-IV, article 10): "But that others who are called by the Gospel obey the call and are converted is not to be ascribed to the proper exercise of free will ... but it must be wholly ascribed to God, who ... has chosen them [to be] His own from eternity in Christ."

[8] G.H. Kersten, 1980, p.11-39; J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, 1960, p.181-191; F.L. Rutgers, 1899, p.1-41.

[9] O.J. de Jong, 1978, p.131.

services, and about matters of Church discipline. Finally, it emphasized that congregations and office bearers shall not rule over each other. This stipulation implicated that, at least in theory, there was no hierarchical relationship between the four different types of office-bearers (professors in theology,[10] ministers, elders and deacons) nor between the four types of Councils (National, Provincial, Regional, and local Church Council). However, the local Church Council was thought to be the highest level of authority in comparison to the other Councils. Decisions by National, Provincial and Regional Councils had to be ratified by the Local Church Councils. Nevertheless, in the course of their history, the Reformed Churches faced several problems concerning the level of authority of their Synods. The general and the provincial civil Governments were supposed to facilitate the National and Provincial Synods. In reality though, after the National Synod of Dordrecht (1618/19) no initiative was taken to officially call together another National Synod in the Republic.

15.6 Early Initiatives to Reformed Missionary Work

As the Republic was strongly involved in international trade, small Dutch speaking Reformed congregations emerged in foreign cities, mostly in seaport towns, in Russia and along the coasts of the White Sea, the Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean Sea.[11] Most of these congregations were guests in countries with existing Orthodox Churches. A different situation arose in countries where the Republic exercised some form of power and where no Christian communities existed. This situation was found especially in Asia, in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), on the islands of present day Indonesia and in strategical ports such as Cape Town, where the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC), established in 1602, represented the Republic in its trade matters. The VOC built small settlements and employed pastors and ordained ministers to look after the spiritual affairs of their employees. Some of these ministers became involved with members of the local population, mainly those who were in some way dependent on the VOC.[12]

For example, at the beginning of the 17th century, Sebastiaan Danckaerts,[13] stationed at Ambon, started to preach in Malay, translated the Catechism, and made a Malay dictionary. In a similar way, Justus Heurnius,[14] stationed on Java, became involved with the Malay and Chinese speaking population. He translated some Bible books into Malay and started to compile a Chinese dictionary. On Formosa (Taiwan) attempts were made to print a Bible translation in the vernacular. And on Ceylon, Sunday services were held in Portuguese, after the VOC took over

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[10] "Professors of theology" are not separately mentioned in the *Belgic Confession*, article 31.

[11] O.J. de Jong, 1978, p.202-203. Foreign cities which, during the 16th century, accommodated Dutch speaking Reformed congregations were, for example, Moscow, Archangelsk, Petersburg, Danzig (Gdansk), Constantinople (Istanbul), Smyrna (Izmir) and Aleppo. Contemporaneous correspondence between the Church Council of Danzig and the Church Council of Amsterdam illustrates that in matters of, for example, the calling of a minister, these cities were dependent on the Church Council of Amsterdam (F.L. Rutgers, 1980, p.612-614).

[12] O.J. de Jong (1978, p.203): "Zo bleven hun gemeenten beperkt tot degenen die van de compagnie afhankelijk waren ."

[13] Sebastiaan Danckaerts: 1593 -1634.

[14] Justus Heurnius: 1587-1652.

the island from the Portuguese.

Apparently, the VOC itself was reluctant to take initiatives in matters of cross-cultural Church activities. This may be illustrated with a letter from the Reformed Regional Council Delft to the VOC, dated 7 April 1614[15]. The letter regrets that so far, no initiative had been taken to preach the Gospel to local populations, except by individuals and it stressed that ministers should be sent on authority of the Reformed Churches and the Government of the Republic to preach the Gospel to 'the poor blind heathens', in order to 'convert them to the Christian faith and plant new churches'. The letter of the Regional Council strongly suggested that the University of Leiden should train those ministers not only in the knowledge of the Bible, but also in the Malay language and in the knowledge of other religions, especially Islam. In 1622, in Leiden, Antonius Waleus opened a '*Seminarium Indicum*'.[16] The Seminary prepared ministers for their service in the VOC, especially for the task of serving the local Malay speaking population. However, in 1632, after having trained about twelve students, the VOC insisted that professor Waleus close the seminary, as sufficient ministers had been trained according to the VOC's needs.[17]

Church matters in areas under control of the VOC, were brought to the attention of the National Synod of Dordrecht (1618/19) in the form of a question by ministers working in present day Indonesia. They asked whether children born from pagan parents but accepted into a Christian family, should be baptized, provided that those who present them for baptism, promise that they will raise the children, or have them raised, in the Christian religion. The background to the question was that local children had been bought as slaves by employees of the VOC and as a result, had become part of their households. The Synod ruled that children who were already growing up and were able to learn, could only be baptized after being taught thoroughly in the Christian religion and after they had openly confessed their faith. The Synod added, probably much against the wish of the VOC that those who were baptized should be entitled to the same rights on freedom as other Christians and ought not be sold as slaves, nor by other means be returned under the authority of 'heathens'.[18]

During the 17th century, cross-cultural Church activities continued in present day Indonesia. For example, in the year 1635, according to an account and request for sustenance by the Church Council in Batavia (Jakarta) to the VOC, it was reported that 85 people from the local population of 'blind heathens and the misled Muslims' were admitted as full Church members, that 180 children and 130 adults had been baptized, that 97 couples had been married and that in three local schools catechism classes were held, in Portuguese, Malay and Dutch. Further presented in the report, was a complaint about the indecent and offensive lifestyle of employees of the VOC, which annoyed the new local Christians and led to ridicule by non-believers.[19]

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[15] J.N. Bakhuizen, 1960, p.379-380.

[16] Antonius Waleus: 1565-1640.

[17] O.J. de Jong, 1978, p203.

[18] J.H. Donner & S.A. van den Hoorn, 1987, sessions 17, 18 and 19, p.44-46.

[19] J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink -I, 1960, par.241, p.385-386.

15.7 Early Reflections on Reformed Mission

Until the 20th century, the term 'mission' was generally used for all activities by which an established ecclesiastical system is extended to other countries, where this system was not already operating.[20] For example, during the Middle Ages, the Roman Catholic Church spread over Western Europe with the aid of local kings and monastic orders. From the 16th century onward, with the help of, for example, Jesuit monks in the Northern Netherlands, the Roman Catholic Church tried to regain influence in European countries, which had embraced the Reformation.[21] It also started to extend to countries outside Europe, which were colonized under the authority of the Spanish and Portuguese kings. In 1622, for the purposes of extending the Roman Catholic Church and of promoting its unity, the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* was established under the direct authority of Pope Gregorius XV.[22] Through the establishment of the *Sacra Congregatio* the extension of the Roman Catholic Church was brought under the authority of the Pope, instead of under the authority of civil governments or religious orders.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, the Reformed Church in The Netherlands did not seem to consider the spreading of the Gospel to other countries as one of its priorities, for at least two reasons. Firstly, the Church was of the opinion that the 'Great Commission' was addressed only to the Apostles, whose work had been finished during the 1st century and therefore the Church concentrated itself instead on its stabilization and consolidation.[23] During the 16th century, the National Synods stressed that the offices of Apostles and Evangelists did not exist anymore.[24] Possibly in reaction to wandering preachers with a Roman Catholic or Anabaptist background,

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[20] J. Verkuyl (1981, p.34-35) states that early Protestant reflections on 'mission' date back to the 17th century ("dat de theroretische bezinning begonnen is in de tijd van de zgn. *nadere Reformatie* en van het *oude en nieuwe piëtisme*") but that early Roman Catholic reflections on 'mission' may be found as early as the 16th century, by writers such as Bellarminus, Suarez, Thomas Bozuis, Philippus, and Johannes Brettius.
The term 'mission' started to be generally used only by the end of the 19th century and the systematic thinking about missionary work dates back to the publications of Gustav Warneck (1834-1910) and Josef Schmidlin (1876-1944), "respectively the founders of Protestant and Catholic missiology" (D.J. Bosch,1991, p.4). G. Warneck [in his "Evangelische Missionlehre", 1897] based missionary work on the theological dogma about Christianity "als die Vollkommene und vollendete Offenbarung Gottes ... die absolute Religion" (J. Verkuyl, 1981, p.45). According to D.J. Bosch (1991, p.228) writing about the colonial era: "Mission meant the activities by which the Western ecclesiastical system was extended into the rest of the world". This definition unnecessarily excludes missionary activities by for example the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* in Europe, and by the Reformed Churches of the Northern Netherlands in the Southern (predominantly Roman Catholic) Netherlands / Belgium.

[21] O.J. de Jong, 1978, p.174. H.J. Selderhuis, 2006, p.448ff.

[22] A. Camps, 1988, p.226-227.

[23] Reference to Matthew 28:19-20. According to J. Verkuyl (1981, p.35), "De Reformatoren hadden de ... mening, dat het zendingsmandaat van Mattheus 28 beperkt was tot de Apostolische tijd en ook in die tijds reeds vervuld was." According to D.J. Bosch, referring to the Lutheran orthodoxy in the 16th century, "most theologians ... believed that the 'Great Commission' had been fulfilled by the apostles and was no longer binding on the church."

[24] F.L. Rutgers (1980, p.237: "De Acta der Nat. Dordtsche Synode van 1578", art.7): "Ende het en betaemt niemant van deen plaatse tot dander te reysen om the predicken dewyle het ampt der Apostelen ende Euangelisten voor langhen tyt in der ghemeynten Godes opghehouden is".

they stated that a minister is called by and subsequently bound to a local congregation.[25]

Secondly, the Reformed Church did not envisage working outside the area under control of the Dutch Government, as it operated in close co-operation with the Government, which paid the ministers' salaries. According to the *Reformed Creeds*, the civil Government had the responsibility to protect and promote the Church and to countenance the preaching of the Gospel.[26] This responsibility included the promotion of the Kingdom of Christ and the fight

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[25] According to the *Dordtse Church Order* of 1618/19 (art.7), ministers are bound to a local congregation unless they are specially authorized: "Niemand zal tot de dienst des Woords beroepen worden, zonder zich in een zekere plaats te stellen, ten ware hij gezonden worde om hier of daar te prediken in de gemeente ondere het kruis, of anderzins om kerken te vergaderen." (G.H. Kersten, 1980, p.178).

[26] The *Confessio Belgica* (1561) states in article 36 about civil Governments: "Their office is not only to have regard unto and watch for the welfare of the civil state, but also that they protect the sacred ministry, and thus may remove and prevent all idolatry and false worship, that the kingdom of the antichrist may be thus destroyed and the Kingdom of Christ promoted. They must therefore countenance the preaching of the Word of the Gospel everywhere, that God may be honoured and worshiped by every one, as He commands in His Word" (Andrew Murray Congregation, 1986, p.19).
About the relevance of the 'Reformed Religion' for the local African population around the Dutch stronghold at the Cape in the 17th century and the responsibility of the Dutch Government, i.e. the Dutch United East-Indian Company, in this matter, B.J. Odendaal (1957, p.12) states: "Uit die rapporte blyk dat die vestiging van 'n kolonie aan Cabo de Bona Esperance nie alleen moes dien tot nut van die koophandel... maar... ook tot die uitbreiding van die Nederlandse taal en die gereformeerde godsdienst." To substantiate his proposition, Odendaal (1957, p.11) quotes a report by L. Janszen and M. Proost, dated 26/07/1649, stating: "dat de meergenoemde Inwoonders de Nederlantse spraecke wel sullen leeren, is apparent... wel ende in goede correspondentie met haer levende sal men mettert tijd eenige van haer kinderen tot jongens ende dienaers gebruijcken ende in Christelijcke religie optrecken waer door als Godt almachtigh dese goede saecke gelieffden te segenen... veel sielen tot de Christelijcke gereformeerde religie ende God toegebracht werden. Sulcx dat het maken van voornoemde fort ende thuijn, niet alleen sal strecken tot voordeel ende proffijt van d'Ed. Comp. maer tot preservatie ende behoudenisse van veel menschen leven, dat het treffelijckste is tot grootmakinge van Godes alder heijlighste name, voortplantinge sijnes h. Evangeli." Similarly, he (idem, p.11-12) quotes a comment on the 1649-report, made by Jan van Riebeeck in June 1651, stating: "wat aengaet 't geene Sr. Leendert Jansz[en] schrijfft van dat d'Inwoonders ofte hunne kinderen onse Nederlantse tale souden cunnen leeren, is considerabel, ende niet min een goede saecke, maar ingevolge nog beter, de voortplantinge onser gereformeerde Christelijcke religie, daer deselven meede goede hope toe schijnt te hebben, ende in welcke saecke een goet leeraer de beste dienst soude cunnen doen, als UEd. [the Dutch United East-Indian Company] haer die oncosten gelieffden te getroosten."
According to A.J. Rasker (1986, p.321), in The Netherlands, until the end of the 18th century, missionary work was seen as the task of the civil Government: "Het was immers volgens artikel 36 van de Nederlandse Geloofsbelijdenis háár taak 'het Koninkrijk van Jezus Christus voortgang te doen krijgen en het Woord van het Evangelie overal te doen prediken.' In 'Indië' waar dit werk begon, was deze overheid de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie; deze zocht daartoe vanaf het begin samenwerking met de classis Amsterdam en met andere classes of gemeenten, waar Kamers van de Compagnie gevestigd waren. Zij is daarin ook niet karig geweest; gedurende de twee eeuwen van haar bestaan heeft zij ruim 900 predikanten en enige duizenden krankenbezoekers en onderwijzers, geheel op haar kosten, naar Indië uitgezonden." It must be remarked that these 'ministers, teachers and visitors of the sick' concentrated their efforts predominantly on expatriate Dutch citizens.
While, generally speaking, the early Reformers were quite passive in missionary matters and did not see the actual relevance of the 'Great Commission' (Matthew 28:19-20; Mark 16:15-16), 'Anabaptists' actively involved themselves in spreading the Gospel during the 16th century. They did not accept any civil or church hierarchy, and were not hampered by the idea that the civil Government had a role to play in the spreading of the Gospel. "Whereas the Reformers no longer considered the 'Great Commission' as binding ... No biblical texts appear more frequent in the Anabaptist confessions of faith and court testimonies than the Matthean and Markan versions of the 'Great

against idolatry and false worship. Yet, during this period, the civil Government had no intention of colonizing any country and restricted its overseas activities to the protection of trade interests. In general, as D.J. Bosch claims: "The Reformers... could not conceive of a missionary outreach into countries in which there was no Protestant government."[27]

By the end of the 16th century, one of the earliest attempts to challenge the Reformed reluctance to spread the Gospel to other countries, was made by Adrianus Saravia.[28] He stated that the Reformed Church was reluctant to commit itself to missionary work, not because it had no authorization to do so, but because it lacked capable missionaries and missionary zeal. According to Saravia, the Church is authorised (Matthew 16.19) and obliged (Matthew 28.19) to preach the Gospel to all nations and to commission people able to do missionary work: "I must conclude that the power and obligation (*obligatio*) of this duty and command (*legatio et mandatum*) to preach the Gospel is still present in the church as long as there are nations who do not know the Lord. The fact that today nobody is sent by the churches of Christ to people who do not know Christ, is not caused by a lack of authority to send, but by a lack of people suitable to be sent, or in any case a lack of zeal to propagate the Kingdom of Christ ... Thus the Church has this authority (*autoritas*)... to commission (*committere*) the duty to preach the Gospel with Apostolic authority to men suitable for the work..."[29]

Commission', along with Psalm 24:1" (D.J. Bosch, 1994, p.246).
According to D.J. Bosch, the interpretation of the 'Great Commission' and the idea that the civil Government had a role to play in protecting and stimulating the preaching of the Gospel, were not the only reasons why missionary work did not become a priority among the early Reformers. Other reasons, mentioned by Bosch (1994, p.242-246), were the following. The concepts of election by God and of the inferiority of human initiatives in spiritual matters discouraged missionary initiatives. Furthermore, during the 16th century, the Protestant Churches were in the process of establishing themselves. Through internal divisions and the abandonment of monasticism they lacked the means to spread the Gospel to the outside world.
Bosch (1994, p.246) records two Reformed missionary projects in countries where there were no Protestants, both undertaken with the help of civil Governments: "The aborted missionary project by French [Calvinist] Protestants in Brazil, launched in 1555, was backed by Admiral Gaspar de Coligny and was part of an effort at founding a colony on the South American mainland. Likewise, the [Lutheran] mission to the Lapps (begun in 1559) was promoted by King Gustav Vasa of Sweden."

[27] D.J. Bosch, 1991, p.246. Generally speaking, it can be stated that the early Reformers did not systematically organize or reflect on missionary work (J. Verkuyl, 1981, p.35). The Reformation, protected by certain civil Governments in Middle-Europe, was mainly a European movement reforming the existing Church. Contrary to the Reformation, the Roman Catholic Church was related to West-European countries such as Spain and Portugal with major overseas interests and through its monastic congregations, such as the Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits, it had the opportunity to do missionary work in non-Christian areas protected by the Spanish and Portuguese Governments.

[28] Adrianus Saravia (1530 - 1613) was one the first people to criticize the lack of vision for missionary work in the Reformed Church in The Netherlands. According to J. Verkuyl (1981, p.37), Saravia, especially in his *Defensio tractationis De diversis ministrorum Evangelii gradibus* (1594), challenged the general opinion among Reformed writers (e.g. Theodorus Beza), that the Apostolic Command (Matthew 28.19-20) was given to the apostles only. According to Saravia this Command was given to the church of all times.

[29] In 1591, in Frankfurt, Adrianus Saravia published his book "De diversis ministrorum Evangelii gradibus, sic ut a Domino fuerunt instituti, et traditi ab Apostolis, ac perpetuo omnium Ecclesarum usu confirmati, liber unus." Chapter 17 of this book deals with: "Mandatum omnibus gentibus praedicandi Euangelium, Apostolis in caelum receptis Ecclesiam obligat: ad quam rem Apostolica autoritate opus est." About the Great Commisison he writes:

Others, like Justus Heurnius and Gisbertus Voetius, also presented arguments challenging the reluctance to start missionary work. Heurnius, like Saravia, based missionary work on the duty (*legatio*) given by God to preach the Gospel.[30] According to Heurnius, the aim of this preaching was, that the nations (he referred especially to those in present day Indonesia) praise God (*laudare*)[31] and are protected against the Roman Catholic Church and Islam. Contrary to Saravia, who stressed that the Church has a duty to appoint missionaries (*committere*) in order that the Gospel is preached to the nations, Heurnius emphasized that each and every Christian has the calling (*vocatio*) to submit oneself to God's guidance and to neighbourly love (*ductus Dei et salus proximi*).[32] Elaborating more on the purpose of missionary work, Gisbertus Voetius formulated three aims: conversion (*conversio gentium*); church planting (*plantatio ecclesiae*); honouring God (*gloria Dei*)[33]. For Voetius, who stressed personal inner Reformation and a truly religious lifestyle[34], the extension of ecclesiastical structures was useless without personal conversion.

15.8 Reformed Churches in the 17th and 18th Century

In the course of the 17th century, the unity in the Reformed Churches faced increasing challenges. Some people strived for the radicalization of a personally experienced faith and religious lifestyle. Others promoted a more philosophical world view, which stressed that God expresses himself in different ways and in different degrees in different places. What also challenged the Reformed Churches was the political disintegration of the Republic, which was manifested in, for example, the crisis of 1672, when The Netherlands was attacked simultaneously by England, France and the Bishops of Cologne and Münster.

In 1651, the various Provincial Civil Governments still agreed to maintain the Reformed

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"Tantum concludo illius legationis et mandati de predicando Euangelio manere vim et obligationem in ecclesia, quamdiu nationes erunt quae ignorant Dominum. Quod hodie nemo mittitur ab ecclesiis Christi ad gentes quae ignorant Christum, non arguit potestas mittendi; sed mittendorum qui idonei sunt inopiam, aut certe ad propagandum regnum Christi defectum zeli ... Habitat igitur Ecclesia hanc autoritatem ... legationem praedicandi euangelii cum Apostolica autoritate committere viris ad eam rem idoneis" (J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink -I, 1960, par.149, p.269-270).

[30] Justus Heurnius: 1587-1651.

[31] Reference to Psalm 67:7/8.

[32] . Heurnius: *De legatione evangelica ad Indos capessenda admonitio*, Ludg.Bat., 1618; in:J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink -I, 1960, par.240, p.381-382: "Gentibus... annunciari vult gloriam suam, ut quam late terra patet humanum genus laudam ejus resonet... ne seducti Pseudo-Apostolorum vafricie... ante Papae adorare imagines... Ut itaque lux Christi gentibus illucescat, non permittendum somniis Mahumetis fascinatos veritatem fugere... Unusquisque in hoc opere pro vocatio sua et occasione sibi data Deo inserviat... habent omnes quo cultum Dei et salutem proximi sui corde esse testentur."

[33] J. Verkuyl (1981, p.38) referring to H.A. Andel: *De Zendingsleer van Gisbertius Voetius*, Kampen University dissertation, 1912. Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676), professor in the Theology at the University in Utrecht, wrote a concept-missiology: *De plantatoribus ecclesiasticis*.

[34] K. Heussi (1981, p.395-396) categorizes G. Voetius under the early leaders of the Reformed Pietism.

Religion.[35] However, the duty to do so rested with the separate Provincial Governments and was not systematically exercised. Moreover, the Reformed Churches disintegrated from within. For many orthodox Christians faith was no longer found in the Church. They withdrew in small pietistic groups ('*conventikels*') with a strong emphasis on personally experienced faith and isolation from the outside world. Many members of these groups identified belief with a subjectively experienced certainty about one's salvation and about one's growth in faith.[36]

Academic developments contributed to the division in the Church. New theories about natural phenomena and information about other continents stimulated 17th century philosophers to review the categories of thinking.[37] God was seen less as a person to whom one could relate personally, but more as a creating power, who manifested or realized Himself in different forms in nature. Consequently, humanity, as a form in which God realizes Himself, is called to reunite with God in a way of intellectual acceptance (*amor dei intellectualis*). Of even greater influence in the 18th century, the century of the Enlightenment, were writers like Jean Jacques Rousseau, who saw all human beings as inherently good and able to grow to their perfect predestination.[38] Consequently, messages about sin and deliverance made way for messages about reason, virtue and the development of good qualities.

In the course of the 18th century, a deep split became evident in the Reformed Church. The traditional Dutch name for Reformed, '*Gereformeerd*', started to be used in a more restricted way for the pietistic and orthodox church members. Generally, these traditional Reformed Christians identified themselves with the 17th century Church with its *Reformed Creeds* and *Dordtse Church Order*. On the other hand, the name '*Hervormd*' became the name for Reformed Christians who were more affiliated with the thoughts of the Enlightenment. For many, intellectual reason became a central criterion. God's revelations were thought to be found in nature. For them, traditional dogmas about the Trinity, about Jesus and about eschatology became less important than moral virtues.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the Republic became a centre for European refugees,

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[35] The Provincial Civil Governments declared in 1651 "dat sy elcks in den haren sullen vasthouden,ende maintineren de ware Christelycke Gereformeerde Religie, gelyk als de selve in de publique Kercken deser Lande jegenwoordigh werdt gepredickt ende geleert, mitsgaders in den jare sestien hondert negentien by de Synode Nationael gehouden tot Dordrecht, is bevestight" (O.J. de Jong, 1978, p.223-224).

[36] For example, J. de Labadie (1610-1674) stressed the need for a personal experience of belief (*pietas*), community with God and the sanctification of life as signs of being chosen by God. According to A.J. Rasker (1986, p.56): "De objectieve zekerheid des heils ... was verlegd naar een subjectieve heilszekerheid in de bevinding van vromen, die de zekere vructen van de Verkiezing ... in zichzelf ... waarnamen."
Others, like W.A. Brakel (1635-1711), writer of *Redelyke Godtsdienst* (1700), aware of the uncertainties caused by the personal experience as a basis for faith, put more stress on the certainty of God's covenant with His people asking for a growth in faith and fruits of the Holy Spirit. According to A.J.Rasker (1986,p.55), "de belangstelling voor zulke samenkomsten [kan] zeker verstaan worden als een uiting van de behoefte aan de praxis pietatis én als reactie op de verscholastisering der theologie en het intellectualisme van de prediking waarin de gewone man geen geestelijk voedsel kon vinden."

[37] Influential 17th century philosophers were René Descartes (1596-1650), Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) and Gottfried W. Leibniz (1646-1716).

[38] Among the 18th century philosophers in the time of the Enlightenment may be mentioned: Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), David Hume (1711-1776), Emanuel Kant (1724-1804).

often victims of religious persecutions, such as French Huguenots, Lutherans from Salzburg and Portuguese Jews. Many of them moved on to Dutch overseas settlements such as the Cape of Good Hope (South Africa) and Suriname (South America).

15.9 Reformed Mission in the 17th and 18th Century

Around the end of the 18th century, about 80 Dutch Church ministers were working overseas, of whom about 50 were in settlements under authority of the VOC and 10 in those under authority of the *West Indische Compagnie* (WIC; established in1621).[39] Most of them were Reformed ministers working amongst expatriates from The Netherlands, who lived in settlements of the Republic's trading companies the VOC and WIC. In 1665, the first minister was sent to the Cape of Good Hope by the VOC, where a settlement had been built in 1652. In 1667, a minister was sent to Suriname. During the 17th century, other church denominations were hardly allowed to form their own congregations in Dutch colonies. Only by 1759, was the Roman Catholic Church allowed to send a priest to Curacao and in 1786, to Suriname. Lutheran ministers were allowed to enter Suriname in 1742, Curacao in 1757, Batavia (Jakarta) in 1746, and the Cape of Good Hope in 1780.

During the second half of the 17th and during the 18th century, hardly any cross-cultural missionary initiatives were undertaken. This can partly be explained as a result of the idea at that time, that the Gospel was irrelevant for non-Christians.[40] Another explanation might be the involvement of the Republic in the slave trade. It was difficult to continue the trade when fellow Christians were involved as merchandise.[41] Moreover, during this period, ministers worked in the Dutch colonies under the direct authority of the colonial Government, in Curacao, Suriname and present day Indonesia.

By the end of the 18th century, the relevance of the Church for indigenous people outside Europe became a point of discussion.[42] After the official separation of Church and State in the period of the *Bataafse Republiek* (par.15.11), several para-church organizations for charity and

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[39] O.J. de Jong, 1978, p.283.

[40] So J.A.B. Jongeneel (1988, p.233): "... wordt in de achttiende eeuw de noodzaak van missie in twijfel getrokken, omdat het te verkondigen evangelie voor de mensen overzee irrelevant geacht wordt; zij kunnen immers op hun eigen wijze zalig worden."

[41] A. van Dantzig (1968, p.114) pointed out that missionary work among slaves would have been counterproductive to the slave trade. He referred to the slave trade friendly dissertation of Jacobus Elisa Joannes Capitein, "a Moor uyt Africa", at the university in Leiden in 1742. Its translation from Latin in Dutch, called *De slaverny, als niet strydig tegen de Christelyke Vryheid*, became very popular in the Republic. Capitein, born in 1717, in present day Ghana, was a freed slave, who as a boy had been brought to the Republic and after defending his dissertation, went back to Ghana as a teacher and minister. See also: D.N.A. Kpobi: "Mission in Chains - The Life, Theology and Ministry of the ex-slave Jacobus E.J. Capitein (1717-1747) with a translation of his major Publications", University of Utrecht, 1993 (diss.).
The slave trade continued throughout the first half of the 19th century. Slavery was only officially abandoned by the Dutch Government in 1863.

[42] O.J. de Jong (1978, p.280) refers to a publication by Peter Hofstede (1716-1803), called "Oost-Indische Kerkezaken" (2 volumes: 1779-1780), as an early example of reflection on the role of the Church among the indigenous population in present day Indonesia.

missionary work were established.[43] In 1797, for example, the general practitioner J. T. van der Kemp established the *Nederlandsch Zendeling-Genootschap*, to promote Christianity both inside, especially in The Netherlands and in Belgium, and outside Europe.[44] Initially, as international contacts were hampered during the Napoleonic period, the Organization concentrated its efforts on what was called the inner-mission. Another para-church organization to support internal missionary work was the Dutch Bible Society, *Nederlandsch Bijbel Genootschap*, established in 1814.

15.10 Pietistic Missionary Communities in the 18th Century

The establishment of missionary organizations around the end of the 18th century was a new phenomenon (par.10.2). It was preceded by smaller pietistic missionary initiatives, for example, the missionary work by the Herrnhutters.[45] In 1722, in Herrnhut, in present day Germany, Graf N.L. von Zinzendorf,[46] born in a pietistic family, allowed members of the *Mährische Brüder* to establish on his family property a community, called the '*Herrnhut* Colony'. The community of *Mährische Brüder*, a community with historical roots in the Waldenser movement of the 15th century, was characterized by close fraternal relationships and the rejection of 'worldly' matters like armies, oaths, and governments. They strived to live an optimistic, holy life, independent from the world, with much attention to education.[47] Von Zinzendorf converted the community into a revival movement, which established several communities inside Europe and, after rejection by local governments, also outside Europe. Communities were established in, for example, the West Indies (1732), in Greenland (1733) and Suriname (1735), from where evangelization was done under the local population and among slaves in order to save souls for Christ ("dem Hern Seelen zuzuführen"). In 1735, a *Herrnhut* community was established in Amsterdam, the *Evangelische Broeder Gemeente*, followed by similar communities in Haarlem (1736) and Zeist (1745). In 1793, the *Broeder Gemeente* in Zeist started its own Missionary Society.[48]

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[43] Around 1800, all over Europe, several organizations for inner- and overseas-mission were established. The organizations for inner-mission (K. Heussi, 1981, p.470: "das praktisches Christentum") concentrated on the care for poor, sick or old people, on religious education at schools, and on the spreading of Bibles and religious brochures.

[44] In 1799, Johannes Theodore van der Kemp (1747-1811), a Dutch army officer with a medical degree from Edinburgh, arrived in Cape Town as missionary for the London Missionary Society. He became known as the founder of 'Bethelsdorp' (near Port Elizabeth), a missionary village for refugees and 'coloured' farm labourers similar to the Moravian village Genadendal, east of Cape Town (B. Sundkler & C. Steed, 2000, p.335). Contrary to Genadendal, "the missionaries at Bethelsdorp were immersed within African life", they were "Khoikhoi with the Khoikhoi" (A. Hasting, 1994, pp.202, 204).

[45] L. Bauerochse (1996, p.32): "Die Wurzeln der neuzeitlichen Weltmissionsbewegung liegen im Pietismus des 18. Jahrhunderts... Die pietitistische Mission zichte nicht auf Massentaufen und Kirchenwachstum, sondern auf die Rettung einzelner Corneliusseelen." Reference to Acts 10.

[46] Graf Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760) developed a theology which centered around the redeeming death of Jesus Christ, and an eschatological awaiting of the coming Kingdom of God.

[47] K. Heussi: 1981, p.263,399.

[48] A.J. Rasker (1986, p.37): "De eerste zendingsorganisatie... in Nederland was het zendingsgenootschap van de Zeister Broedergemeente in 1793."

15.11 National Church: Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk

In 1795, French armies invaded The Netherlands. With their arrival the Napolenic period in Dutch history started. It lasted until 1813. From 1795 until 1806, The Netherlands functioned as a Republic, called the '*Bataafse Republiek*'. During this period Church and State were separated from each other and Church properties and schools were nationalized. From 1806 until 1810, The Netherlands was a kingdom under Louis Napoleon, brother of the French Emperor. Finally, from 1810, until Napoleon's defeat in 1813, The Netherlands was part of the Napoleonic Empire. In 1813, the Prince of Orange became sovereign king of The Netherlands. He became known as King Willem I. In 1815, in accordance with agreements made at the Wiener Congress, Belgium was incorporated into the united kingdom of The Netherlands. As a colonial power, The Netherlands was left controlling parts of the West Indies, Suriname, and present day Indonesia.

King Willem I became head of the new centrally organized state and head of the Church, from now on to be called the '*Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk*'. In 1815, the constitution of 1814 was replaced by a new one, regulating the political union of the united kingdom. During the following year, 1816, the union of the national Church was regulated in a specific law, called the '*Reglement voor het bestuur van de Hervormde Kerk*', implemented in 1825. It united the former more or less independent provincial Churches. The *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* was organized with a National Synod and several provincial Synods as its governing bodies. Local Church Councils and their combined meetings in Regional Councils had no independent authority anymore. The new Church Regulations made no provision for other church denominations, other than protection, subject to their recognition by the King.

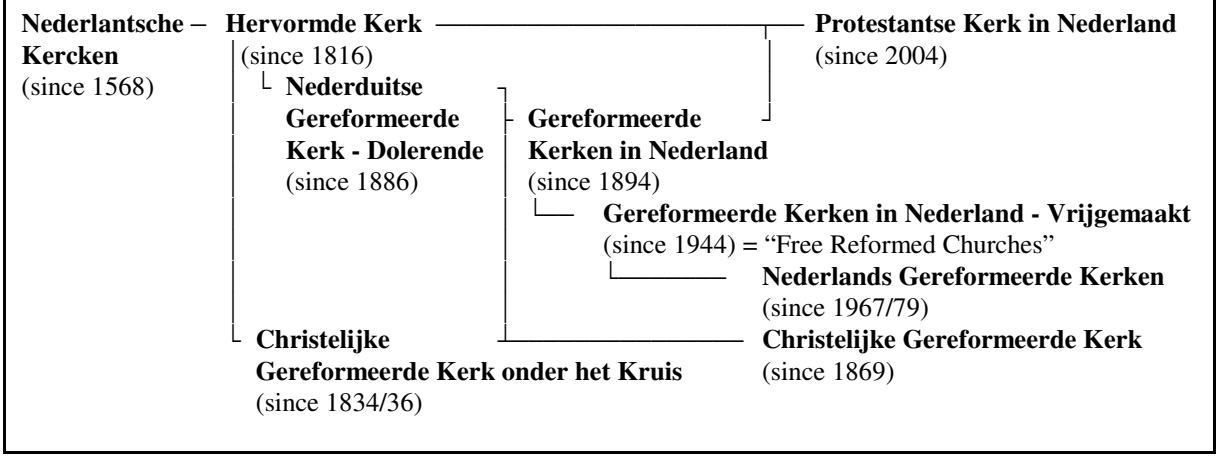
Just like the united kingdom, which was artificial and unable to solve growing tensions between the two formerly separated countries, the national Church also faced a schism. The start of the revolution in Paris on 20th July 1830, triggered a similar uprising in Brussels during the following month. It resulted in a civil war from 1830 until 1839, which ended with the formation of an independent kingdom in Belgium. During the same period, the growing tensions in the national Church led to the separation of a number of orthodox congregations. Although the new hierarchical structure of the national Church facilitated co-operation, it was unable to solve the tensions in the Church, especially the growing gap between the orthodox and pietistic movements on the one hand and the more liberal-rational thinking movement on the other hand. It can be stated that in the course of the 19th century, three factors contributed to the actual schism in the national Church: the longing for restoration of the Reformed Church in the pietistic movement; the repressive reaction by the civil Government to separation movements; the growing influence of a revival movement, the '*Réveil*'.[49]

15.12 Separation: Restoration of the Gereformeerde Kerk in the 19th Century

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the tension between orthodox and liberal-rational theological thinking was a common phenomenon in almost every country in Europe. However, whereas the 19th century orthodox movement in the Lutheran Church in present day Germany

[49] J. van der Zwaag, 2006.

Protestant churches in The Netherlands: schisms and amalgations (simplified):



represented a majority, the orthodox movement in The Netherlands represented a minority and its resistance against Synod decisions was severely suppressed.[50] Moreover, in contrast to the orthodox movement in Britain, the focus of the orthodox movement in The Netherlands was not so much on revival of personal belief, as on the reformation of the Church.[51] For a considerable part, the Dutch orthodox movement consisted of pietistic groups of believers ('*conventikels*'; par.15.8). They strove for a return to the faith as formulated in the Reformed Creeds and to a Church organization as prescribed in the *Dordtse Church Order*. Most of the Pietistic groups had a strong aversion to the new Church hymn book. According to the *Dordtse Church Order* the singing in the Church should be restricted to Psalms only.[52] Moreover, some wanted to return to the Psalter of Datheen (1566). Nevertheless, the National Synod prescribed the use of new hymns ('*Evangelische Gezangen*'; 1807) alongside a new version of the Psalter (1773). Another cause of friction was the practice by more orthodox Church members to avoid baptism by ministers who were seen as unreliable in their faith. On the basis of the *Reglement* of 1815, ministers were no longer obliged to adhere to the literal text of the orthodox Reformed Creeds. However, some parents wanted their children to be baptized only by an orthodox minister.

The resistance by orthodox Christians against the National Synod's decisions was met with strong repression by the Synod, assisted by the national Government. During the 1830's, the Government, already involved in a civil war in its southern provinces, reacted harshly to the separation movement by orthodox Church members in its northern provinces. A leading minister

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[50] About the 19th century orthodoxy in present day Germany, K. Heussi (1981, p.464) states: "Die orthodoxe Richtung fand, besonders seit dem Revolutionjahr 1848, die Gunst der Regierungen, erlangte das Übergewicht in den theologischen Fakultäten und eroberte die grosse Mehrheit der heranwachsenden Theologengeneration."

[51] J. Romein (1934, p.552): "De Afscheiding is het resultaat geweest van den strijd der oude leerstelligheid tegen de verlichte afdwalingen tot in het hoogste kerkbestuur."

[52] According to the *Belgic Confession* (articles 7 and 32) only the Bible should be used in the church services. The *Dordtse Church Order* (article 69) explicitly excluded the singing of hymns which were not based on Bible texts: "In de kerken zullen alleen de 150 psalmen Davids, de tien Geboden, het Onze Vader, de 12 Artikelen des Geloofs, de lofzangen van Maria, Zacharia en Simeon gezongen worden... Alle andere gezangen zal men uit de kerken weren.."

in the Church separation was Hendrik de Cock, since 1829, minister in the village of Ulrum, Groningen.[53] De Cock was deeply impressed by Klaas Pieters Kuipenga, a member of one of the local '*conventikels*', who stressed that a person's election by God was one of the cornerstones of the Christian belief. De Cock became a defender of what he saw as the true Reformed faith and the true Reformed believers, by attacking in writing what he saw as heresy in the Church.[54] Moreover, he baptized the children of orthodox parents, who saw him as their pastor, regardless of whether they belonged to his or to another local congregation. In 1834, the National Synod decided to suspend De Cock as minister of Ulrum. However the local Church Council did not accept this decision, and on 13 October 1834, decided to separate itself from the national Church by accepting an '*Acte van Afscheiding en Wederkeering*', in which it was stated categorically, that the Church Council resubmitted itself to the *Reformed Creeds* and the *Dordtse Church Order*. Several congregations and a few ministers followed the example of the Church Council of Ulrum by separating themselves from the *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk*, losing in the process all Church properties and facing severe prosecution by the ecclesiastical and the civil Government.[55] As the *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* was a national Church, its Synod asked for Government assistance in the implementation of sanctions against the separating Church members.[56] By quartering troops in the households of the members of the Separation movement and by fining people who attended meetings consisting of more than twenty people of a not-recognized

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[53] On 19 December 1833, Rev. Hendrik de Cock (1801-1842) was suspended by the Regional Council Middelstum because of his writings against colleagues and because of his practice of baptizing of children of Church members in other congregations. On 29 May 1834, he was dismissed because of his writing against the Evangelical Hymns prescribed by the Synod for use in the church. When, on 13 October 1834, his Church Council in Ulrum decided to separate itself from the Synod by accepting the *Acte van Afscheiding of Weederkeer*, he was left with with minimal moral support from his colleagues, e.g. Rev. H.P. Scholte (1805-1868), minister in Doeveren en Genderen. Subsequently, De Cock was imprisoned for three months, and 150 men troops were quartered on members of the Separated congregation in Ulrum. Compare: O.J. de Jong, 1978, p.315-316.

[54] In 1833, Rev. H. de Cock published his *Verdediging van de ware gereformeerde Leer en van de ware Gereformeerden, bestreden door twee zoogenaamde Gereformeerde Leraars, of: De Schaapskooi van Christus aangetast door twee wolven en verdedigd door H. De Cock, Gereformeerd Leraar te Ulrum* written by himself; the following year, De Cock published *De Evangelische gezangen getoetst door Jac. Kok* in which he had only written the Introduction.

[55] In 1835, some, mostly young, ministers and their congregations joined the Separation movement: Anthony Brummelkamp (1811-1888) in Hattem, Simon van Velzen (1809-1896) in Drogeham, and G.F. Gezelle Meerburg (1806-1855) te Almkerk. Also A.C. van Raalte (1811-1876) joined the Separation movement. In 1836, after being rejected as candidate minister by his Regional Council for not fully agreeing with the Church *Reglement* of 1815 for the *Nederlands Hervormde Kerk*, he was called and ordained as minister by the Separated congregation in Genemuiden (O.J. de Jong, 1978, p.316). Brummelkam, Van Velzen and van Raalte were related by marriage, as each had married one of three sisters from a family De Moen. According to A. Amelink (2002, p.25), in 1841 about 150 congregations had joined the Separation movement.

[56] A.J. Rasker (1986, p.39-40): "Zo kwamen de synoden in een voor de hele negentiende eeuw kenmerkende conflictsituatie. Men huldigde vrijheid, was zeer tolerant inzake de leer, maar verzet tegen synodale besluiten werd niet geduld." As a result of the oppression many people lost confidence in the church leadership, as stated by C. Rullman (1922, p.186): "Het vrome volk verloor al meer het vertrouwen in de predikanten, en ging steeds verder de weg der Afscheiding op."

religious group, the Government tried to halt the schism in the Church[57]. The Government repression continued until 1840, when Willem II became King of The Netherlands.

In a certain sense, the Separation movement can be seen as an emancipation movement of the orthodox Christians. Their congregations resembled the pietistic '*conventikels*' and were led by chosen 'elders', who, more than the scarcely available ministers, were responsible for the continuation of Church life. Many of them lived in the north-eastern parts of The Netherlands and belonged to the rural lower class of the Church.[58]

From 2 until 12 March 1836, in Amsterdam, the first Synod of the what was then called the '*Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk onder het Kruis*' took place, marking the schism from the *Nederlandse Hervormede Kerk* as a fact. The newly established Church accepted the *Reformed Creeds* and the *Dordtse Church Order* as its basis and rejected the use of hymns in the Church. In 1854, in Kampen, an orthodox Theological School was established.[59] As the Church claimed to be the real continuation of the 17th century orthodox Reformed Church in The Netherlands, it did not apply for recognition by the Government and the repression continued. Nevertheless, in 1839, in Utrecht, one of the newly formed local churches decided to apply for recognition by the local Government, by implication separating itself from the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk onder het Kruis*. Congregations such as the one in Utrecht, which applied for recognition by the Government accepted the name *Christelijke Afgescheidene Gereformeerde Kerk*. However, in 1869, at the Synod of Middelburg, a total of 284 local congregations, were reunited. They accepted as their new common name: *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk*.[60]

During the 1830's, multiple disasters, such as a cholera epidemic in 1832, the oppression of the Separation movement by the Government, internal divisions,[61] the economic recession following the War of Independence in Belgium and in 1845, a failed potato harvest and rinderpest, made many members of the Separation movement decide to emigrate and settle in North America. In 1846, many of them moved with Rev. A.C. van Raalte to Michigan, where

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[57] C. Rullman (1922, p.309) remarked that the interference in the Church matters by the Government was criticized by for example Groen van Prinsterer, a private archivist of King Willem I, in his publication "De Maatregelen tegen de Afgescheidenen aan het Staatsrecht getoetst" (1837).

[58] A. Amelink (2002, p.27): "De Afscheiding was vooral een beweging van onaanzienlijken, zij sloeg op het platte land ook veel breder aan dan in de stad." C. Rullman (1922, p.276) refers to the orthodox Christians of the Separation as: "de Afgescheidenen, die merendeels tot de kleine luyden behoorden."

[59] B. de Graaf & G. van Klinken, 2005.

[60] In 1869, some of the congregation belonging to the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk onder het Kruis* did not join the merger into the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk*. In 1907, most of these independent orthodox congregations amalgamated into the '*Gereformeerde Gemeeten in Nederland en in Noord-Amerika*', which, by the end of the 20th century, counted about 150 congregations with a total of about 100 000 members and several missionary projects in Nigeria, Papua and South Africa. According to O.J. de Jong (1978, p.371): "G.H. Kersten slaagde erin deze kruisgemeenten en ledeboerianen in 1907 te verenigen tot 'de gereformeerde gemeenten in Nederland en Noord-Amerika." Some of the 'Ledeboerianen', congregations established under the influence Seperation minister Rev. L.G.C. Ledeboer (1808-1863), continued to exist as *'Oud-Gereformeerde Gemeenten*'.

[61] About the disastrous effects of the internal divisions amongst the Separated congregations, C. Veenhof (1966, p.190) writes: "De kerken leden veel meer ten gevolge van deze chronische ruzies dan door de vervolgingen."

they settled in Grand Rapids. In 1847, others moved with Rev. H.P. Scholte to Iowa.[62] There, they established the Christian Reformed Church.

15.13 Nonconformism: Restoration of the Gereformeerde Kerk in the 19th Century

In February 1848, in Paris, a new revolution started and led to the establishment of the Republic of France. Similar revolutionary movements led to a higher level of democracy in several European countries, including The Netherlands, where, in 1848, a new, more liberal constitution was accepted. In 1849, King Willem II was succeeded by king Willem III. In 1851, the *Reglement voor het bestuur van de Hervormde Kerk* of 1816 was withdrawn, ending the privileged position of the *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* as a national Church. The liberal policy of the national Government gave way to a period of modern capitalism in economic matters. In ecclesiastical matters, it gave a new momentum to the revival movement which had been active throughout the 19th century, the 'Réveil'.[63]

In origin, the *Réveil* was related to the pietistic 'Herrnhutter Brüdergemeinden' constituted by N.L. Von Zinzendorf in Herrnhut (Oberlausitz), especially to its congregation in Geneva.[64] During the 19th century, in Europe, the *Réveil* became an international revival movement of especially intellectuals, with the aim of reforming Churches from within.[65] Through individual contacts, the movement spread in The Netherlands.[66] Representatives of the *Réveil* asked renewed attention for theological concepts such as predestination, grace, the divinity of

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[62] According to O.J. de Jong (1978, p.320), in 1848, also Rev. H.J. Buddingh made an attempt to emigrate with some members of the Separation movement to America but the attempt failed and he returned to Goes, The Netherlands, where he established the "Vrije Evangelische Gemeenten".

[63] J. Romein (1934, p.543,547) describes the Réveil as a reaction to the over-evaluation of the human mind in the Enlightenment: "Het Réveil ... is uit Fransch-Zwitserland naar hier overgeplant. Het was de reactie op een deïstisch ongeloof en godsdienstig rationalisme, een gemoedsbeweging tegen dorre verstandelijkheid. In deze deftig-mystieken reactionairen kring maakte het gemoedsleven zich los van de dwingende gedachte, dat het rationalisme toonaangevend... was."

[64] Nikolaus Ludwig Graf Von Zinzendorf (1700-1760). Although, *Brüdergemeinden* were established in The Netherlands in Amsterdam (1735), Haarlem (1736) and Zeist (1745), the *Réveil* may be traced back to the *Brüdergemeinde* established in Geneva, in 1741 (C.Rullman,1922,p.11). The *Brüdergemeinden* were marked by the prominent positions held by non-clergy. They were predominantly pietistic and stressed the delivery from sins by Jesus. In 1748, they accepted the Confession Augustana as their Creed. Much attention was given to mission work inside and outside Europe with the aim of the saving of souls. According to K. Huessi (1981, p.399) mission work was started for example in the West Indies (1732), Greenland (1733), and Suriname (1735).
In The Netherlands, Herrnhut congregations were established in Amsterdam (1735), Haarlem (1736), and Zeist (1745).

[65] By 1820, in Geneva, the *Réveil* had led to the establishment of two separate congregations, the *Eglise du Bourg-de-Four* and the Chappelle du Témoignage (C. Rullman, 1922, p.27-36).

[66] Individual persons linking the *Réveil* in Geneva with the *Réveil* in The Netherlands were L.G. James, minister in Breda, Nicolaas Schotsman (1754-1822) minister in Leiden, and Merle d' Aubigné, minister at the court of King Willem I in Brussels from 1820-1830 (C. Rullman, 1922, p.43-44; O.J. de Jong, 1978, p.312-313).

Jesus, and original sin.[67] In 1842, when the Government decided to ban all religious education in public schools, seven 'Gentlemen from The Hague', most of them jurists, wrote a concerned letter to the national Synod addressing issues such as the content of the promise made by candidate ministers, which did not bind them to the *Reformed Creeds*, the authority of the *Reformed Creeds* in the national Church, the academic content of the training of ministers, the role of the Church in primary education, and the structure of the Church Government.[68] During the middle of the 19th century, representatives of the *Réveil* involved themselves with the revival of Sunday school and youth work,[69] with the organization of social projects for prisoners and abandoned youth, and with the fight against social issues such as poverty and slavery in the Dutch colony Suriname.

In 1886, because of the growing tensions in the national Church, the Regional Council of Amsterdam decided to suspend 5 ministers, 42 elders and 33 deacons of the Church Council of Amsterdam, the reasons being that the Church Council of Amsterdam bound Church office-bearers to the *Reformed Creeds* and refused to accept or recommend Church members for confirmation, unless their confirmation classes were given by an orthodox minister. When the suspension became definite and the ministers, elders and deacons were dismissed by the National Synod, the Church Council of Amsterdam decided to re-establish itself as an independent *Nederduitsche Gereformeerde Kerk (Doleerende)*. The name *Gereformeerd* (contrary to *Hervormd* as in the name of the national Church) placed the new congregation in line with the orthodox Reformed Church. During the same year, 1886, several congregations separated themselves from the national Church as independent local churches, adhering to the *Reformed Creeds*, organized themselves in accordance with the *Dordtse Church Order*, recognizing the local Church Council as the highest authority in the Church and using the Psalter as the only hymn book in the liturgy.

In 1892, the two groups of local churches, about 400 congregations of the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk* and about 300 congregations of the *Nederduitsche Gereformeerde Kerken*, merged and accepted a new common name: *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*. About 370 000 Church members (8% of the Dutch population) were involved in the merger. One of the topics on which agreement had to be found, before the amalgamation was finalized, was the status of the local Church Councils. It was decided, in accordance with the *Dordtse Church Order*, that each local congregation with its own Church Council had to be recognized as an independent church. Accordingly, in the newly chosen denominational name, the word *Kerk* was mentioned in plural *Kerken*, while a local congregation would be called the *Gereformeerde Kerk in [place name]*. A

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[67] According to O.J. de Jong (1978, p.313), the onset of the *Réveil* in the Netherlands was marked with a publication by Isaac Da Costa: "Bezwaren tegen den Geest der Eeuw", 1823. Isaac Da Costa (1798-1860) like Abraham Capadose (1795-1874), another writer of the *Réveil*, had been a student of Willem Bilderdijk (1756-1831), the father of the *Réveil* (C. Rullman, 1928, p.1).

[68] C. Rullman (1928, p.10-11) mentions as authors of the letter to the synod: A. Capadose, D. Van Hogendorp, M.B.H.W. Gevers, G. Groen van Prinsterer, P.J. Elout and J.A. Singendonck.

[69] A. Capadose in particular was instrumental in the establishment of the *Nederlandse Jongelings Verbond*, 1853, and the *Zondagsschool Vereniging*, 1866.

dissimilarity between the two groups, more difficult to solve, was their difference in spirituality.[70] The background of the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk* was more pietistic, with an emphasis on personal grace, on certainty about one's election by God and on the fear of God. Their meetings focused on personal growth and finding peace in faith. The emphasis in the *Nederduitsche Gereformeerde Kerken* was more on God's covenanted grace, on the church as an organization and on actions as the fruits of faith. Their meetings concentrated on the acquisition of knowledge and the equipment for one's role in family, church and in society as a whole. Finally, there was a social difference between the two groups. The *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk* was the result of an emancipation struggle by predominantly rural lower class Christians opposed by a repressive Government during a period of economic regression. Generally speaking, their most important leaders were the local elders chosen on basis of their approved faith and inner wisdom. The *Nederduitsche Gereformeerde Kerken* were established in a period of growing democratic power, economic progress and industrial revolution. Generally speaking, their leaders were better trained academics with respected positions in society.[71] As a result of the differences, some congregations in the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk* disagreed with the merger and continued to exist under the name *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk in Nederland*.[72] On important argument against the merger was a dogmatic one. Many members of the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk in Nederland* disagreed with Abraham Kuyper's teaching about baptism that one might suppose that children who are baptized, are also reborn.[73]

In 1906, the hope among orthodox Church members to reform the *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* from within was revived with the establishment of the *Gereformeerde Bond tot Vrijmaking van de Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk*.[74]

15.14 Abraham Kuyper

In the formation of the *Nederduitsche Gereformeerde Kerken* and in the process of their merger with the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk* a decisive role was played by Prof. Abraham

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[70] N. Scheps (1970, p.105): "Zo zijn de groepen die in 1892 samengingen in één kerkverband, de Gereformeerde Kerken, nooit een geheel gaan vormen."

[71] So, A. Amelink (2002, p.42): "De ware bezieling van de dolerenden zat in hun manier van kerkzijn. Hun kerk was een geoliede machinerie waarin de dominees de toon aangaven." Reformed Church life covered several spheres of life including the participation in Reformed organizations, such as *De School met den Bijbel*, the youth associations, societies for the care for socially disadvantaged, the press, the Free University, and the political party *Anti Revolutionaire Partij*.

[72] Since 1947: *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerken*.

[73] According to H.C. Endedijk (1990, p.87), Prof. F.P.L.C. van Lingen was the spokesman of those who objected against several ideas held especially by A. Kuyper, about the relationship between the newly established *Gereformeerde Kerken* and Christians in the *Nederlands Hervormde Kerk*, and about the relationship between baptism and rebirth.

[74] One of the founders of the *Gereformeerde Bond* was Rev. Hugo Visser (1864-1947), a professor at the University of Utrecht congenial with Prof. Abraham Kuyper (O.J. de jong, 1978, p.371). Since 1909, the *Gereformeerde Bond* is officially called the '*Gereformeerde Bond tot Verbreiding en Verdediging der Waarheid in de Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk*'.

Kuyper.[75] Kuyper had a major influence not only on the organization of these Churches but also on the theological thinking in the Churches. According to Kuyper, Calvinism was the answer to the rational thinking of the Enlightenment, which thought human beings to be the centre of all creation.[76] In Kuyper's thinking, three principles played an important role. In the first place a principle of indirect freedom or self-sovereignty. According to Kuyper, each individual was sovereign before God, just as each group of people was sovereign before God.[77] In the second place a principle of antithesis. Kuyper saw a radical difference between a person in his natural state without God and a person saved by God's special grace and accepted into His covenant. In the third place, according to Kuyper, a saved person is called to enter the world to develop it, as it is an object of God's common grace.[78] In practice, the three principles proved to be difficult to combine. The principle of 'antithesis' emphasized dissociation from the world and conformity within the Reformed Churches. However, the principles of 'sovereignty before God' and

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[75] Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920), after obtaining a doctorate in theology in 1863, became a modern Reformed minister in Beesd (1863-1867). However, through the reading of the works of the Reformers Johannes Calvin (1509-1564) and Johannes a Lasco (1499-1560), and through contact with orthodox parishioners in Beesd, such as Pietronella (Pietje) Baltus (1930-1914), he became convinced of the truth of the orthodox Reformed teachings. From 1867 until 1869, he was a minister in Utrecht. In 1869, he became an associated editor of *De Heraut*, a Reformed weekly Church journal with the motto 'For a free church and a free school in a free land'. From 1870 until 1874, he was a minister in Amsterdam, a congregation with about 140 000 members, 136 office bearers, 28 ministers, 10 sanctuaries and 4 chapels. In 1871, he became the chief editor of *De Heraut* and, in 1872, the editor of *De Standaard*, a Christian daily newspaper, established during the same year. In 1874, he was elected as a Member of Parliament and resigned as a minister in the Church for a political carrier. In 1879, through contact with Groen van Prinsterer, he became member of the newly established *Antirevolutionaire Partij*', a predominantly Reformed political party. In 1880, Kuyper was instrumental in the establishment of the Reformed Free University in Amsterdam (initially only a Theological, an Arts and a Law School), where he taught Dogmatics. In 1882, he became elder in the Reformed Church in Amsterdam, where, in 1886, he was instrumental in the establishment of the *Nederduitsche Gereformeerde Kerk (Doleerende)*; see par.15.13. From 1901 until 1905, Kuyper was Prime Minister of The Netherlands. During this period, one of the major points of attention of Kuyper was the position of Christian schools. For an illustrated biography of A. Kuyper, see J. de Bruijne (2008); for a selection of his in total 223 publications, see J.D. Bratt (1998).

[76] A. Kuyper, 1871.

[77] On 20th October 1880, in his speech on the occasion of the opening of the Free University in Amsterdam, Abraham Kuyper (1880) expounded his ideas about the 'organic' society in which each association of people was autonomic en self-sovereign and in which the Government had no absolute power. The principle of self-sovereignty played an important role in Kuyper's sympathy for the Armenians during the 1895-1896 pogroms in Turkey and for the Afrikaans speaking Boers during the South African War (1899-1902). In 1900, he published his article "La Crise Sud-Africaine" in the French journal *Revue des Deux Monde* (February 1900). During the same year, 1900, the first Afrikaans speaking student registered at the Free University, J.D. du Toit (1877-1953; J. de Bruijn, 2008, p.143). About the identification of Kuyper's principle of self-sovereignty with a racist ideology, A. Boesak (2009, p.35-36) writes: "In South Africa I met [Abraham Kuyper] in the neo-Kuyperian racist ideological theology of the Dutch Reformed Church... That Kuyper offended me. But here [in The Netherlands] I met Kuyper the radical social thinker who fought ferociously for the poor and the less privileged in Holland armed with his Bible, his understanding of Reformed theology, and his accurate and devastating analysis of 19th-century Dutch society." Unfortunately, Boesak does not explicitly take into account Kuyper's contra-measures as Prime Minister in 1903 against the labour strikes in the Dutch Railway Company and in the harbours. The measures showed that Kupyer's concern for the poor was not his first priority.

[78] A. Kuyper, undated [about 1900].

'common grace' encouraged a Christian to live in and be open-minded towards the 'world'.[79]

The principles of 'antithesis' and 'sovereignty before God' were widely accepted by the members of the newly established *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* as guidelines for a total submission to God in all aspects of one's life.[80] They formed the basis for several para-church organizations such as the Christian labour union *Patrimonium*, an association for Christian education and the Christian political party ARP.[81] However, the principle of 'common grace', which opened the opportunity for co-operation with other organizations, was rejected by many orthodox Christians.[82]

The principles of 'antithesis' and 'common grace' also played an important role in Kuyper's thinking about missionary work. In missionary work, according to Kuyper, non-believers must be confronted with the dilemma to reject or accept God's rule: "Mission flows from God's sovereignty, not from his love or compassion... all mission is obedience to God's command and the content of the message is not an invitation but a charge, an order."[83] According to Kuyper, the submission by individuals to God (a matter of God's special grace), has a positive effect on the whole nation (a matter of God's common grace).[84]

15.15 Reformed Mission in the 19th Century

Around 1800, in Europe, several Missionary Societies were established (par.10.2). During the 19th century, several Dutch Missionary Societies also became active. They sent missionaries especially to the Dutch colonies in present day Indonesia, the West Indies and Suriname. Most missionaries concentrated their activities in and around groups of Dutch expatriates. In 1793, the first Missionary Society in the Netherlands, the '*Zeister Broederschap*', was established by the *Herrnhutter Broedergemeente* (par.15.10). In 1808, it accepted Joseph Kam as a missionary.[85] In 1814, Kam arrived in Batavia (Jakarta) and in 1815, he started to work on Ambon. In 1797, the *Nederlandsche Zendeling-Genootschap* was established. Until 1814, during the Napoleonic period, this society restricted its activities to The Netherlands and Belgium. After 1814, it focused on seamen and expatriates, especially on Java, Indonesia.

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[79] A. Amelink (2002, p.132) uses in this context the expression 'Reformed Paradox': "Zo moeten met name de intellectuelen voortdurend schipperen tussen de druk om zelfstandig te denken en de druk om zich te conformeren."

[80] O.J. de Jong (1978, p.351): "Het ging [Kuyper] om de eere Gods op alle terreinen des levends."

[81] In 1960, the association *Vereeniging voor Christelijk Nationaal Onderwijs* was established (since 1879: *Een School met de Bijbel*) and, in 1879, the Christian political party *Antirevolutionaire Partij* (ARP) was established, the first modern political party in The Netherlands. One of the first major issues the ARP dealt with, was the official recognition of Christian schools as equal to Government schools.

[82] Another idea of Abraham Kuyper, was that it must be presumed that, because they are members of God's covenant, baptized children are also reborn. This idea led to much controversy and played a major role in the 1944-schism in the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* (par.15.19).

[83] D.J. Bosch, 2008, p.74-75, referring to I.P.C. van 't Hof: "Gehoorzaamheid aan het Zendingsbevel", in: Kerk en Theologie, 37, no.1 (Januari 1980), p.45.

[84] A. Kuyper (*Gemene Gratie II*, Amsterdam, 1903, p.674): "Overal waar het Kruis van Christus onder de volkeren wordt uitgedragen, stijgt het peil van menschelijke ontwikkeling op zichtbare wijs."

[85] J. Verkuyl (1981, p.236): "De 'Apostel der Molukken', Joseph Kam (1769-1833)."

The *Nederlandsche Zendeling-Genootschap* was heavily criticized by representatives of the *Réveil*. One of the critics was the revival preacher Isaac Essen, who had lived in Batavia, Jakarta, from 1837 until 1854. In 1859, in an article in *De Heraut*, he warned against this Missionary Society, because, as he stated, it did not adhere to the orthodox truths.[86] In 1858, the *Nederlandsche Zendings Vereeniging*, was established as an orthodox alternative to the *Nederlandsche Zendeling-Genootschap*. Its constitution stated that the Society consisted of members who confessed that the Lord Jesus Christ was their Saviour, who showed this in their deeds and who declared that they were not allowed to co-operate with people who denied His true and eternal Divineness.[87] Other Dutch Missionary Societies, active in present day Indonesia, were the *Utrechtsche Zendings Vereniging*, established in 1859, and a local Missionary Society in the village of Ermelo, which sent missionaries to Java.

Members of the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk* established their own Missionary Society in Amsterdam, the *Nederlandsche Gereformeerde Zending-Vereniging*. In 1873, this society sent Rev. E. Haan to Batavia, in 1880, Rev. A. Delvos to Surabaya, and in 1881, J.J. van Alphen to Sumba. In 1893, in Dordrecht, at their first combined Synod after the merger in 1892, the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*, appointed Deputies for 'Mission under the Heathens and Muhammadans'. The task of the Mission Deputies was, firstly, to advise the Synod about the missionary method to be used in future and about the training of missionaries; secondly, they had to take over the missionary responsibilities of the former *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk* and *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerken* and those of the *Nederlandsche Gereformeerde Zending-Vereeniging* in order to reorganize the missionary work under the direct responsibility of the Church; thirdly, they were commissioned to separate the help given to settler congregations of Dutch expatriates, especially in Batavia and Surabaya, from the missionary work under 'Heathens and Muhammadans'.[88]

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[86] C. Rullman (1928, p.115) quotes from I.Esser's article in *De Heraut*, 1859: "De zending onder de heidenen is zeker een schoone zaak, maar wordt gewis in de grond bedorven door leugen en onoprechtheid... Dit genootschap is dan ook in mijn oog zoodanig krank en onbestaanbaar, dat... deze hoogst zondige vereeniging van mannen... moet uiteengaan." A similar criticism about the lack of orthodoxy was issued by G. Groen van Prinsterer in his publication *Het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* (Utrecht, 1848, p.75): "Ik verbloem niet dat, ook naar mijn inzien, het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap het Apostolische motto niet, in de geest van den Apostel en naar den eisch der omstandigheden, belijdt" (J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, 1962, p.380).

[87] J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, 1962, p.383.

[88] In 1871, in Leiden, the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk* had established its own training for missionaries. Until 1895, the seminary had trained 8 candidates (Rapport, 1896, p.77).
In 1891, in The Hague, the third provisional Synod of the *Nederduitsche Gereformeerde Kerken* dealt with the question of the training of missionaries. In 1892, the need was confirmed at the fourth provisional Synod in Amsterdam (Rapport, 1896, p.76).
In 1892, in Amsterdam, the Synod of the newly established *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* combined the "Algemene Zendingscommissie der Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk" and the "Deputaten voor de Zending van de Nederduitsche Gereformeerde Kerken" as the "Zendingsdeputaten" of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*. In 1893, at the Synod in Dordrecht, the *Zendingsdeputaten* were commissioned as follows, as stated in their report (Rapport, 1896, p.5-6): "zij hebben Uwe vergadering te adviseeren aangaande de voortaan te volgen methode van Zending, waarbij van zelf ook de opleiding tot Zendeling ter sprake moest komen ... het overnemen van den arbeid en het Zendingsveld der Ned. Geref. Zend. Ver., te adviseeren omtrent de losmaking van het Zendingswerk van den arbeid der Europeanen, te Batavia en te Soerabaia".

15.16 Mission as a Task of the Church, the Synod of Middelburg 1896

In 1894, the Deputies for Mission of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*, took over the responsibility for the missionary work from the *Nederlandsche Gereformeerde Zending-Vereeniging* in Java and Sumba, including several missionary ministers, a missionary medical doctor, a missionary school teacher and their local assistants. They formulated a fourfold aim for the work: to proclame the Gospel; to plant Churches; to uphold God's honour; to save souls. The missionary medical care was seen as a way to prepare people for the Gospel. The transfer marked a new development in missionary thinking, that the Churches were directly responsible for missionary work.[89] More complicated was the question whether this control should be 'centralized' in the hands of Synod Deputies, or 'decentralized' in the hands of local Church Councils. The Deputies were in favour of a 'centralized' organization of the missionary work. They argued that no Biblical evidence is available for this choice, nor does the *Dordtse Church Order* give clear direction.[90] For practical reasons, such as a lack of financial and human resources and the dangers of competition, the majority of the Deputies thought missionary work to be beyond the power of most of the local Church Councils. They argued that a decentralized approach automatically entailed that one congregation's initiative would be supported by neighbouring congregations in a minor position, which would contravene the *Dordtse Church Order* (article 84) stressing the equality of Church Councils.

Nevertheless, in 1896, the Synod in Middelburg rejected its Deputies' majority recommendation that missionary work should be the prerogative of the National Synod, executed by specially appointed Mission Deputies. The Synod followed its Deputies' minority opinion, and declared that the aim of missionary work is to glorify God in obedience to His command to his local churches,[91] and that the authority to send missionaries has been given to local Church Councils, which have to call and ordain ministers to proclaim the Gospel, administer sacraments and plant churches. Yet, the Synod stressed the need for co-operation in matters of liturgy, ordination of ministers and Church discipline, which eventually resulted in the Reformed

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[89] The idea that 'mission' is an inherent aspect of the Church, plays a central role in one of the first systematic attempts to define 'mission', the *Evangelische Missionslehre* by Gustav Warneck (1834-1910). Warneck states: "Dem Wesen der Kirche sowohl als Gemeinschaft der Glaubenden wie als Heilsanstalt [ist] die Weltmission angeboren" (Part I, 1897, p.XV). According to Warneck, missionary work is the announcement of salvation by the Christian Church. The Church is the highest form of God's revelation: "die vollkommene und volendete Offenbarung Gottes ... die absolute Religion ... Als Verkünderin dieser Heilsbotschaft ist die Mission die naturnotwendige Konsequenz der Absoluteheit des Christentums" (J. Verkuyl, 1981, p.45).

[90] In their report (Rapport, 1896, p.53) the Deputies argue that there is a clear difference between the organization of institutionalized Church in accordance with the *Dordtse Church Order*, and Mission which reaches beyond the Church. The *Dordtse Church Order* prescribes that ministers should be bound to one place (Article 7), while missionaries by definition go beyond borders looking for sheep outside the flock (reference to John 10:16 and 11:51-52). Also the fact that Paul was called by the local congregation of Antioch (Acts 13 and 14) does not prove that his work was controlled by this local congregation, as can be seen in the consultation in Jerusalem (Acts 15). C.J. Haak (1999, p.71) confirms that the Church Order, concentrating on office-bearers and their meetings, gives no direction for missionary work: "dat we met een op ambten afgestemde, voor binnenkerkelijk gebruik bedoelde kerkenorde niet bijster goed staan voorgesorteerd voor zending en evangelisatie."

[91] Reference to Matthew 28:19-20.

Mission Order, accepted by the Synod in Arnhem in 1902.[92] Furthermore, the Synod of Middelburg declared that missionaries must be sent in the first place to people in the Dutch colonies, as this priority was a matter of God's providence; that the Gospel should be preached in contrast to all non-Christian religion; that matters like liturgy and confession should not be imposed; that newly established local churches were sovereign before Jesus and did not fall under the authority of the Mission;[93] and finally that in matters of medical and educational care, seen as activities supportive to the proclamation of the Gospel, co-operation with the colonial authorities was recommended.[94] In practice, the missionary work needed the combined effort of several local congregations, and stood under the direct supervision of Provincial Deputies for Mission. For example, the missionary work in Sumba was supported by four Provincial Synods, in which five local congregations acted as calling and sending churches.[95]

15.17 J.H. Bavinck

In 1939, J.H. Bavink was appointed as the first Protestant professor in Missiology in The Netherlands.[96] He was appointed at both the *Theologische Hoogeschool* in Kampen (until 1955) and at the Free University in Amsterdam (until his death in 1964). During this period, in 1954, he published his introduction to Missiology, *Inleiding in de Zendingswetenschap*. In line with decisions by the Synod of Middelburg in 1896, Prof. Bavinck described missionary work as the

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[92] RMA: 1939#; the Mission Order was revised by the Synods of Utrecht (1923), Middelburg (1933) and Sneek (1939) and withdrawn by the Synod of Kampen (1951). Until 1951, each of the twelve Provincial Synods appointed one Deputy for Mission to become member of the board of Deputies for Mission of the National Synod, which supervised not only the missionaries, but also the overseas 'mission churches' (D.J. Zandbergen, 1996, p.30-31).

[93] W.B. Halsema, 1995, p.7-8. In practice however, the Synod of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* took far reaching decisions in matters of church order, liturgy, church discipline, and church organization leaving it to the local churches in former mission areas to integrate these decisions in their own church order. According to D.J. Zandbergen (1996, p.29) about the situation during the first half of the 20th century: "Ze [local churches established in mission areas] mogen misschien hun eigen 'kerkenordening' vaststellen, maar de voornaamste elementen van wat erin 'gevlochten' moet worden, komt al te staan in een Nederlandse regeling!"

[94] In 1902, the cooperation of Christian missionaries and the Dutch colonial Government was stimulated by the Minister of Colonies, A.W.F. Idenburg (1861-1935). From 1902 until 1919, Idenburg, a member of the Christian political party *Antirevolutionaire Partij*. held several positions in the Dutch Colonial Government. "Hij was een aanhanger van de 'ethische politiek'... gericht op de geestelijke en materiële ontwikkeling van de inlandse bevolking. Daarbij was een belangrijke taak weggelegd voor zending en missie" (J. de Bruijn, 2008, p.273). Ironically, in Indonesia, the biggest Dutch colony, the Islam played a major role in the opposition against the colonial Government: "In Nederlands Oost-Indië was de Islam de belangrijkste factor in het opkomende verzet tegen het koloniaal bestuur" (idem, p.300).

[95] W.B. Halsema, 1995, p.8.

[96] Before he was appointed as Professor in Missiology, J.H. Bavinck (1895-1964) had been working as a minister from 1919 until 1921 in the Dutch speaking congregation in Medan, on Sumatra in Indonesia, and from 1921 until 1926, in the Dutch speaking congregation in Bandung, on Java in Indonesia. From 1926 until 1929, he worked as a minister in the Gereformeerde Kerk in Heemstede, The Netherlands. From 1930 until 1933, he worked as a 'missionary minister' in Solo, on Java. And from 1935 until 1939, he lectured at the Theological School in Yogyakarta.

prerogative of local Church Councils.[97] According to Bavinck, the centre of missionary work is Jesus Christ. He uses local Church Councils to call all nations to become his disciples, and to become part of the community of believers who await God's Kingdom.[98]

Contrary to the Synod of Middelburg 1896, Bavinck did not make a distinction between the primary task of mission, the preaching of the Gospel, and secondary preparatory tasks, such as medical and educational work. According to Bavinck, a missionary does not only preach, but he is also part of the community he serves.[99] He was of the opinion that the aim of missionary work is to glorify God, proclaim the Gospel and alleviate distress in the world, and that this work should be organized as a fourfold, comprehensive approach: preaching, education, medical care and socio-economic help. Bavinck saw this comprehensive approach not only as a strategy but also as the unavoidable result of the relationships in which a missionary is involved.[100] According to Bavinck, missionary work cannot be a matter of words only, as it is concurrently a matter of actions, a being involved, constituting a Biblical unity of words and deeds.[101]

Bavick emphasized that the perspective of missionary work should be in line with God's aim, His eternal Kingdom. Therefore, a missionary relationship should as soon as possible become an ecumenical relationship of equal partners.[102] In this relationship, which is often under serious threat of financial dependency,[103] the final task of a missionary work may be the assistance of a local church in the training of ministers, the development of reading and study material in the vernacular and in the encouragement of local churches. He believed that, in the 20th century, missionary work had entered a new phase, characterized by ecumenical contacts in which churches supported each other to take part in their common task, sharing the burdens and solving past inequities.[104]

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[97] J.H.Bavinck, 1954, p.67-68.

[98] J.H. Bavinck, 1954, p.69.

[99] J.H. Bavinck (1954, p.113) uses the term 'Comprehensive Approach', coined by the *International Mission Conference* in Jerusalem, 1928: "De mens is een eenheid en zijn geestelijk leven is geheel en al geworteld in al zijn levensomstandigheden..., lichamelijke, verstandelijke, en sociale. Daarom achten wij het gewenst, dat het programma van zendingsarbeid onder alle volken in genoegzame mate comprehensief zal zijn om de gehele mens te dienen in elk aspect van zijn leven en van de betrekkingen, waarin hij staat."

[100] J.H. Bavinck (1954, p.117): "De comprehensieve benadering, die mijnsinziens onvermijdelijk is, omdat de zendeling niet alleen predikt, doch ook bestaat ... is niet alleen een geweldige mogelijkheid, maar tegelijk een benauwende bedreiging."

[101] Reference to e.g. John 5:36; Acts 1:1; Romans 15:18. Also, J.H. Bavinck's publication: "Religieus Besef en Christelijk Geloof", 1949; P.J. Visser: "Bemoeienis en Getuigenis - Het Leven en de Missionaire Theologie van Johan H. Bavinck", University of Utrecht, 1997 (diss.).

[102] The term "Partnership in Obedience" was coined at the International Missionary Council in Whitby, 1947.

[103] J.H. Bavinck (1954, p.215): "De Zending moest er voortdurend voor waken niet voor St Nicolaas te spelen, ze moest veel sterker telkens weer een beroep doen op de offervaardigheid van de gelovigen zelf."

[104] J.H. Bavinck, 1954, p.296-297; reference to Matthew 24:14. Bavinck (1954, p.297) pointed at the growing importance of nationalistic movements. This element was stressed more elaborately by Bavinck's contemporary H. Kraemer (1888-1965), who between 1922 and 1935, worked as a language consultant for the Netherlands Bible Society and as adviser of missionary projects and Churches in Indonesia. Kraemer asked for a prophetic-critical attitude in missionary work, because of the discrepancy between the imperialistic and the serving aspects of its work in colonies: "Het Westen ... werd ook in de periode van het kolonialisme geplaagd door een lastig ding, namelijk

Finally, according to Bavinck, a Christian Mission should engage with other non-Christian religions, as God engages Himself with the whole world.[105] Common ground in the contact with other religions is God Himself, the new element to be introduced in the engagement is God's revelation in Jesus Christ.[106]

Bavinck's description of the missionary task as a comprehensive task of the Church in the world, was criticized by several contemporary members of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*, who saw missionary work as the task of an ordained minister, sent into the world, preaching the Gospel and administering sacraments. Some of his critics doubted whether Prof. Bavinck was still subscribing to the orthodox Reformed tradition.[107]

15.18 Antithesis and Conflict during the first Half of the 20th Century

During the first half of the 20th century, the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* developed as an independent stratum in Dutch society, with their own schools and university, their own political party, and their own social, student, and labour associations.[108] The Churches and their para-church organizations helped their members to gain central positions in Dutch society. Many of them were convinced that the Calvinist theology was the answer to the secularization in society as a whole. On the other hand, society was seen as a danger to the church. Relationships with Christians of other church denominations and with non-Christians, were a continuous point of concern. For example, in 1920, the Synod of Leeuwarden decided that students should not become members of the interdenominational students' association, called *Nederlandse Christen-Studenten Vereniging*.[109] Politically, via its party the *Anti Revolutionaire Partij*, members of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* had a strong influence on the national Government.[110]

Topics which caused division in the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* during this period, were the authority of the Bible text, the authority of the Synods and the opinions about

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door het christelijke geweten en daarom werd het imperialistische motief van binnen uit weersproken door het motief om te dienen" (J. Verkuyl, 1981, p.73).

[105] Reference to Romans 1:19.

[106] J.H. Bavinck, 1949.

[107] K.P. Keijzer (1954) wrote that he had "twijfel aan het gereformeerde karakter zijner [Bavinck's] werken"; also, A.H. Algra (1954) stated: "Dat ambt [van zendeling] wordt bij hem [Bavinck] erg breed, ook het diakonaat hoort er bijv. bij, maar zo geredeneerd komen we toch weer heel dicht bij de erste [=eerst] afgewezen comprehensive approach."

[108] The organization of a separate Reformed stratum in the Dutch society was in line with the principles of sovereignty and antithesis defended by Abraham Kuyper (par.15.14).

[109] According to its minutes (Acta, 1920, art.81) the synod of Leeuwarden decided "er bij allen, die geroepen zijn aan onze Gereformeerde studenten leiding te geven, op aan te dringen, dat zij ... hun lidmaatschap ten zeerste ontraden."

[110] One of the well-known leaders of the *Anti Revolutionaire Partij* was H. Colijn (1869-1944), who was Prime Minister from 1925 until 1926 and from 1933 until 1939. He is especially remembered for his liberal-capitalistic reaction to the economic crisis during the 1930's, which became negatively associated with the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*: "De dokwerker op de Amsterdamse Eilanden en de machinebankwerker in de Pijp zeiden het recht voor z'n raap: met de kerk van Colijn wil ik niets te maken hebben" (H.C. Endedijk, 1990, p.160).

predestination by God. For example, in 1919, Rev. J.B. Netelenbos was suspended as a minister in the *Gereformeerde Kerk te Middelburg*. In 1917, after he had preached during a church service in the *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* in The Hague, Rev. Netelenbos was accused of unorthodox opinions about the Church and about the authority of the Bible. The exclusive position of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* in their relationship with the other church denominations was also one of the topics which, in 1926, led to the suspension of Rev. J.G. Geelkerken.[111] Rev. Geelkerken was accused of unorthodox opinions, especially about the inspiration of the Bible as the literal Word of God. Together with Rev. Geelkerken, about 5500 members left the Church. They established the '*Gereformeerde Kerken in Hersteld Verband*'.

In 1944, about 70 000 people, about 10 percent of the members, left the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*, when Prof. K. Schilder was suspended and subsequently dismissed. Prof. Schilder was well-known for his position against *National Socialism*, which gained growing support during the 1930's not only in Germany but also in The Netherlands.[112] During the Synod of Sneek/Utrecht, which continued from 1939 until 1943, decisions were taken about several controversial dogmatic issues, such as God's general grace and the relationship between baptism and rebirth. Protests by Prof. Schilder against the fact that the Synod continued and against its dogmatic decisions led to the Synod decision to suspend and subsequently dismiss him both as a professor and as a minister. Subsequently, referring to Article 31 of the *Dordtse Church Order*, several Church Councils decided to free themselves from the National Synod and its decisions.[113] They continued to use the name *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* but with the addition '*Vrijgemaakt*' (hereafter: 'Free Reformed Churches').[114]

15.19 K. Schilder

During the years 1914 until 1934, Rev. K. Schilder was a minister in the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* in six successive local congregations.[115] In 1934, he was appointed as

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[111] Rev. J.G. Geelkerken (1879-1960) was minister in Amsterdam-Zuid at the time of his suspension .

[112] In 1936, the Synod decided that somebody cannot be member of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* and at the same time a member of the *Nationaal Socialisten Bond*.

[113] Article 31 of the *Dordtse Church Order* stipulates that decisions by Church bodies such as the Synod are final and binding , unless [sic] it can be proved that they are contrary to God's Word or to earlier decisions made by the Synod. The application of this article may be complicated, especially immediately after a church body has made a controversial decision. Opponents may claim that the decision is not binding, because [sic] it can be proved that the decision is not right. The Church body itself will be tempted to claim that its decisions are binding as long as they are not revised or withdrawn.

[114] Officially, the Free Reformed Churches continued to use the name *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*, but often with an addition to identify themselves: "Vrijgemaakt Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland", or "Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland onderhoudende artikel 31", referring to the *Dordtse Church Order*, article 31, which regulates and limits the authority of the Church structures.

[115] Prof. Dr. K. Schilder (1890-1952), born in Kampen, was minister in Vollenhove (1914-1915), Vlaardingen (1916-1919), Gorinchem (1919-1922), Delft (1922-1925), Oegstgeest (1925-1928) and Rotterdam-Delfshaven (1928-1934) until he became a professor in Dogmatics (J.J.C. Dee, 1990).

professor in Dogmatics at the *Theologische Hoogeschool* in Kampen.[116] As a systematic and mystical theologian, a gifted writer and preacher and an independent thinker in political and social matters, Prof. Schilder was an inspiring figure in the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*. However, his polemics against several teachings by A. Kuyper (par.15.14) were a cause of friction.

Central in Schilder's thinking is the sovereign God who reconciles people with Himself through Jesus Christ and who offers them His Covenant.[117] According to Schilder, God's relationship with the world is centred in Christ, whose Word is at the same time promise and judgement.[118] Schilder saw a clear antithesis between accepting God's Covenant and rejecting it; those who accept this God-given offer, believe that they are predestined to become His co-workers, to proclaim His kingdom and to take a strong stand against the de-Christianization of the society;[119] on the other hand, people who reject God's Covenant and refuse to submit themselves to God, will be conquered by Christ at the end of times.[120]

Schilder saw Christ as central also in matters of personal faith. He believed that Christ's promises and deeds are the basis for salvation and that pietistic personal feelings or experiences are unable to assure a person of his relationship with God.[121]

Schilder described the church as being actively gathered by Christ.[122] The church should not be seen as an absolute static entity. Its main features are dynamic: the will to come together and the being brought together by Christ.[123] The church can never take its character as church of

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[116] From 1934 until 1952, K. Schilder was Professor in Dogmatics in Kampen, from 1934 until his dismissal on 2nd August 1943, at the *Theologische Hogeschool* of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland,* and, from 1945 until his death on 23 March 1952, at the *Theologische Hogeschool* of the *Vrijgemaakt Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*.

[117] In publications such as *De Openbaring van Johannes en het Sociale Leven* (1924) and *Christus en Cultuur* (1947) Schilder dealt with issues of society and culture. In *Christus en Zijn lijden* I-III (1929,1930,1931) he describes the personal relation with the suffering Lord. Other publications deal with the Church, such as *De dogmatische Betekenis van de Afscheiding* (1934). During the years before his death, he worked on an uncompleted dogmatic series *Commentaar op de Heidelbergse Catechismus* I-IV (1947-1952).

[118] Writing about the Revelation 5:7, K. Schilder (1924, p.45) states: "Dat het boek der raadsbesluiten van God door Christus ter hand genomen wordt ... geeft aan alles, wat daarin staat, karakter en betekenis ener christelijke geschiedenis ... een geschiedenis, die in alles christo-logisch is bepaald."

[119] For K. Schilder (1924, p.345), 'predestination' is not a logical element in God's eternal plan, but a term in the believer's confession about God's initiative in his life: "praedestinatiegeloof is voor de gelovige een geloof in het uitverkoren zijn tot het medewerkerschap Gods".

[120] K. Schilder (1924, p.316): "Er zijn volkeren, steden, die tot het laatste toe zich verzetten tegen de Koning van Nieuw-Jeruzalem; die worden pas aan het eind der dagen definitief en zichtbaar overweldigd."

[121] An example of the way in which K. Schilder (1951, p.49) translated a personal act of worship into an act of acceptance by Christ, is his description of Jesus' anointment by Mary (John 12:1-7): "Hier is 't de zalving niet, die den Gezalfde rijk maakt, maar 't is hier de Gezalfde, die de Hem zelf gewijde olie voor onze oogen reinigt, en ze zo weer uitdeelt aan de bevende hand der liefde, opdat deze hem belijde: mijn olie is uit U gevonden: Gij zijt de Christus, Gods gezalfde, Gij alleen, en Gij volkomen, Gij, die zelf de zalf bereidt, de zalf en 't hart, en ook de hand, mijn koning en mijn God."

[122] K. Schilder (1942, p.99): "Wanneer Christus roept door het Woord en de Geest het geloof werkt, dan vormen die twee de daad van toebrenging: het woord kerk neemt altijd in zich het element van vergadering."

[123] K. Schilder (1942, p.145): "Het willen-vergaderen der gelovigen uit alle plaatsen en gedurende alle tijden [is] het eerste kenmerk der kerk (wijl daarin Christus' werk zich in ons mede-arbeiden met Hem voltrekt)."

Christ for granted. The question whether Christ gathers His people in a particular church must be part of its continuous self-evaluation.[124]

In 1944, Schilder was suspended and dismissed as a professor and as a minister by the National Synod of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*.[125] His dismissal led to the establishment of the Free Reformed Churches, which, on 11th August 1944, separated themselves from the Synod of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* because the Synod had imposed doctrinal statements about 'baptism and covenant' which could not be verified against the *Reformed Creeds*, because it continued to meet for a period longer than three years, and because it had dismissed professors and ministers, such as Schilder.[126] The newly established local churches 'freed' (*vrijmaken*) themselves from the National Synod's decisions.

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[124] For many orthodox Reformed Church members, the self-evaluation and self-renewal of a Church on a continuous basis (*ecclaesia reformanda*), came down to the question whether the Church adhered to the *Reformed Creeds*, which state about the Church in the *Belgic Confession* (27-29): "The marks by which the true Church is known are these: if the pure doctrine of the Gospel is preached therein; if it maintains the pure administration of the sacraments as instituted by Christ; if Church discipline is exercised in punishing of sin; in short, if all things are managed according to the pure Word of God, all things contrary thereto are rejected, and Jesus Christ is acknowledged as the only Head of the Church." According to H.C. Endedijk (1990, p.186): "Toch bleek op den duur dat de onderliggende voorwaarde, namelijk een evangelische zelftoetsing van de kerk, niet genoeg weerstand kon bieden aan de veldwinnende gedachte van de ene ware Gereformeerde Kerk tegenover alle andere kerkgemeenschappen. De uiteindelijke consequentie was de stelling, dat Christus alleen dáár kerkvergaderend bezig is waar gelovigen hun kerkkeuze door de gereformeerde belijdenis laten bepalen."

[125] In 1905, in Utrecht, the Synod of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* made a dogmatic statement in a matter that had divided its members since its establishment in 1892. According to some, God made His covenant only with those He had elected. Others, opposing this pietistic idea, stated, that God's covenant included all believers and their children. The 1905 statement by the Synod sought to counterbalance the pietistic search for signs of assurance in faith with a stress on the promises of God in baptism, about which the *Heidelberg Catechism* (XXVI,71) remarks: "The Scriptures calls baptism the washing of regeneration and the washing away of sins". In its decision, the Synod, in accordance with the advice from its committee (Praeadvies, 1943), confirmed the statement that, when children are baptized, it may be assumed that they are reborn and sanctified unless the opposite becomes clear during their lives. K. Schilder (1942, p.139-140) disagreed with the "compromise" statement and stressed that baptism is not about being reborn, but about God's promises and demands: "Want we weten niet, of de gedoopte kinderen wederom geboren zijn,. En we veronderstellen het zelfs niet ... Er wordt aan de ouders alleen gevraagd, of ze geloven, dat hun kinderen in Christus geheiligd zijn, d.w.z. dat ze in het verbond apart geplaatst zijn." (Reference to Romans 9:6-8 and Galatians 3:17.) In October 1942, concerned about the deliberations of the Synod, Schilder sent a letter to the Church Council of Kampen, encouraging it not to accept the dogmatic decisions made by the Synod. When the Synod in Sneek/Utrecht (1939-1943) had confirmed the 1905 statement (W.C.F. Scheps, 1945, p.37-38), Schilder, on 13 December 1943, sent his objections to the Synod with copies to the different *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*. On 23 march 1944, Schilder's refusal to accept the dogmatic decisions by the Synod and the fact that he encouraged local Church Councils not to accept them, prompted the Synod to suspend him (Toelichting, 1944, p.48), followed, on 2 August 1944, by his dismissal by the Synod as professor and as retired minister of Rotterdam-Delfshaven.

[126] According to the *Dordtse Church Order*, article 50, a Synod has to be established once in three years, according to article 79, the suspension or dismissal of a minister is the prerogative of a local Church Council. The Synod defended the suspension and dismissal on basis of the fact that K. Schilders "misbehaviour" had not affected so much the church where he was emeritus minister, as it had the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* in general (Rapport, 1944, p.24).
Another professor, also dismissed by the Synod, was S. Greijdanus (1871-1948), from 1917 until his retirement in 1943, professor in the New Testament subjects at the *Theologische Hoogeschool* in Kampen.

15.20 Free Reformed Churches

By 1945, about 80 000 Church members had 'freed' themselves from what they saw as the misuse of power by the National Synod of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*.[127] The personal reasons to join the Free Reformed Churches were diverse. Some joined the Free Reformed Churches as an act of re-submission to the Reformed Creeds and the *Dordtse Church Order*. Others joined because of their dogmatic conviction about 'Baptism' and 'Covenant'. Still others joined in the hope to find more freedom for the local congregations from the powers of central Church structures. Finally, some joined in protest against the dismissal of Church leaders, such as Prof. Schilder.[128]

In 1945, immediately after the schism had taken place, a new, second *Theologische Hoogeschool* was established in Kampen. During the following years, Church-related primary and secondary schools were established,[129] as well as a new political party, the *Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond*, and, in 1959, a new labour organization, the *Gerefomeerd Maatschappelijk Verbond*. Information was shared via Church-related publications such as the Church journal *De Reformatie*, and the newspaper the *Gereformeerd Gezinsblad*. In this process of 'further reformation', establishing its own para-church organizations, the Free Reformed Churches also

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[127] On 11 August 1944, in the Lutheran Church in The Hague, K. Schilder presented the "Acte van Vrijmaking of Weederkeer" stating amongst other things: "... zoo besluiten wij, ons vrij te maken van alle onrechtmatige en ongoddelijke schorsingen en ontzettingen uit den dienst, die door haarzelf of krachtens haar aanwijzing in den laatsten tijd zijn geschied; ons vrij te maken niet alleen van het synodaal-hiërarchische, doch ook van het daarmede tegelijker tijd opgelegde theologisch-wetenschappelijke juk, dat niet het juk van Christus is, en niet het juk is, waaronder voor Gods aangezicht de vrijgemaakte kerken in deze landen zich tezamen begeven hebben, elkander deswege in getrouwheid de hand reikende, opdat zij mochten wederkeeren tot, en gezamenlijk verblijven onder, de gehoorzaamheid van Christus en den Woorde Gods, gelijk dit door haar beleden is in de formulieren van eenigheid, te voren door deze kerken aanvaard, en daarin alleen. Wij maken ons openlijk vrij van de valschelijk genaamde tuchtoefening, die vanwege of uit naam van deze synode geschied is ..." (N. Scheps, 1970, p.125).
During the 1950's, many members of the Free Reformed Churches emigrated and established the Free Reformed Churches in for example Canada and South Africa.

[128] G. Van den Brink & H.J. van der kwast (1992, p.12-26) mention four different groups who with different priorities joined the Free Reformed Churches: a. "de leerlingen van K. Schilder" (who followed Prof. K. Schilder in his dogmatic thinking and revival of the Reformed Churches); b. "de werkers in de christelijke organisaties" (who opposed the misuse of power by Regional and National Church Councils); c. "de aanhangers van de Wijbegeerte der Wetsidee" (who stressed the priority of personal faith over adherence to the Reformed Creeds); and 4. "de volgelingen van A. Janse" (who stressed the authority of the local Church Councils). In the course of about 25 years the last three groups were increasingly moved to the periphery of the Free Reformed Churches (idem, p.12).

[129] The establishment of new schools exclusively for children of members of the Free Reformed Churches, was a particular cause of local friction. Advocates for the Church-related school stated, that such a school was not only a consequence of the promises made by the parents at the baptism of their children to teach and let their children be taught in the Church doctrines but that it also was a gift from God. For example, on 26 August 1957, at the opening of the new primary school of the Free Reformed Church in Hoogeveen, the local minister, Rev. J. Francke (1957), stated: "Want een school, waarin naar het vermogen des geloofs de voorzeide leer wordt onderwezen en waarin overeenkomstig de voorzeide leer alle onderwijs wil gegevenis worden, is een geschenk des HEEREN aan GEHEEL Zijn kerk aan deze plaats. Wanneer nu de ouders bij het doopvont staan en vragen: "Waar is de lagere school, die mijn kinderen wil en moet onderwijzen overeenkomstig mijn ja-woord hier bij het doopvont?", dan wijst de HEERE zelf ons naar deze school!"

became a separate social stratum in Dutch society.

Although, those who established the Free Reformed Churches experienced the schism from the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* as a liberation from human bonds and a submission to God's will, others, especially amongst the next generation of Church members, saw the spiritual climate on both sides of the divide as a danger to the spiritual life of the Church as a whole and to the spiritual well-being of it members. However, warnings against the rigid and directive control by the Church structures over the local congregations were met with accusations of betrayal of the *Reformed Creeds* and the *Dordste Church Order*.[130] Warnings against the personal, spiritual effects of a dogmatic concentration on sin and predestination, were met with accusations of betrayal of God.[131] Yet, for many people, the concepts of sin and predestination led to an existential experience of being a guilty victim before God, the so-called 'Reformed Paradox': being simultaneously guilty of one's unworthiness and of one's inability to correct this unworthiness.[132]

Already during the 1950's, many, unhappy with the process of increasing isolation in the Free Reformed Churches, went over to the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk*, or returned to the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*.[133] In 1959, the Synod of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* withdrew the dogmatic decisions, which, in 1944, had led to the schism and the establishment of the Free Reformed Churches.[134] Nevertheless, in 1961, the Synod of the Free Reformed Churches decided that the withdrawal of the dogmatic decisions was no reason to restore the relations between the two Church denominations. On the contrary, the gap between the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* and the Free Reformed Churches widened. According to many members of the Free Reformed Churches, the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* were no longer faithful to the *Reformed Creeds* and compromised their Reformed identity through

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[130] J.M. Goedhart (1977, p.39-40) warned against the "... loslaten van de gereformeerde belijdenis en ontbinden van de kerkordening (getuige onder andere het boekje "De gekerkerde Kerk" van ds. M.R. van den Berg [1969])".

[131] A. Schilder & J. Veenhof, 1995, p.191.

[132] A. Schilder & J. Veenhof, 1995, p.184; A. Schilder, 1987.

[133] According to A. Kamsteeg (1994, p.24): "In de jaren 1949 tot 1954 voegen zo'n 2500 kerkleden zich bij de (syn.) Gereformeerde Kerken." Most of them left the Free Reformed Churches together with Rev. B.A. Bos. Similarly, G. Van den Brink & H.J. van der kwast (1992, p.21): "een verlies van 2700 leden in 1950 en 1951. Maar gedurende de daarop volgende jaren druppelde het door. Dikwijls rond een naar de Gereformeerde Kerken (syn.) terugkerende predikant."

[134] Over the years, several Synods of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* made attempts to deal with the 1944 Schism. In 1946, the Synod reformulated the dogmatic decisions of 1943. In 1959, the dogmatic decisions were withdrawn and in 1988, the Synod confessed guilt about the decisions. Some doubted whether or not the original intentions of the Synod of Sneek/Utrecht (1939-1944) were still well understood, when the Synod of Almere (1988) confessed guilt for the Schism in 1944. According to H.Ridderbos (1988), the decisions by the Sneek/Utrecht Synod in 1944 were not an attempt to save the dogmas of the Church, but an attempt to save its unity: "de synode werd betrokken ... [in] ... een ontwikkeling waarin het niet meer ging om de zuiverheid van de leer, maar waarin de eenheid van de kerkelijke samenleving op het spel werd gezegd [= gezet] ... zij heeft ten slotte en na het nemen van veel uitstel niet geaarzeld tegenover een niet langer te tolereren inbreuk op het recht en de eenheid van de kerk met tuchtmiddelen op te treden."

ecumenical contacts and a modern, critical reading of the Bible.[135] Nevertheless, on a local level, several attempts were made to restore contacts, for example in Almelo, in 1960, and in Groningen in 1961.

In 1961, against the wish of his Church Council, Rev. A. Van der Ziel, minister of the Free Reformed Church in Groningen-Zuid, held some preliminary talks with representatives of the *Gereformeerde Kerk in Groningen*. In 1963, because of these talks, his Church Council suspended Rev. Van der Ziel, although without the required consent of a neighbouring Church Council. Nevertheless, in 1967, the Synod of Amersfoort-West approved the suspension of Rev. Van der Ziel and advised the Church Council of Groningen-Zuid to dismiss him as minister.[136] In the interim, Rev. Van der Ziel had established a separate congregation in Groningen, the '*Tehuis-gemeente*'. On Reformation Day, 31st October 1966, this congregation was sent an encouraging 'Open Letter' signed by 25 concerned members of the Free Reformed Churches all over the Netherlands.[137] The letter caused un uproar in the Free Reformed Churches, because it was seen by many as an attack on the *Reformed Creeds* and on the very existence of the Free Reformed Churches. Accordingly, in 1967, one of the signatories of the letter, Rev. B.J.F. Schoep, was barred from the General Synod of Amersfoort-West.[138] As a result, many local Church Councils and the Regional Council of Noord-Holland no longer recognized the National Synod. About 29,000 people left the Free Reformed Churches.[139]

During the 1960's, several other incidents were interpreted in the Free Reformed Churches as attacks on the *Reformed Creeds* and on the *Dordtse Church Order*. Consecutive Synods condemned what were called confessional deviations.[140] An example was the teaching by

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[135] J.M. Goedhart, 1969, p.37. According to J. Veenhof (1995, p.45-46): "Na 1961 richtten de Gereformeerde Kerken [in Nederland] zich veel sterker op de oecumenische en de wereldproblematiek."

[136] I.c. the Synod of Rotterdam-Delfshaven, 1964-1965.

[137] The 'Open Letter' of 31st October 1966 (reprinted in G. Van den Brink & H.J. van der Kwast, 1992, p.232-242) was preceded by a similar letter, the 'Witness' of 21st March 1964 (reprinted in G. Van den Brink & H.J. van der Kwast, 1999, p.30-32). The 'Witness' warned against the danger that the interpretation of the Schism in 1944 in the Reformed Churches would cause division in the Free Reformed Churches, that "een verschil van inzicht... omtrent de kerk en daarmee samenhangend omtrent de Vrijmaking geen reden mag zijn dat de een de ander van confessionele ontrouw beschuldigt" (idem, p.32). It was written by J. Kooiman, who also signed the 'Open Letter'. The 'Witness' was signed by 650 Church members; the 'Open Letter' by 25 Church members of whom 18 ministers.

[138] Some of the delegates attending the Synod of Amersfoort-West 1967, stated: "Het is uit die bewoordingen duidelijk dat door de ondertekenaren van die open brief disputabel wordt gesteld, dat de grondslag van onze gereformeerde kerken (dus minstens de Drie Formulieren van Enigheid) samenvalt (samenvallen) met de grondslag van de heilige, algemene, christelijke kerk, waarvan in de artt.27-29 N.G.B. en in zondag 21 H.C. voor ons belijdenis wordt gedaan ... Het genoemde en door ons gewraakte disputabel stellen impliceert de twijfel of onze gereformeerde kerken ten overstaan van Gods Woord wel ware kerken van Christus zijn" (Acta, 1968, article8, p.26-28).

[139] A. Amelink (2002, p.203): in the year 1970, the Free Reformed Churches counted in total about 85 000 members, the separated (since 1979: Netherlands Reformed) Churches in total about 29 000 members. According to G. van den Brink & H.J. van der Kwast (1992, p.244-245), during the period 1967 until 1974, in total almost 100 local congregations with almost 30 000 members were excluded from the Free Reformed Churches.

[140] The Synod of the Free Reformed Churches, held in Rotterdam-Delftshaven during the years 1964 until 1965, condemned the teaching by Rev. L.E. Oosterhof about 'general grace', as the Synod saw it as inconsistent with what is confessed in the Catechism about "everlasting condemnation" (Catechism XIX,52).
In 1967, the Synod held in Amersfoort-West condemned the teachings of Rev. B. Telder about the period between a

the Kampen ministers, Rev. G. Visee and Rev. J.O. Mulder, that the Old Testament Laws were no longer binding.[141] Rev. Mulder had been one of those who signed the 'Open Letter' (dd. 31 October 1966) and on 21 June 1967, the Free Reformed Church in Kampen found itself separated from the other Free Reformed Churches and, by implication, also from the *Theologische Hoogeschool* of the Free Reformed Churches in Kampen.[142] The School accused the Church Council of Kampen of undermining the unity of the Churches by deliberately rejecting the authority of the Regional, Provincial and National Council in favour of the authority of the local Church Council.[143] A remarkable example of the independent position of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen was its missionary work in South Africa organized as the prerogative of its local Church Council.[144]

In 1979, the local churches which, during the late 1960's, were separated from the Free Reformed Churches, adopted the name 'Netherlands Reformed Churches'. They are no longer organized according to the *Dordste Church Order*, but according to a new '*Akkoord van Kerkelijk Samenleven*', with a strong accent on the independence of local Church Councils.

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person's death and his or her resurrection. In 1960, Rev. B. Telder had published a book called "Sterven ... en dan - Gaan de Kinderen Gods, wanneer zij sterven naar de Hemel?" The Synod stated that Telder's teaching was not in line with the *Reformed Creeds*, especially the *Heidelberg Catechism* XXII,57, where it is stated that "my soul, after this life, shall immediately be taken up to Christ." In 1969, in his book *De Doden weten niets*, Rev. C. Vonk published similar thoughts as Rev. Telder.

[141] The Synod of the Free Reformed Churches held in Hoogeveen in 1969-1970, concluded that the Old Testament Law, especially the Ten Commandments, must be seen as "positieve, en dus eveneens voor de nieuwtestamentische bedeling bindende wet."

[142] On 21st June 1967, two members of the Church Council of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen separated themselves from the Church Council, they encouraged the other Church members in Kampen to reject the remaining members of the Church Council and as from 25th June 1967, they started their own separate church services with about 500 of the in total more than 3000 members of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen (G. van den Brink & H.J. van der Kwast, 1992, p.199). The newly established Church Council of the congregation with about 500 members, which included most of the Professors of the *Theologische Hoogeschool* of the Free Reformed Churches was recognized by the Regional Council as the real representative of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen. The points under dispute were the faithfulness to the *Reformed Creeds*, the interpretation of the Schism in 1944 in the Reformed Churches, the authority of the Old Testament Laws and the authority of the local Church Council.

[143] J. Kamphuis (1967, p.3) states about the Church Council of Kampen: "Hier breekt zich een eigensoortig independentisme baan ... de heerschappij van één of zeer weinigen, waartegen zich het bevestigingsformulier voor ouderlingen met nadruk keert." Similarly, he concluded (idem, 1968, p.113): "De lijn van de kerkeraadsheerschappij en predikantenheerschappij (consitoriocratie en dominocratie) tekent zich in Kampen duidelijk af". According to Kamphuis, the neglect of the authority of the Church structures by the Church Council of Kampen was a violation of the *Dordtse Church Order* (XXXVI), which regulates the authority of the Regional, Provincial and General Synods.

[144] After the local schism in 1967, the original Church Council of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen stated that the problems which led to the schism in Kampen had started with the organization of the Kampen Mission: "Afgedacht van de gewone verdrietelijkheden, die de kerk steeds begeleiden, traden eigenlijke moeilijkheden pas op bij de terhandnemeing van het zendingswerk" (RMA: 1968b#, p.7). The Church Council was criticized for the way it had organized its missionary work both in The Netherlands and in South Africa. In The Netherlands, the Kampen Mission was organized independent from the Regional Council and, in South Africa the missionary work was organized in co-operation with *Die Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*, instead of with the Free Reformed Churches in South Africa. Apparently, the critics were convinced that missionary work undertaken by a local Church Council should be organized within the common structures of the Free Reformed Churches.

15.21 Turn to the 21st Century

By the end of the 20th century, for many, belief was no longer about accepting a given set of truths prescribed and preserved in the Church's heritage. For many Church members, questions about predestination and election by God lost their existential value. Belief became a personal journey in a field of uncertainties. Disappointment in the established Churches and their continuous history of schisms on the one hand, and improved mobility and communication on the other hand, increased the interest in alternative forms of spirituality. In fact, the *Reformed Creeds* were no longer imposed in the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* nor in the *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk*.[145] By many, the Bible was seen not so much as a collection of eternal truths, but as a book about personal relationships with God. In 1980, a report by the Synod of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*, called 'God with us' (*God met ons*), stressed the human aspect of the Bible, the inspired Word of God. According to the report, the Bible does not just offer a revelation of absolute doctrines, but rather an expression of personal truths. New forms of theological thinking, for example by Prof. H.M. Kuitert at the Free University in Amsterdam, concentrated on the personal experience of disappointment, estrangement and uncertainty.[146] The question of how to obtain salvation made way for the question of how to apply it, for example in matters of justice, peace, emancipation, the anti-apartheid movement and the fight against nuclear weapons. Moreover, the interest in the work of Jesus Christ gave way to a growing interest in the work of the Holy Spirit, in what is called the 'Evangelical movement'. Under influence of the Evangelical movement, the attention in the Reformed Churches has moved from the traditional orthodox stress on God's covenant to the experience of the work of the Holy Spirit and of a spiritual relationship with Jesus. Biblical readings are chosen preferably from the New Testament and in the liturgy, the predominant position of the Psalms has given way to the popularity of revival songs.

Growing ecumenical interests diminished the denominational difference between the main Protestant Churches in The Netherlands. In 1971, as a result of their interdenominational and ecumenical contacts, the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* collectively became a member of the *World Council of Churches*. In 2004, after a 40 year process of drawing together, which lasted more than 40 years, the *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* (consisting of 1500 congregations), the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* (consisting of 818 congregations)and the *Evangelisch-*

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[145] According to J. Douma (1973, p.33): "Razendsnel heeft zich in de genoemde kerken [de *Nederlands Hervormde kerk* en de *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*] een ontwikkeling naar de moderne vrijzinnigheid voltrokken." Similarly, H.Ridderbos (1988) about the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*: "Binding aan het gemeenschappelijk belijden is nooit opgeheven, maar fungeert niet."

[146] H.M. Kuitert (born in 1924) was professor in Ethics and Dogmatics at the Free University from 1965 until 1989. According to Kuitert (1992, pp.19, 192, 207), "is geloven nooit collectief, maar persoonlijk. Maar voordat iemand persoonlijk invult wat ze voor hem betekent, moet hij weten wat de traditie voorstelt. Dat het christelijk geloof algemeen betwijfeld wordt, kan het best hebben, maar je moet natuurlijk wel weten wat je dan betwijfelt, voor je aan het twijfelen gaat ... Wie gaan vandaag [uit de kerk] weg? De burger die mondig is geworden, de maatschappelijke vrijheid heeft geproefd, en van de kerk geen andere herinnering heeft dan manipulatie en dwang, een instelling die vrees hanteerde om haar invloed te handhaven. In het thema kerk komen alle frustraties van hele, halve, kwart en gepasseerde christenen samen, de kerk is een knooppunt van weerzin tegen het christelijk geloof geworden ... In de zestiger jaren was er ineens een verlangen naar Christendom zonder kerk."

Lutherse Kerk (consisting of 55 congregations), with in total about 2.5 million members, amalgamated in the *Protestantse Kerk in Nederland*.[147]

A new sense of Christian unity and tolerance developed in the historically more orthodox Churches. Since 1967, a new broadcasting company catering for evangelical Christians in all Churches, the *Evangelische Omroep*, has become popular among orthodox Reformed Christians.[148] The company organizes its own yearly revival meetings. In 1971, a new Reformed newspaper was established, the *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, not affiliated with any specific church denomination. In 1974, the *Gereformeerde Gezinsblad*, originally for members of the Free Reformed Churches, changed its name to *Nederlands Dagblad* with the intention to be a newspaper for a broader public. The political party of the Free Reformed Churches, the *Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond*, also dropped the specification *Gereformeerd*, when, in the year 2000, it merged with the *Reformatorische Politieke Federatie* to become the *Christen Unie*.[149] According to some authors,[150] by the end of the 20st century, the orthodox identity of the Free Reformed Churches was compromised as the result of a increasing emphasis on individualistic spirituality contrary to a covenant-based life,[151] the decreasing role played by the *Reformed Creeds* and the *Dordtse Church Order*, and the growing influence played by the Evangelical movement.[152] Although the Synods of the Free Reformed Churches continued to take for granted the independent identity of the Free Reformed Churches, on a local level several Free Reformed, Christian Reformed and Netherlands Reformed congregations came to a form of integration or cooperation.[153]

During the course of the 20th century, the orthodox Reformed Churches were marked by a tendency to defend their Reformed heritage. The 21st century is seen as the time for a renewed

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[147] B. Wallet, 2005; according to O.J. de Jong (1992, p.389), a negative reason for the amalgamation of the main Protestant Churches in The Netherlands was their diminishing church membership: "Een negatieve prikkel bij dit alles was zeker de numerieke achteruitgang." Some members of the *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* disagreed with the merger in 2004 and established the *Herstelde Hervormde Kerk*.

[148] E. Vermaat, 2007.

[149] In 2007, the political party *Christen Unie*, established in 2000, joined the Dutch national Government.

[150]For example, L. Heres, 2008.

[151] H.M. Vroom (2009, p.79) uses in this context the term 'bricolage': "People do not reflect systematically upon their faith. Rather, they appropriate information from many sources."

[152] According to O. de Bruijne & others (2009, p.168-169), the following characteristics are essential for what is called the Evangelical Movement: orthodox-protestant, experience-orientated, revivalistic, missionary, eschatological, a liturgy around music and revival songs, a holy lifestyle and an emphasis on blessing and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. They found (idem, p.88) that the following aspects of Evangelical Churches are experienced as especially attractive (or repelling): security (oppression), enthusiasm (coercion), emotion (superficiality), freedom (arbitrariness), and certainty (secretiveness).

[153] By 2008, from the in total 91 local Netherlands Reformed Churches with about 32,960 members, 36 congregations had come to a form of co-operation with a local Christian Reformed Church, 5 congregations had come to a form of co-operation with a local Free Reformed Church, and 3 congregations had come to a form of co-operation with both a local Christian Reformed Church and a Free Reformed Church (L.G. Compagnie, 2008, p.45-150). On 28th March 2009, almost forty two years after the 1967-schism, the congregations of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen and the Netherlands Reformed Church in Kampen held a combined meeting to renew their relationship.

orientation on the Holy Spirit and on the world.[154] Yet, during the turn of the century, on a small scale new schisms took place in an attempt to safeguard the Reformed Orthodoxy, for example in the Free Reformed Church in Kampen.[155]

[154] C.J. Haak (2000, p.88), professor at the Theological University of the Free Reformed Churches in Kampen, states about the task of the church in the 21st century: "... als het lichtje olie blijft opnemen uit het reservoir van de Geest. Als de gemeente de boeken van Oud en Nieuw Testament open doet en leest zoals ze gelezen moeten worden. Dan komt de Geest aan bod. Dan komt God ter sprake. Dan verschijnt Christus op het toneel. Het toneel van kerk en wereld. Dan begint het feest van Pinksteren opnieuw." A similar opinion about the task of the church in the 21st century was issued by Rev. P. Bustra at a gathering of the Netherlands Reformed Churches in 2008 with the theme "Hope for the World - Challenge for the Church": "Wij mogen geleid door de Geest handelen in vrijheid. Het doel dat ons daarbij voor ogen moet staan, is de redding van de wereld" (J. Smit, 2008, p.4).

[155] Around 2004, a schism took place in the Free Reformed Church in Kampen-Noord (www.kampennoord-ichtus.nl).

Chapter16: The Kampen Mission

16.1 Introduction

In 1954, the Free Reformed Church in Kampen decided to start its own missionary project. It sought to do so in obedience to Christ's command to proclaim God's Word in the world, the 'Great Commission'.[1] The missionary project was thought to have the following characteristics: missionary work was seen as obedience to the command by God; the command was seen as given to local churches; the essence of the command was to proclaim the Gospel where it had not been heard before.

The initiative was taken in line with the Reformed Mission Congress in Amsterdam in 1890 and by the Synod of the Reformed Churches in Middelburg in 1896.[2] At the 1890 Congress, a major role was played by A. Kuyper (par.15.14), who stressed that mission is not a matter of God's love or mercy but the consequence of His sovereignty.[3] Kuyper emphasized that God the Father sent His Son to the world to be its salvation or its destruction.[4] According to Kuyper, all missionary work by human beings is secondary to the primary act of the Father sending the Son.

The Kampen Mission was convinced that Christ's command to proclaim God's Word in the world was given to local churches.[5] The missionary work by the local church in Kampen would confirm that the orthodox Reformed Churches in The Netherlands had been fighting a justified struggle in defending the *Reformed Creeds* and the *Dordste Church Order* and, especially during the Schism in 1944 (15.20), the independent authority of local Church Councils. The missionary project would prove that a local church is fully church in all its aspects, including the proclamation of God's Word in the world.[6]

The Kampen Mission did not differentiate between a main mission task, the proclamation of God's Word and eventual secondary or preparatory mission tasks, such as medical and

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[1] Reference to Matthew 28:19-20 and Mark 16:15.

[2] See Acta, 1890; Acta, 1897.

[3] J. Kruithof, 1996, p.13; during the missionary conference in 1890, A. Kuyper stated: "Alle zending vloeit voort uit de Souvereiniteit Gods ... en ligt gegrond in de belijdenis, dat de Heilige Geest niet alleen van de Vader, maar ook van de Zoon uitgaat" (idem, p.14).

[4] Reference to Luke 20:9-18.

[5] Reference to Acts 13:1l-3. The prerogative of the local congregation in missionary work was also stressed during the World Mission Conference in San Antonio, in 1989: "Mission, so die Sektion IV, sei die wesentliche Aufgabe jeder Ortsgemeinde" (L. Bauerochse, 1996, p.149).

[6] The emphasis on independence in its mission work was essential for the identity of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen. Its first missionary was instructed to find a mission field, where he could work independently and in freedom: "Het werd verder omschreven als een terrein waar de zendeling in 'zelfstandigheid en vrijheid het evangelie kon gaan verkondigen'" (J. Vonkeman, 1997, p.63). The work would not only serve God's Kingdom in Africa, but also the Church in Kampen: "We moesten het zendingswerk weer gaan zien als een grote taak. Nodig voor de uitbreiding van Gods koninkrijk in Afrika. Dat in de eerste plaats. Maar ook voor een gezonde bloei van eigen kerkelijk leven. Een kerk die zijn zendingstaak laat liggen leeft niet." (J.Lagendijk; RMA: 1961?#, p.12).

educational care.[7] During the early 20th century, it was common in missionary work to combine church work with educational and medical development in the same mission project. This 'comprehensive approach' was defended by, for example, J.H. Bavinck (par.15.16) and implemented by the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*. Yet, the Church Council of Kampen intended to send ordained ministers as missionaries with only one mission task: to proclaim the Gospel to people who had never heard it before.[8] However, in the course of its existence, the main theme in the Kampen Mission more or less automatically broadened from 'proclamation of God's Word', to 'Church planting' and 'care for people in need', until, finally, it was decided to concentrate on 'assistance in partnership'. In this process, the distinction between the main task and secondary tasks became less relevant.[9]

16.2 Establishing the Kampen Mission

One of the central breaking points in the Schism in 1944 in the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* was the authority of the Synod over local Church Councils (par.15.20). For the Free Reformed Churches, established in 1944, the independent authority of the Church Councils was one of their main characteristics. In their Synod of 1951, in Kampen, the Free Reformed Churches repealed the authority of their Synod in missionary matters, by suspending article 52 of the *Dordtse Church Order*, by implication disposing the *Reformed Mission Order* of 1902 and thereby cancelling the position of Synod Deputies for Mission.[10] Mission work was left to the

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[7] The difference between main and secondary mission tasks was defined in the Reformed Church Order of 1902/1939, article IX-XII: "Nevens de dienst des Woords als hoofddienst, waartoe ook gerekend wordt alle middel tot rechtstreeksche bekendmaking van het Evangelie zooals colportage en arbeid van zendingszusters, kunnen op het zendingsterrein één of meer hulpdiensten worden ingesteld, zooals schooldienst, medische dienst en dergelijke" (RMA: 1939#, art.9).

[8] In 1948, the Synod of the Free Reformed Churches in Amersfoort (Acta, 129A) decided that missionary work was the proclamation of the Gospel and that the "comprehensive approach" (the inclusion of especially medical and educational care) was not based on the Bible: "De opvatting der zending, welke bekend staat als 'comprehensive approach' is in strijd met de heilige Schrift en valt daarom voor heel ons zendingswerk af te wijzen... De ene grote opdracht is steeds: Predik het Woord (2 Tim.4:2)" As soon as a local church council was instituted, missionary work should be seen as completed. According to the letter of instruction to Rev. J. Vonkeman, the Church Council of Kampen instructed him to proclaim the Gospel to people who had never heard it before: "... de prediking van het Evangelie onder degenen, die nog nimmer de boodschap van verzoening en verlossing door de dood en opstanding van onze Here Jezus Christus hebben gehoord (RMA: 1956#, p.1).

[9] The distinction between a main mission task, the proclamation of the Word of God, and secondary or preparatory tasks, such as medical or educational assistance, proved to be a 'home church problem', which became less relevant by the end of the 20th century. M.J. Hulst & H.M. Hulst-Mooibroek (1996, p.218): "[the 1896 Synod of] Middelburg had het klassieke schema hoofddienst-hulpdiensten gehandhaafd ... We denken dat inmiddels het gebruik van de woord 'hoofd-hulp' wat uitgesloten is, en dat we meer oog hebben gekregen voor een heel stuk dualisme in onze eigen cultuur."

[10] In 1951, at the Synod in Kampen, Article 52 of the *Dordtse Church Order*, was repealed by the Free Reformed Churches with 14 for and 13 against votes. Article 52 stated: "The Churches will proclaim the Gospel to those who became estranged from the Gospel, to Israel, and to the people who have not yet been christianized. Regulations for this task will be made by the General Synod." In 1902, the Synod of Arnhem accepted regulations for mission work by accepting a Reformed Mission Order, which in 1939, was amended by the Synod of Sneek (RMA: 1939#).

responsibility of the local Church Councils.[11]

In 1954, the Church Council of Kampen decided to start its own missionary work. Two of the initiators were Rev. G. Visee, who had been chairman of the 1951 Synod, and J. Berger, a former missionary teacher and principal on Java, present Indonesia.[12] Initially, the Church Council of Kampen hoped to send a missionary to New Guinea, present day Papua, to proclaim the Gospel, in co-operation with a second missionary to be sent by the Free Reformed Church in Enschede. The inaccessible island of New Guinea was still under colonial control of the Dutch Government and was inhabited by many small communities of people, who had not yet been in contact with the Gospel. However, the co-operation with the Church in Enschede ended in a deadlock, as its Church Council failed to understand how a missionary could be sent to the inner parts of New Guinea to proclaim the Gospel, without the support of an interdisciplinary mission team. Moreover, the Church Council of Enschede preferred to cooperate with other congregations within its own Regional Council.[13] So in 1956, the Church Council of Kampen decided to find another mission area and continue on its own, with the support of about ten supporting congregations in The Netherlands.[14] Other mission opportunities were considered, especially in areas traditionally linked with The Netherlands, such as Indonesia, the West Indies and South Africa. After contact with Rev. C. van de Waal, minister of the newly established Free Reformed Church (*Vrye Gereformeerde Kerk*) in Pretoria, it was decided that the Kampen

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[11] After the Schism in 1944, the only mission project still under the authority of the Free Reformed Churches was in Sumba. During World War II, and especially when, on 27th December 1949, Indonesia became independent, the Reformed Churches lost their control over most of their missionary projects in the former colony. The Sumba project suffered also several set-backs and it was on the edge of collapsing when the missionary, Rev. Stephanus J.P. Goossens, was suspended and subsequently, in 1953, discharged for the second time in his life. The first time was in 1939, when he was suspended and discharged as a minister and missionary by the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*. In 1946, after the Schism in 1944, he was re-admitted by the newly established Free Reformed Church of Zwolle as a minister and missionary for Sumba. Again he was suspended and in 1953, discharged by the Church Council of Zwolle, after he had discharged local elder and *guru-Indjil,* Lili Kondamara, who had sent a complaint about Rev. Goossens to the Church Council of Zwolle. The ensuing conflict led to a schism in the Free Reformed Churches in Sumba (C. Groenewold, 1999).

[12] From 1946 until 1971, Rev. G. Visee (1908-1976) was a minister of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen. From 1928 until 1946, J. Berger (1900-1968) was a mission teacher sent by the Reformed Churches in Kebumen, Wonosobo, Purworedjo and Solo on Java, present Indonesia. During World War II he was imprisoned by the Japanese army. After the war, he repatriated to The Netherlands. From 1953 until 1965, he was a Primary School teacher in Kampen. In 1968, while he visited the Kampen missionary project in South Africa, he died as a result of the injuries sustained in a car accident (J. Lagendijk, 1971, pp.3,79).

[13] The Free Reformed Church in Enschede proposed that two Deputies of the Regional Council should also be members of the Mission Board: “Door de Classis worden twee deputaten genoemd... De Deputaten uit de Classis Enschede mogen niet tot de zendende kerken behoeren.” (RMA: 1954#).

[14] In 1955, the Kampen Mission was supported by about 10 other Free Reformed Congregations, a number that grew to about 40 by the end of the century. The agreement between Kampen and the supporting congregations included the stipulations, that the Church Council of Kampen was responsible for the mission work; that at least four times a year, the supporting churches would be called together to be fully informed about the mission work; that the supporting congregations were supposed to assist the Kampen Mission with advice, prayer and donations (J.Lagendijk, 1971, p.9-10).

Mission should start in Pretoria.[15] As from 1956, the Mission Board published is own journal called '*Zendingsblad*' (later: '*Mayibongwe*') to inform the church of Kampen and the surrounding supporting local churches about the project's progress.

In 1957, a missionary was found in Johannes Vonkeman, who, during the same year, completed his theology studies at the *Theologische Hoogeschool* of the Free Reformed Churches in Kampen.[16] On 27th June 1957, Vonkeman was ordained by Rev. G. Visee in the *Nieuwe Kerk*, the church building of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen. On 18th January 1958, Rev. Vonkeman and his wife left The Netherlands for South Africa.

16.3 Historical Context

During the 1950's and 1960's, economic recessions following the Second World War and the ongoing Cold War between the Western 'Democratic' and Eastern 'Communist' countries, formed a strong impulse for a large number of Dutch citizens to emigrate from The Netherlands. Popular emigration countries were Canada and South Africa. Among the emigrants were members of the Free Reformed Churches, who established their own Free Reformed Churches in Cape Town and in Pretoria, where Rev. C. van de Waal was called as minister.[17] South Africa was seen as historically related to The Netherlands and When in 1946, the 76 year old General Jan Smuts visited The Netherlands, Queen Wilhelmina warmly welcomed him as a world leader and thanked South Africa for its contribution to the end of World War II .[18] From their side, the South African Government warmly welcomed 'white' immigrants from The Netherlands, especially after 1948, when D.F. Malan's National Party won the elections.[19] Only during the 1960's, as a result of the growing resistance against the South African Apartheid Policy, did the

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[15] Arguments in favour of mission work in South Africa, compared with for example New Guinea, present day Papua, were: the possibilities for preparation of the work close to the proposed mission area; the presence of an established local Free Reformed Church in South Africa; the degree of development of South Africa including the availability of medical and educational facilities pre-empting the need for 'secondary or supporting mission tasks', undesired by Kampen; the availability of an established infrastructure, which would save costs during the course of the missionary project; the expectation that it would be more easy to find a missionary willing to go to South Africa, than to go to New Guinea (No author / J. Lagendijk(?); RM: undated / 1961(?)#, p.11). "Een zendeling kan direct aan de slag. De taal (Afrikaans of Engels) wordt verstaan... Een zendeling komt hier niet in de rimboe, met het noodzakelijke voorwerk... Hij komt in een land dat enigszins in cultuur is gebracht, hetgeen de arbeid, technisch gezien, bevordert" (RMA: 1955, p.2).

[16] Johannes Vonkeman was born in 1931. In 1957, he married Rensina Knoop.

[17] In 1950, the Free Reformed Church in Pretoria comprised 4 families. In 1955, the Regional Council of the Free Reformed Church in Pretoria and the Free Reformed Church in Vanderbylpark (2 families) was established. In 1958, the Regional Council was extended with the Free Reformed Church in Kemptonpark, a break-away congregation from the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*. In 1959, the church denomination *Vrye Gereformeerde Kerke* was established by the Free Reformed Churches in Cape Town, Pretoria (60 families), Vanderbylpark and Kemptonpark.

[18] J. ter Haar, 1998, p.608.

[19] During the 1950's, the South African Government allowed about 13 000 immigrants a year to settle in South Africa (H. Giliomee, 2003, p.488).

public opinion in The Netherlands about South Africa deteriorate.[20]

In South Africa, in 1948, the Afrikaner National Party won the elections promoting their Apartheid Policy. South Africa's first exclusive Afrikaner Government set about creating a society in which Afrikaner control would become permanent.[21] The Policy was built on at least three principles: the supremacy of the Afrikaners, the Homelands Policy (par.6.1) and the principle of 'separate development'. 'Non-white' South Africans were to be located to the Homelands, which constituted about 13 per cent of the total size of South Africa and were considered to be agricultural areas. Surplus labour from these areas would be used in the rest of the country under Afrikaner rule. In 1954, a Government Commission under Prof. Frederik R. Tomlinson made several recommendations to facilitate the Policy. It proposed to increase the size of and the Government financial support for the Homelands and it recommended that the Government should encourage businesses and other non-government organisations to invest in agricultural and industrial development inside or just outside the Homelands. The Government rejected the basic recommendations by the Tomlinson Commission.[22] Yet, it did issue permits for missionary workers in the Homelands and other 'native locations'.[23] The permits were issued especially to missionaries belonging to the three Afrikaner Reformed Church denominations, the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk*, the *Hervormde Kerk* and the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-*

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[20] In The Netherlands, one of the earliest protests against the South African Apartheid Policy was written by Rev. J.J. Buskes (1955). According to E. Meijers (2008, p.95): "In Nederland wordt Buskes boek tegenwoordig alom beschouwd als het startschot voor het debat over apartheid." In 1964, the first Dutch boycott campaigns against South African products were organised. "[Van half april tot half mei 1964] organiseerde het Comité [Zuidelijk Afrika] de eerste Nederlandse boycotactie van Outspan sinaasappelen, Kaapse wijn en ingeblikt fruit uit Zuid-Afrika" (idem,p.282). In 1965, the Dutch broadcasting company NTS asked attention for the Apartheid situation by airing the film 'De Zwakheid van Sommigen', a documentary made by Erik the Vries about the work of the 'Christian Institute'. In 1970, in Utrecht, the 'Werkgroep Kairos' was established as a Dutch support group for the Christian Institute (Kairos, 1995, p.12). Besides the Christian Institute, Kairos maintained contacts in South Africa with the' South African Council of Churches', the 'Institute for Contextual Theology', the 'Belydende Kring' and, on a smaller scale, with, for example, the 'Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness' (director: Peter Kerchoff). One of the founders of Kairos was J. Verkuyl (1970, p.102-161). In 1972, in his absence, Rev. C.F.B. Naudé (1915-2004), director of the Christian Institute from its establishment in 1963 until its forced closure in 1977, was granted a honorary doctorate by the Free University in Amsterdam. In 1974, Naudé visited The Netherlands, where "he was interviewed by Dutch television, and featured prominently in press reports and in several radio broadcasts" (C. Ryan, 2005, p.165). Yet, the Kampen Mission and its missionaries refrained from comments critical of the Apartheid Policy. A single exception was found in a private letter, dated October 1967, written by Rev. M.R. van den Berg to Prof. C. Veenhof, Kampen, about the Prohibition of Political Interference Act (accepted by Parliament in 1968): "een wet die onwillekeurig herinneringen oproept aan de Duitse maatregelen tegen de Joden." In general, the Reformed Mission, including Rev. Van den Berg, was convinced of the practical need for segregation in South Africa, at least for the time being: "Als practisch-politieke oplossing is in de huidige Z[uid]-Afrikaanse omstandigheden segregatie (apartheidspolitiek) te verkiezen boven integratie" (RMA: 1968a#).

[21] D. Oaks, 1992, p

[22] D. Oaks, 1992, p.380.

[23] By Law 18 article 24(1) of 1936, it was regulated that a 'white' missionary needed a special permit to work in a 'black' Reserve. What was at stake, was the assumption that the Government preferably issued these permits to missionary workers who worked under the responsibility of the Afrikaans speaking churches.

Afrika.[24] B. Wielenga (par.16.14) states that the Tomlinson Report formed a background for the Kampen Mission: "Tomlinson paid attention to the role the church and missionary work could play in establishing black national states within the boundaries of South Africa. He highlighted their role in civilising and christianising the black peoples of the new nation states. According to Tomlinson these mentioned processes would help these peoples to adapt to the new political dispensation. The creation of homelands and independent states produced a wealth of new fields for missionary work, especially in the rural areas where these new homelands and states were to be established. The National Party expected the Afrikaner churches to contribute to the success of the new dispensation by involving themselves in intensive missionary work."[25]

16.4 Wagendrift

When in 1958, Rev Vonkeman joined the Free Reformed Church in Pretoria, he was unhappy with the mission opportunities he found. The Free Reformed Church in Pretoria was unable to give sufficient support to the Kampen Mission, because, contrary to the three traditional Reformed Church denominations in South Africa, the Free Reformed Churches were not yet officially recognized by the South African Government and accordingly, received no permission to do missionary work outside the 'white' areas of South Africa. The Free Reformed Church in Pretoria was itself still in the process of being established and partly due to internal frictions, its congregation was unable to support Rev. Vonkeman in a sufficient way.[26] On his request, Rev. Vonkeman was allowed by the Church Council to concentrate his attention on Wagendrift, a farm about 50 kilometres north of Pretoria, with a Methodist congregation.

In Wagendrift, Rev. Vonkeman worked together with R. Verbeek. Unfortunately on 2nd May 1958, Verbeek, a signatory of a letter with objections against the Church Council of Pretoria, was suspended and dismissed as a member of the Free Reformed Church. Nevertheless, Verbeek remained associated with the Wagendrift congregation and, on 15th February 1959, he joined the congregation in the Lord's Supper. On 8th November 1959, a week before he left for Natal, Rev. Vonkeman bade the congregation farewell to return in February 1960 to ordain two elders and a deacon and to institute the congregation as an independent local Reformed Church

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[24] The origin of the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* is closely related to the history of the Cape. Since 1655, several Dutch speaking churches were established in the Cape, related to the Protestant Churches in The Netherlands. Formally, they were part of the Regional Council of Amsterdam. In 1804, the churches in the Cape were united as the *Hervormde Kerkgenootschap* with a liberal church order made by the Commissioner General for the Cape, J.A. Uitenhage de Mist. In 1843, after the Cape had become a British colony in 1806, the British Governor introduced a new Church Order separating the, what was by now called, *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* from the State.
In 1853, many church members who had moved to the Transvaal during the 1830's and 1840's, afraid that the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* would be used by the British Empire to control them, established the *Nederduits Hervormde Kerk van Afrika*. In 1853, it was accepted by the *Volksraad* as the church of the Transvaal.
In 1859, in Rustenburg, the *Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika* was established with the aid of Rev. D. Postma, a missionary sent by the *Christelijke Afgescheidene Gereformeerde Kerk* (par.15.12). The newly established church reintroduced the *Dordtse Church Order* and the *Reformed Creeds* and abandoned the *Evangelische Gezangen* during the church services. It wanted to be an orthodox Reformed church.

[25] B. Wielenga, 2004,p.114, referring to H. Giliomee, 2003, p.519.

[26] J. Lagendijk, 1971, p.25.

with 33 members, including 18 confessing members. He left the congregation under the responsibility of Verbeek.[27]

16.5 Transfer to eNkumane

While working in Wagendrift, Rev. Vonkeman continued to look for a suitable mission area. His requests led to contact with Rev. D.C.S. van der Merwe, mission deputy of the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* and Rev. V.E. d'Assonville, minister of the *Gereformeerde Kerk in Pietermaritzburg*, made Rev. Vonkeman aware of missionary possibilities on the Trust Farm Groothoek (chapter 6). On the 9th July 1958, Rev. Van der Merwe, Rev. d'Assonville and Rev. Vonkeman visited Groothoek, according to their estimation inhabited by about 4 000 to 5 000 people, many of them living along the uMkhomazi River and along its tributary the uNompofane.[28]

The *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* had been given permission by the South African Government to do mission work on the Trust Farm but were unable to start a missionary project here.[29] So the Mission Deputies of the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* allowed Rev. Vonkeman to work in 'their' mission area. On 29th June 1959, Rev. d'Assonville visited The Netherlands and discussed the agreement with the Free Reformed Church in Kampen. The agreement stipulated that the Deputies would support Rev. Vonkeman and that the Church Council of Pietermaritzburg would stay in close contact with him. The conditions for Rev. Vonkeman were that he should work in line with mission work undertaken by the *Gereformeerde Kerke* elsewhere, both in and outside South Africa.[30]

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[27] During the following years many members of the congregation left Wagendrift for Vlakfontein, Mamelodi. Already in 1962, the congregation was troubled with internal frictions and in 1966, an attempt was made to revive it.

[28] Quoting Rev. Vonkeman from a contemporaneous report, J. Lagendijk (1971, p.29) gives "9th July 1958" as the day for this first visit. Probably by mistake, T. Schaafsma (1984, p.17) mentions "9th July 1959" and J. Vonkeman (1995, p.53) mentions "June 1958" as the date of this first visit.
The number of inhabitants of the Trust Farm Groothoek, "4000 to 5000", is mentioned in a letter by the Church Council in Pietermaritzburg to Rev. Vonkeman (RMA: 1958b#) and in a report, dated 14th July 1958, by Rev. Vonkeman to the Mission Board in Kampen (J. Lagendijk, 1971, p.27). The number was an estimate, probably, it was overestimated by at least factor 2, or the number included people living around the Trust Farm.

[29] According to J. Lagendijk (1971, p.27-28) and C. Breman (1985, p.17-18), Rev. Vonkeman had sent a letter with the request for help to find a mission area, to Rev. G.H. Oosthuizen, Mission Secretary in Natal of the *Dutch Reformed Church*. Rev. Oosthuizen referred the letter to a meeting of representatives of the Afrikaans speaking churches, the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk*, the *Hervormde Kerk*, and the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*. The aim of the meeting, chaired by Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, *Minister van Bantoe-Administrasie en -Ontwikkeling*, was to co-ordinate the missionary work by the Afrikaner Churches. The meeting decided to divide the potential mission areas in Natal among the three church denominations, the Groothoek Trust Farm being allocated to the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*. Referring to the *Handelinge van die Synodale vergadering van die Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* (1961, p.170-171), Breman adds: "Overigens is deze terreinverdeling alleen in Natal gelukt, niet in Noord-Transvaal en Noord-Kaap, omdat de zendingsterreinen daar te verstrengeld liggen".

[30] On 25 August 1958, the *Deputaatskap vir Sending Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* informed the Church Council of the *Gereformeerde Kerk in Pietermaritzburg* as follows: "In antwoord op u brief van 1 Augustus insake Ds. Vonkeman, moet ek u meedeel dat die Sinodale Sendingsdeputate as volg besluit het nadat die saak baie ernstig oorweeg is en nadat Ds. Vonkeman self ook te woord gestaan is. Die Deputate staan in vir Ds. Vonkeman of sy

Immediately, in 1959, the Deputies assisted Rev. Vonkeman with the application for a Government permit to work as a missionary in 'Bantu areas' in the Richmond District and with the application for a permit for a site to establish a mission post in the Trust Farm Groothoek. By the end of 1959, both permits were granted by the *Minister van Bantoe-Administrasie en - Ontwikkeling*.[31] Before the end of the year, Rev. Vonkeman and his family moved to Richmond to start his work as a missionary on the Trust Farm. There at eNkumane, about 31 kilometres southeast of Richmond, a site was chosen to build a mission post.

Initially, the Free Reformed Church in Pretoria approved the agreement between Rev. Vonkeman and the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* but during the following years, probably because of his 'protection' of R. Verbeek (par. 16.4) his contacts with the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* were interpreted by the Church Council of Pretoria as a separation from the Free Reformed Churches and a nullifying of the Schism in 1944 in the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* (par.15.20). The reason for this accusation was that the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* and the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* were considered to be sister churches.[32] Nevertheless, the Church Council of Kampen supported Rev. Vonkeman's move to Richmond and his contacts with the *Gereformeerde Kerk in Pietermaritzburg*, stressing that he would proclaim the Gospel in full freedom not bound to any South African church denomination.[33] In theory, the decision to join a church denomination would be left to the freedom of the congregations which might be formed as the result of the proclaiming of the Gospel.

16.6 Early Christian Presence in eNkumane

When in 1958, Rev. Vonkeman visited the Trust Farm Groothoek, his first contact was with Sikwishiza Dladla (par.6.7), the local ranger on behalf of the Magistrate in eMbumbulu.

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opvolger by die regering en laat hom toe om op een van die Gereformeerde Kerk se sendingsterreine, deur die regering aan ons toegesê, te arbei. Hierdie vergunning geskied onder die volgende voorwaardes:
1. In sy sendingbeleid en -metodes mag Ds. Vonkeman of sy opvolger nie in stryd handel met die van die Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika soos neergelê in Sinodale besluite en Sendingsorde nie.
2. Die vergunning geld alleen solank Ds. Vonkeman se arbeid in S.A. niet afbreuk doen aan die sendingswerk of kerkelike lewe van die Geref. Kerk in S.A. nie.
3. Hierdie vergunning geld alleen vir die Gereformeerde Kerk onderh. art.31, Kampen.
Die deputate ag dit wenselik dat daar die nouste kontak sal wees tussen ds. Vonkeman of sy opvolger en die kerkraad van die Gereformeerde Kerk, Pietermaritzburg" (RMA: 1958a#). By that time, in 1958, the *Gereformeerde Kerk in Pietermaritzburg,* one of the five *Gereformeerde Kerke in Natal*, had 150 members including a Church Council of 12 elders and 8 deacons.

[31] RMA: 1959a#; RMA: 1959b#.

[32] After the Schism in the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* in 1944, the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* did not make a choice between the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* and the newly established Free Reformed Churches (the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland - Vrijgemaakt*) as their sister churches. Accordingly, the Free Reformed Churches associated the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* with the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* and refused to recognize either of them as sister churches. In 1976, the sister church relationship between the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* and the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* ended.

[33] J.Lagendijk (1971, p.34): "Het misverstand zal wel hiervandaan komen, dat men steeds propageert dat zending in de allereerste en aller belangrijkste plaats betekent "planting van DE kerk"... Schriftuurlijk meen ik dat zending is: prediking van het Evangelie van het Koninkrijk. Dat is heel wat anders."

Dladla lived in eSigangeni, about four kilometres from the Catholic St Bernard Mission (chapter 13). Dladla was able to confirm that by that time, no denominational church was working in eNkumane.[34] However, some women living in eSigangeni were members of the Catholic Church and several of their children were baptized.

According to some interviewees, the first people who held church services in the eNkumane Area were the *amaWeseli* (Methodists), especially the family of Jakobe Mkhize (par.6.6), the great-grandson of Nsele Mkhize (par.4.5) who lived in kwaNompofane.[35] They held Sunday services in their homesteads and attended yearly Easter meetings at the Indaleni Mission (chapter 11).[36]

When on Christmas day 1959, Rev. Vonkeman held his first service in eNkumane, this service took place in the homestead of Amos Dlamini (par.6.3). Amos and his brother Mishak Dlamini had been appointed by Rev. Zebulon Nxele as leaders of the *amaThophiya*, the Ethiopian Church in ePhatheni and kwaMagoda south of the Richmond village.[37] Subsequently, after they became in conflict with Rev. Nxele, they moved from ePhatheni, to kwaNompofane. In kwaNompofane, contacts between the *amaThopiya* and the *amaWeseli*, the local Methodists, led to the marriage between Amos Dlamini and Aida, the daughter of Jakobe Mkhize. Initially, Amos allowed church services to take place in his homestead in kwaNompofane and some people became members of the *amaThopiya*, for example Martha MaMtshali the wife of Sihlambeso Phungula (par.6.3). However, by 1958, these services had ceased to be held.

Those who attended the services in the Dlamini homestead were known in the area as 'believers' (*amakholwa*; par.10.5).[38] Before the services in Dlamini's homestead ceased, Ngedi Paulus Gaselo used to lead the services. Gaselo was a leader of the *abaPostoli*, the Apostolic Faith Mission in eMlazi, near Durban.[39] He continued to organize services close to the uMkhomazi River. On certain Sundays, he used to park his car at the shop in Inkomaan (chapter 3), from where he walked down to kwaMseshi, to conduct services in the homestead of Mdabuli Mkhize (par.4.6), who had married his sister Majoyini MaGaselo. By 1958, also these services had ceased to exist. However, some women who had attended the services continued to organize

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[34] Father Hilarius Lechner worked as a priest in the St Bernard Mission from 1939 until 1962. During the last years of this period he was sick and unable to travel around. J. Vonkeman (1995, p.54) states that there were no other churches at that time, quoting the local ranger Sikwishiza Dladla, during his first visit to eNkumane on 9th July 1958: "Nee... er zijn hier geen kerken."

[35] D. Mkhize (2003*): "Ukusonta kwaqala kuJakobe."

[36] Amongst the Methodist church members in eNkumane around 1960, the following persons are remembered. Two persons in kwaNompofane: Simone Mkhize (par.4.5), the son of Jakobe Mkhize who came from Thulushe, near High Flats, and died before 1958; a 'girl' of a Shange family in eThafeni: evangelist Ntombo Aroni Sibiya, a son of Jakobe Mkhize's sister; in the neighbouring eNhlazuka area: evangelist Shongweni Sishi, who died in 2009 (M.N. Mkhize, 2003*; N.V. MaMkhize Kunene, 2003*).

[37] About their positions in the Ethiopian Church different answers are given by the interviewees. Rev. Z. Nxele is referred to as *umbishobi* by some; others call him *umfundisi omkhulu*. The brothers A. and M. Dlamini are referred to as *abefundisi*; others call them *abavangeli*.

[38] E. MaDlamini Ngobese, 2004*.

[39] Ngedi Paulus Gaselo was the brother of Elina MaGaselo Mkhize (2003*). He had adopted his name 'Paulus' after his conversion and subsequent baptism.

prayer meetings.[40] They visited families in times of sickness and mourning, even outside the eNkumane area, as far as kwaJu and kwaNcibi, living areas on commercial farms on opposite banks of the uMkhomazi, west of eNkumane. Here, about 100 years earlier, the main road between Pietermaritzburg and Ixopo had crossed the Cunningham's Drift, the ford between kwaJu and kwaNcibi, about five kilometres north of the Anglican Springvale Mission (par.12.5).[41]

Finally to be mentioned, by the end of the 1950's, there were church services in eSijokolweni, part of the Trust Farm on the southern banks of the uMkhomazi River, organized by Mr. Mkhuwadi, leader of a local branch of the Apostolic Faith Mission.

In conclusion, it can be stated that, in 1958, although no special church had been built in the eNkumane Area, the inhabitants of the Trust Farm Groothoek were aware of phenomena such as church and mission. Through their involvement in migrant labour, many inhabitants of eNkumane were well aware about what happened outside the fenced borders of Groothoek. The area was surrounded by mission activities (Part 2) and some of the immigrants who settled in the area brought in their own experience with Christianity. For about ten years, evangelists had been active in the area and some of the women in eNkumane were used to conducting prayer meetings. These prayer meetings continued after Rev. Vonkeman arrived in eNkumane and were incorporated by him in his missionary work. This missionary work was not strange to the local population, as many inhabitants of eNkumane had well-founded expectations about missionaries. They expected that Rev. Vonkeman would start Sunday services and encourage people to attend (*ukusontisa*), that he would earn a living by farming (*ukulima*) and that he was there to assist the

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[40] E. MaDlamini Ngobese, 2004*. According to Gezephi MaMkhize Phungula (2003*) the church started with women ("*Ibandla laqala emakhosikazi*"). Around the end of the 1950's, the following young women and girls formed an informal congregation concentrating on prayer meetings for sick people (idem; 2003*). In brackets are mentioned the family names of their (later) husbands and the church denominations they (informally) had been part of before: MaBaskiti (Mkhize; none), MaDanana (Dlamini; *eThopiya*), Ester MaDlamini (Ngobese; Faith Mission), Majoyini Elina MaGasela (Mkhize; abaPostoli), MaMgunzi (Nxele; none), Peteni Gladys MaMkhize (Mbeje; none), Gezephi MaMkhize (Phungula; eMaromeni), Flomencia MaNgcongo (none), Mampompoza Lina Mntungwa (Nxele; abaPostoli), MaNduna (Mkhize; none), Janet MaMsomi (Mkhize; none), MaSindane (Dlamini; abaPostoli), Miriam (Dlamini; *eThopiya*). During the early 1960's, these women integrated into the Reformed Church in eNkumane.

[41] The inhabitants of kwaJu and kwaNcibi were predominantly farm labourers living on commercial farms located respectively on the northern and the southern banks of the uMkhomazi River about 5 kilometres north of the Anglican Springvale Mission (chap.12). During the 1960's, the Reformed Mission started to work in the area, around the time that more and more farm labourers, including Ngobeses, Shobas and Mkhizes, were removed from the farms and migrated to for example the neighbouring uNomabhunga, an inaccessible mountain where they were served by the Reformed Mission until, by the end of the century, they moved on to more accessible areas. An example of the Roman Catholic presence in the area is found in the life story of Ngodwane MaBhengu Mkhize (2008*). Born in eNqumeni, the eastern part of Location 4671, an amaKhuze area east of the Springvale Mission, she was baptized in the Roman Catholic Church in eMakhuzeni, St Raphael. She remembers that her family was regularly visited by father Kops (par.13.11), who during the 1950's resided in Kevelaer (par.13.3). Through her marriage to Mncane John Mkhize (par.4.5), she moved to kwaNomabhunga, where she came in contact with the Reformed Mission and a member of the Reformed Church Nomabhunga.

people in the area (*ukusizabantu*), or even more to develop the community (*intuthuko*).[42]

16.7 Establishing the Reformed Mission Enkumane

On 10th December 1959, the eNkumane community held a meeting at kwaGogo, in the old Groot Hoek farm house, originally built by H.A. Nicholson (par.2.9;2.13;6.2). During this meeting, attended by acting chief Mbana Mkhize (par.4.12) , Rev. Vonkeman got the opportunity to explain his intentions. He received permission to use the farmhouse, which during the week was used as a Lower Primary School, for Sunday services. In return, the principal, Mr. Majola, was promised assistance with transport to and from Richmond in the Mission's Land Rover.

In 1960, Rev. Vonkeman started to visit the homesteads in eNkumane by foot or on horseback. Some people remember him visiting their homesteads, reading from his Zulu Bible and saying a prayer in English. He found an assistant in Stewart Zondi, a 29 year old member of the Methodist Church in eNdaleni. Zondi had been a Municipality Clerk and was a good translator. On 8th March 1960, with the help of Zondi, Rev. Vonkeman held his first Sunday service at the farm house at kwaGogo, attended by one woman and 19 children, a number which grew to about 10 adults and 40 children by the end of the year.

On 16th April 1960, Rev. Vonkeman conducted his first Sunday service in the Richmond Prison for about 100 prisoners.[43] During the week, he extended his visits to several commercial farms in the Richmond District. By the end of the year, unhappy with the quite informal house visits, he decided to build churches as the centres from where the missionary work would extend.[44] On 18th February 1961, at the Mission premises in eNkumane, the first church building was officially opened. By that time, local people called the site *eKukhanyeni* (= 'in the light').[45] At the opening ceremony of the church building, a cow was slaughtered, a considerable upgrade from the mere chicken, that some people remembered had been slaughtered by the ranger, Mr.

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[42] During the time of the establishment of the Reformed Mission in eNkumane, local men, such as the agricultural adviser (*umlimi* Simamana) and the local ranger (*ipoyisi* Sikwishiza Dladla), employed by the Magistrate of eMbumbulu, expected that the Mission would bring development (*intuthuko*) to the area (C.J. Dladla, 2002*). Although many interviewees used the words *ukusizabantu*, *intuthuko*, and *ukushinsthabantu* quite indiscriminately, in this research a difference is made between *ukusizabantu* (to help individual people in need) and *intuthuko* (sustainable development of the community as a whole). The Reformed Mission held a positive attitude towards *ukusizabantu* as its diaconal duty. Its attitude towards *intuthuko* as structural and sustainable development, was very ambivalent. In ideology, the Mission was there to proclaim the Gospel not to develop the community. Moreover, it used the poverty in the area as a legitimation for its presence (par.16.11). Nevertheless, it did contribute to the development of the area (par.18.1). In this research, the word *ukushintshabantu* (from the English verb 'to change' and the isiZulu noun 'abantu', people) is not used as a word with a specific technical meaning.

[43] The services in the Richmond Prison, originally an initiative by the *Geformeerde Kerk in Pietermaritzburg*, proceeded until the prison was closed around 1971.

[44] J.Lagendijk (1971, p.41): "Bovendien wil onze zendeling [Rev. J. Vonkeman] niet weer in een hut beginnen, omdat zijn arbeid dan op secte-niveau komt te liggen, daar immers alle zwarte secten in hutten vergaderen ... Vandaar dat hij naar Kampen schrijft, dat er op Groothoek zo spoedig mogelijk een 'eigen kerkje' moet komen."

[45] J.Vonkeman (RMA: 1991b#, p.14) does not know the origin of the name *eKukhanyeni*: "Wie de naam bedacht heeft weet ik niet". Possibly, it was an association with the famous Anglican Mission Post established by Bishop Colenso (par.12.3). For a contemporary explanation see par.6.9. The name is no longer in use in the eNkumane area.

Sikwishiza Dladla, when Rev. Vonkeman first entered the eNkumane area. On 25th February, the first baptism took place in the new church: Israel Dhlamini, a 16 year old boy, was baptized together with Hermen, Rev. Vonkeman's newborn son.

The church was one of the first buildings at the Mission Post.[46] It was a prefabricated building made of a bolted metal frame with asbestos boards, bought from a company in Germiston, in Johannesburg. The building was relatively easy to dismantle should the Kampen Mission decide to move on to another area, where it could be reconstruct anew.

16.8 Extending the Reformed Mission

On 28th June 1962, the Church Council of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen took two major decisions.[47] It was decided, firstly, to extend the missionary work to the eNqutu District in KwaZulu north of the uThukela River and secondly, to send another missionary to the Richmond District.

The eNqutu District was seen by the *Gereformeerde Kerk in Vryheid* as its mission area but actually, it lacked the means to do any missionary work. In 1960, Rev. V.E d'Assonville, minister of the *Gereformeerde Kerk in Pietermaritzburg*, assisted the Church in Vryheid which had no minister of its own. He noticed the missionary possibilities in the eNqutu District and contacted Rev. Vonkeman with the proposal to start a missionary project in the District. In 1962, the proposal was accepted by the Church Council of Kampen but put forward to the Free Reformed Church in Haarlem, in The Netherlands.[48] The Church Council of Haarlem accepted the proposal and, in 1963, sent Rev. W.L. Kurpershoek to Vryheid in order to start missionary work in the eNqutu District.

Also in 1962, the Church Council of Kampen decided to send a second missionary to the Richmond District. The work had expanded quickly and seemed too heavy for one missionary. By April 1961, the services at the Mission Post were already attended by more than 100 people. During that month, Rev. Vonkeman launched a church journal, *Indlela yeNkosi*, with 200 copies per issue. The workload and the responsibilities at the Post gave Rev. Vonkeman little if any time to relax, let alone the opportunity to leave the Post unsupervised for long enough to go on furlough to The Netherlands. The growth of the work was seen as a blessing from God and

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[46] Initially, in 1961, the church building at the Mission Post in eNkumane measured 11 by 6.5 metres. Later, in 1978, after an extension of 5 metres in a northerly direction, it measured in total 16 by 6.5 metres. In 1980's, a transept of 4.5 by 10 metres was added on the church's southern side. The aim of the extensions was to accommodate a bigger number of people for special functions, such as the Easter feast.

[47] J. Lagendijk, 1971, p.47. A third proposal, to extend the missionary work to townships northwest of Durban was rejected.

[48] At that time, the Church Council of the Free Reformed Church in Haarlem had already called Rev. W.L. Kurpershoek as a missionary for Indonesia, but he failed to get a working permit from the Indonesian Government. By as early as 1961, the Church Council had contacted the *Gereformeerde Kerk in Vryheid*, the South-African embassy in The Hague and the *Departement van Naturellenzaken* in Pretoria with the request for their consent to start missionary work in eNqutu. The central concern of the Church Council, its wish to be free and independent in its missionary work, was not honoured with reference to the Government policy not to allow "new" churches to start missionary work in South Africa. In 1963, it started to work under the authority of the *Gereformeerde Kerk in Vryheid*.

Missionaries sent by the Free (since 1979: Netherlands) Reformed Church in Kampen to KwaZulu-Natal:

J. Vonkeman	1959 - 1991
M.R. van den Berg	1961 - 1968
A.H. Reitsema	1968 - 2006
D.J. van Stelten	1973 - 1977
B. Wielenga	1980 - 2001
M.J. de Haan	since 1991
J.G. Vel Tromp	since 2007

according to the Church Council, justified a second missionary in the same area.[49] On 1st April 1962, Rev. M.R. van den Berg arrived in South Africa as the second Kampen missionary in the Richmond District. He concentrated his attention on the training of evangelists and on the western part of the Richmond District, starting with a congregation on a compound in the Greenhill forestry plantation.

16.9 Preaching

The main task of the Reformed Mission was the proclamation of the Gospel to people who had not yet been reached with it. Initially, it was thought that these people were to be found along the uMkhomazi River and along its tributary the uNompofane. It is unclear, to which extent it was realised by the Mission that the Trust Farm Groothoek was not a traditional living area but a Government controlled extension of a Zulu location. The Trust Farm was opened for the settlement of especially farm labourers, who during the 1960's were removed from nearby commercial farms (par.6.7; 6.8). By the early 1960's, the Mission had already widened its scope and concentrated its attention on the families of farm labourers and migration labourers, not only on Groothoek but also on several commercial farms in the Richmond and Mid-Illovo Districts, irrespective of their familiarity with the Gospel.

The Gospel was preached on Sundays in churches built by the Reformed Mission. The building of churches took place in an early phase of the missionary work, in order to use them as a platform from which to develop the work. In 1961, on the Mission Post in eNkumane, the first church was built. In 1963, three more churches were built, two by Rev. Vonkeman in the eastern part of the Richmond District, in eNgwegwe and in kwaNompofane, and one by Rev. van den Berg in the western part of the Richmond District, in eDongeni on the farm "Roselands".[50] In 1965, Rev. Van den Berg built another church in kwaMagoda.

The Gospel was also preached where the people actually lived, in their homesteads. The home visits by the Reformed Mission can be divided into three different types: private visits, prayer meetings and funerals. In the case of a private visit the missionary or evangelist entered a

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[49] J. Lagendijk (1971, p.44) states, that by April 1961, the attendance at the church services on the Mission Post had grown to over 100 people; quoting a report by Rev.J.Vonkeman from 1961, he gives the following example of the interpretation of the quick expansion of the work as a blessing from God: "Wat heeft God ons toch boven alle verwachting gezegend. Wat hebben we een goede God. Zeker, de arbeid verkeert nog in een beginstadium. Maar het ontwikkelt zich in snel tempo."

[50] The farm Roselands is situated south-west of Richmond just north of the uMkhomazi River. It was established by Arthur, a son of William Nicholson (par.2.7), and uncle of Humphrey Arthur Nicholson (par.2.9). His son Basil ran the farm during the 1960's, until his son Malcolm took over. Malcolm still runs the farm. The church building has become part of a larger school, but is no longer used for Sunday services.

homestead on his own or in the company of another evangelist. Central topics raised during these visits included the well-being of the family and a biblical message introduced with a reading from Scripture. Usually, the visits would be closed in prayer, led by the missionary or the evangelist.

In the case of a prayer meeting, the missionary or evangelist entered a homestead, where people from different families were gathered for the purpose of the meeting, often because somebody had died or lay sick. During these meetings, a short sermon was preached by the missionary or evangelist and others present in the meeting were subsequently given the opportunity to respond to the sermon or to share a message of their own.

In the case of a funeral, which normally took place inside the homestead of the deceased, the missionary or evangelist was given the opportunity to give a sermon during the night vigil or during the morning service in the hut, where people were waiting, or he was given the opportunity to share a short message at the grave.

The messages given by Rev. Vonkeman were often antithetical and centred around Christ as the only power of salvation.[51] Nevertheless, those who attended the home visits, often received them as a messages about cleansing and healing. The difference in focus can be illustrated by comparing a sermon by Rev. J. Vonkeman with a life story given by Mrs. Ntombisizi V. MaMkhize Kunene. In the memoirs about his work as a missionary in eNkumane, Rev.

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[51] For antithesis as an aspect of Reformed missionary work see C.J.Haak, 1996, chapter 7, p.97-118. Interviewees asked about the content of the preaching by the Reformed Mission during the 1960's, mentioned conversion (*ukuba umntwana kaNkulunkulu*) and the difference between a good and a bad way of life (*indlela enhle nendlela embi*; N.V. Kunene, 2003*). A themes' analysis of 34 reflections on Bible texts by Rev. J. Vonkeman in the local church journal "Indlela yeNkosi" between 1961 and 1968 revealed:
- 13 times: an antithetical theme (Gen.4:4-16; Deu.18:9-22(2x); Jos.6:26; ISam.4; ISam.5:1-5; Mat.18:6-9; Mat.22:14; Joh.15:18-20; Rom.1:20; Eph.4:25; Kol.1:13; IPet.1:18);
- 8 times: a Christ-centred theme (Mat.16:24; Joh.1:15,18; Joh.4:13-14; Joh.14:6,9; Gal.2:19-20; Eph.2:20-21; Eph.3.21; Heb.2:17-18);
- 5 times: a theme about being called (Gen.12:1-3; Exo.20:2; Mat.1:18-25; Act.1:8; IITim.4:1-2);
- 4 times: a theme about a new life (Luk.3:10-14; Act.4:32-35; ICor.6:20; Phi.2:5-7);
- 2 times: about God's promises (Mat.5.1-6; Luk.2.1-7);
- 2 times: about the Holy Spirit (Joh.14:16-18; Joh.16:13-14).

M.R. van den Berg, a Kampen missionary between 1961 and 1968 (par.16.8,9,12), wrote about a balance between an antithetical and an inclusive approach (1966), and about communication in missionary work (1979), stating that the Gospel can only be effectively communicated in the vernacular idiom: "... dat het evangelie zijn doorwerking en uitwerking moet vinden in het idioom van de gemeenschap waarin het gebracht wordt" (1979, p.77).

C. Breman (1985, p.110-11), referring to the missionary work of J. Vonkeman, lists several oppositions which were stressed in the antithetical approach by Reformed Mission, but relativized in a more inclusive 'Bantu' world view: the opposition between belief and unbelief, the opposition between a God-given church and churches which establish themselves, the opposition between thanksgiving and fear as the aim of the Law, the opposition between the Lord Jesus and the ancestors.

Reflecting in retrospect on the antithetical approach in his work, J. Vonkeman (RMA: 1999#, p.56) states: "Dat God zich niet onbetuigd had gelaten onder de volken in de natuur, de geschiedenis en het menselijk geweten was een uitspraak aan de waarheid waarvan wij twijfelden... waar het om continuiteit en discontinuiteit tussen algemene en bijzondere openbaring ging... daar hadden wij alleen oog voor de discontinuiteit." In the 21st century, according to R. Kuiper (2007, p.35), the way of thinking in terms of antithesis is no longer common in the Free Reformed Churches in The Netherlands: "De paradoxale situatie doet zich voor dat de vrijgemaakt-gereformeerden, die behoorden tot de meest principiële antithese-denkers, hun overtuiging op dit punt zijn kwijtgeraakt."

Vonkeman gives the following example of a message he shared during a prayer meeting attended among others by some Zionists (par.10.8).[52]

> "Fortunately, I always have some word at hand for these occasions. I read from the book (Ephesians 2:8-9): 'For it is by God's grace that you have been saved through faith. It is not the result of your own efforts but God's gift.' Then I said: 'Everything God holds in stock for us, is placed in a house. Everything we need: forgiveness, strength to go on and also the Holy Spirit. That house is not built in heaven, it is among us, here in eNtshaseni. But what do you need to enter? The only thing you need to enter is the key. The key is belief in the Lord Jesus... only the Lord Jesus, the son of God, can bring us in and give us everything from God. That is why, in the church, we always have to start with Jesus, the key. If somebody wants to enter God's house without Jesus, he is like a thief who tries to enter via the window.'
> Now, I thought to myself, let's be careful in approaching the sensitive issue of ancestor worship. I continued by asking the question:
> 'Is there anything else other than the Lord Jesus, that can bring us into God's house?'
> 'No', they all shouted, 'Amen! Halleluiah!'
> 'Am I able to open that door for you?'
> 'No', I heard from many enthusiastic mouths.
> 'Who is the only one able to do it?'
> 'The Lord Jesus.'
> 'Is your bishop able to open the door for you?' Now the matter became painful, as many Zionists regard their leader as a saviour, a messiah. Nevertheless, I got a few negative answers: 'No!'
> 'Are my white ancestors able to do it?'
> 'No', I heard some more enthusiastic voices.
> 'Are your ancestors able to do it?'
> Now everyone fell into a deep silence."

The life story given by Mrs. Kunene relates to how her life was changed after coming in contact with the Kampen Mission.[53] Around 1957, when she married, she moved within the eNkumane area from eSigangeni to her husband's family in kwaNompofane. She was her husband's second wife and felt that her secondary position in the Kunene family was emphasized by the fact that she bore several stillborn babies. However, in 1960, she delivered a healthy baby, Londiwe, who grew up as her only child. She wanted to thank God for this child but had no idea how to do that. A few years later, she fell ill. While she was sick, she was visited by her mother, who advised her to go to the Reformed Mission. She followed the advice of her mother, who was a member of the Reformed Church at eNkumane. When she asked for help at the Mission, Rev. Vonkeman brought her to a hospital in Durban. After she returned home healthy, she started to attend the Sunday church services and prayer meetings organized by the Mission. On 21st May 1967, she and her daughter Londiwe were baptized and she became a respected member of the

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[52] J. Vonkeman: 1995, p.50-51; the original quotation in Dutch has been translated in English.

[53] N.V. MaMkhize Kunene, 2003*; Ntombisizi Victoria MaMkhize is mentioned in par.4.6 as the daughter of Twayini Stambu, and the granddaughter of Mbokode Mkhize.

congregation.

A striking difference between these two stories is that, while in the first example Rev.Vonkeman emphasized the need for looking forward and making the necessary choice for Christ, Mrs. Kunene's story, in the second example, stressed the need for prayer, healing and acceptance. The common ground between these two lines of thinking is the idea that Jesus Christ is a Saviour (*uMsindisi*) but specially in the second line of thinking, this is interpreted as Healer (*uMphilisi*). In this line of thinking, the idea that Jesus is the key to the house of God, is gladly accepted but here the house is thought to be in heaven, not in eNtshaseni, and the way to it is thought to be a path of respect, not of disrespect or antithesis.

An example of the inclusive way in which the Mission was received in eNkumane within a traditional context is found in a contemporaneous explanation of the name *eKukhanyeni* (= 'in the light') initially given to the Mission Post (par.16.7). According to K. Dhlamini, an inhabitant of eNkumane and employee at the Mission Post, the late *inkosi* Mhlabunzima Mkhize, who had died only a few months before Rev. Vonkeman started to work in eNkumane (par.4.12) had used this name when he built his own homestead, not only as the name for his new house but also as a new name for the whole area. According to Dhlamini, this was a prophecy, which was fulfilled when the Mission, in 1961, built a church, a house of light (*indlu yokukhanya*).[54]

Finally, an example of looking forward and making choices by way of respect, without overt antithesis, is found in the life story of Mrs. Ntombovu MaNcwane Mkhize (par.5.4), an inhabitant of eNtshaseni. Around 1995, she, who was about 80 years old, wanted to become a member of the Reformed Church in kwaVishavisha, an area neighbouring eNtshaseni upstream, on the southern banks of the uMkhomazi River. Asked why an old lady, like herself, wanted to become a member of the church, she answered that she had to think about her death and about 'her journey' after death (*Ngicabanga ngendlela yami*). She had seen, how, many years earlier, Rev. Vonkeman regularly entered her area but her husband had never allowed her to attend the meetings. Now, her husband had died and she had to prepare herself for her own death. She became a member of the church and a few years later she fainted during a prayer meeting and subsequently, died peacefully.

16.10 Teaching

From the start, the work of the Reformed Mission had a double focus: preaching the Gospel and gathering the church. A central aspect of the gathering of the church was teaching, especially the training of youth and church leaders. Church leaders were trained on two levels. Firstly, local church members were instructed to take responsible positions in their own local congregation. Women were ordained as women leaders (*abakhokheli*) and where possible, for

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[54] K. Dhlamini's explanation of the name 'eKukhanyeni' for the church built at the Mission Post in 1961, is found in the local church journal (RMA: 1962#): "Nifakazele igama lomufi iNkosi yethu uMhlabunzima, wakha umuzi wakhe omusha esuka emzini kayise, wawuqamba igama wathi "kusekukhanyeni" ... Waprofetha izwe lakhe, abaningi baca[b]anga ukuthi usho umuzi nxa ethi "kusekukhanyeni", wayesho lonke izwe lakhe. Ozanini nonke, baMbo, nakhu ukukhanya okwashiwo yiNkosi yethu yasishiya ... Nifakazele igama leNkosi yenu oyathi: lelizwe kusekukhanyeni yakhiwele indlu yokukhanya, wozani-ke kuyona."

example in eNgwegwe and kwaBambinkunzi, men were ordained as elders (*ababonisi*).[55] Secondly, the Mission employed several men as evangelists and trained them as ministers.[56] During the 1960's and 1970's, about 18 evangelists were employed, many of them from outside the working area of the Reformed Mission and with their own, previous experiences with Christianity, the first one being Stewart Zondi, a member of the Methodist Church in eNdaleni. In 1963, responding to an advert, three more evangelists were employed by the Mission: Abel Zitha, a factory clerk from Vryheid, Sonny Thamsanqa Mbadu, a teacher with experience in Swaziland and Johannesburg, born to a Catholic family in Durban and Bernard Bhekuyise Ncwane, a truck driver from Verulam, north of Durban. As part of their training, they assisted the missionaries and they worked more or less independently in certain congregations assigned to them by the missionaries. As from 1962, their training became one of the major tasks of the Kampen missionaries.

From the perspective of the Mission Board in Kampen, the evangelists had to be trained as leaders of independent local churches established truly on biblical principles.[57] Most of the Kampen missionaries thought this to include an introduction in the Reformed dogmas. So during the years 1960 and 1961, Rev. Vonkeman translated the *Reformed Creeds* in isiZulu, especially the *Heidelberg Catechism* and the *Belgic Confession*, as basic material for confirmation classes and for the training of evangelists. In 1963 during a furlough of Rev. Vonkeman, the Church Council of Kampen officially decided that the training of evangelists should prepare them for their future work as ministers.[58] The theoretical part of the study should be given at the Mission Post in eNkumane, two days a week and the practical part of the study, during the rest of the week, should consist of assistance given to the missionaries. Yet, in 1964 the Synod at Potchefstroom of the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*, informed about the ministers' training

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[55] M. Busstra (2007, p.4) quoting Rev. Vonkeman: "Wij begonnen met vrouwenleidsters, en die bevestigde ik ambtelijk." The female *abakhokheli* and male *ababonisi* experienced their appointment as a position for life, dependant on the local missionary or minister (G. MaMkhize Phungula; 2003*). The nearest comparison for their positions was that of councillors of the *inkosi*. A complication was the lack of arrangements for their succession.

[56] According to J. Vonkeman (RMA: 1991a#, p.12): "De beste dienst die de oude kerk aan de jonge kerk kan leveren, is het opleiden van inheemse predikers."

[57] J. Lagendijk, secretary of the Mission Board in Kampen from 1959 until 1979, in a letter to the missionaries: "Jullie hebben nu een schone kans om zelfstandig werk te doen. Als jullie willen, kunnen jullie ook in kerkverbandelijke zaken een nieuw begin maken. Zou dat nu niet eens een zegen van de Heere kunnen zijn? Kerken institueren, naar model van de eerste christelijke kerken. Kerken institueren en onderwijs dienaangaande geven alleen naar Bijbelse gegevens?"(KMA: 1965#, p.5). In reaction to objections by the missionaries that the evangelists needed and asked for the *Dordtse Church Order*, because they needed to know what 'Reformed' stood for, Lagendijk (idem, p.12) replied: "Mijn persoonlijk antwoord is, dat ik inderdaad die [*Dordtse Church Order*]... acht als een oude zak"; reference to Matthew 9:17. According to Lagendijk, Reformed missionary work was not so much the introduction of the *Reformed Creeds* and the *Dordtse Church Order* into a new area, i.e. the Richmond District, as it was the proclamation of the Gospel and the establishment of local independent churches based on the Bible. He stated that the establishment of completely independent local churches was the basic principle of Reformed missionary work: "Ik zou dit willen noemen het OER-PRINCIPE, dat aan dit zendingswerk van Hem ten grondslag ligt. Deze Bijbelse opzet blijkt ook uitnemend gezegend te zijn door Hem. Deze Bijbelse opzet willen wij ook gehandhaafd zien in Afrika. Dat betekent: planting van volkomen zelfstandige kerken en kerkjes in het Richmond-district" (idem, p.2).

[58] J. Lagendijk, 1971, p.56.

course in the Richmond District, rejected the idea of an independent ministers' training for the Zulu churches. Already in 1961, the Synod had decided that all new 'black' Reformed ministers should be trained in Hammanskraal, near Pretoria, where an institute for Reformed Theological Training had been established, accredited by the South African Government.[59] The Synod Deputies insisted that there should be a single institute for theological training. Initially, the Mission Board in Kampen objected against the ruling by the Synod Deputies.[60] Yet in 1966, the Church Council of Kampen withdrew its decision of 1963 and decided that the Reformed Seminary in Richmond would provide training for assistants and evangelists only.[61] Their curriculum consisted of the following subjects: Old Testament, New Testament, Preaching, Reformed Creeds, Church Order and Church History. The main aim of the curriculum was to train the students in reading, understanding, explaining and preaching the Bible.[62]

Initially, the Reformed Mission ordained the evangelists after a training period of four years.[63] So in 1964, S.G. Zondi was ordained in the Greenhill compound church. In the course of

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[59] J. Lagendijk, 1971, p.57. About the Hammanskraalse Teologiese Skool, see C. Breman, 1985, p.79-114.

[60] J. Lagendijk (KMA: 1963#, p.3): "Als ik me niet vergis, vechten wij, voorstanders van de zelfstandigheid der plaatselijke kerk en verlosten van een synodale zendingsmethode, opnieuw tegen een synodale macht, gepersonifieerd in synodale Deputaten die juist vechten voor een synodale zendingsmethode."

[61] B. Wielenga (2004) explains the controversy about the theological training as the result of two factors: firstly a difference in the way the mission work is organised and secondly a mistrust between the church denominations involved.
Firstly, in the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*, mission work is organised as an activity of the local churches led by Mission Deputies appointed by their Synod, whereas the Kampen Mission falls under the sole responsibility the local Church Council. B. Spoelstra (1999, p.288-289): "Die Sendingorde [van die Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika made in 1924] gee die skyn dat sending van 'n plaaslike kerk uitgaan, maar in werklikheid het die [Sinodale Sending Deputate] as sinodale instrument van [die Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika] op die sending aanspraak gemaak."
Secondly, until the 1980's, the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* and the Free Reformed Churches had never officially recognized each other as sister churches, a situation which became even more complicated, when during the late 1960's, a schism took place in the Free Reformed Churches and in effect, the Kampen Mission became part of a newly established church denomination, which, by 1979, accepted the name Netherlands Reformed Churches (*Nederlands Gereformeerde Kerken*). "This mistrust has hindered the discussions about theological training in the missionary churches. Between the [*Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*] and the [Netherlands Reformed Churches] no official ecclesiastical fellowship existed. In 1982, the National Synod [Potchefstroom] of [the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*] could not make a final decision to accept an ecclesiastical relationship with the [Netherlands Reformed Churches]. The relationship with these churches through their missionary work improved; new mission churches were integrated in the [*Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*] federal structures; the old agreement on missionary work between the sending churches and [the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*] was rewritten in 1982 (C. Breman, 1985, p.40-42)... The mutual mistrust gradually faded away" (B. Wielenga, 2004, p.120).

[62] S.Z. Phungula (RMA: 2007#): "We leerden onze Bijbels met vertrouwen in de hand te nemen en er uit te (s)preken. We werden toegerust door onze docent-zendelingen en als resultaat voelden we geen angst of een minderwaardigheidscomplex als we de schrift uitlegden of verkondigden."

[63] About the ordination of evangelists (*abashumayeli* or *abavangeli*), Rev. J. Vonkeman (RMA: 1966#, p.2) wrote in the local church journal: "... ababili babashumayeli bethu [i.e. P. Nkabinde and S.T. Mbadu] sebeqedile ukufunda kwabo kwazis[w]' ukuthi nabo bahambe bahlale phakathi kwamabandla bashumayele babhaphathize banike isiDlo baqede izindaba babhale abasha baqunge isibindi bakhuze njalonjalo ... babekwe izandla ukuba kubonakale kubo bonke ukuthi abazenzeli nje bazihlwithele isikhundla sabo kodwa bathole igunya namandla kaNkulunkulu ngokomthetho babeyizithunywa zakhe." It is not clear in what position the evangelists were ordained. According to

1967, S.T. Mbadu, P. Nkabinde and B.Q. Mtakwende were ordained in the congregations which were allocated to them, respectively eNgwegwe, eSijokolweni and kwaMagoda. Later on, during the 1970's, the official study period was extended to ten years.[64]

16.11 Need Relief

The missionaries had been instructed by the Kampen Church Council to concentrate themselves on the preaching of the Gospel and the administering of sacraments and if possible on the ordination of office-bearers but had not been instructed in any way to focus on the relief of material needs.[65] However, this fell short of the expectations in the local communities, that the Mission was also there to help, especially in their needs for education and medical care. A symbiosis developed between the Mission's intention to proclaim the Gospel and its willingness to help local communities in their needs.[66] And so during the early 1960's, besides the activities of preaching and teaching, the relief of needs in the community became a third activity of the Reformed Mission. Two examples may illustrate this symbiosis.

The first example is that, within a year after its arrival in eNkumane, the Mission decided

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the above-mentioned quotation, the Mission ordained them as "messengers of God" (*izithunywa zikaNkulunkulu*). After their ordination, they were allowed to administer sacraments in their own congregations (*babhaphathiza banike isiDlo*). Locally, they were understood to be ministers (*abefundisi*), which was confirmed by Rev. M.R. van den Berg (KMA: 1968#, p.24): "Zaterdag 18 nov[ember 1967] zullen we een samenkomst hebben, waar aan [B.Q.] Mtakwende de handen opgelegd zullen worden... met titel 'umfundisi' / 'predikant'." The Mission Board in Kampen understood the four evangelists ordained during the 1960's to be 'pastors' (*abelusi / herders;* J. Lagendijk, 1971, pp.75,77). Their ordination was not recognized by any church structure outside the working area of the Mission.

[64] In total only 6 out of the 20 evangelists accepted by the Reformed Mission since 1967 completed the approximately ten year training period with adequate results. Until 1985, when they were allowed to be examined by the Local Regional Council (par.16.5), evangelists who completed the course received a certificate for a 5 year "Bible-training course", on the basis of having studied half-time for the duration of ten years. The certificate was issued by the "Gereformeerde Kerk van Kampen". It showed a P.O.Box in Richmond, Natal, and "Broederweg 15 Kampen - Holland", which was both the address of the Theological University of the Free Reformed Churches and the address of the secretary of the Church Council of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen, with which the Mission was no longer affiliated. The list of subjects mentioned on the Certificate consisted of: "Old Testament I (contents); Old Testament II (general background); New Testament I (contents); New Testament II (general background); Christian Doctrine; Heidelberg Catechism; Church History; Church Government; Practical." On the certificate, no mention was made of preaching lessons or homiletics.

[65] B. Wielenga (RMA: 1994#, p.7), reflecting on his Letter of Instruction, states: "Het verwondert niet dat mijn beroepsbrief benadrukt dat heidenen... bewogen moeten worden door de prediking van Gods Woord alleen... Daarbij komt als vanzelf het dopen van de bekeerling in de gemeenschap der kerk en de instelling van de ambten... Daarna moet de zending weer verder op zoek naar hen die het heil in Christus niet kennen... We lezen in mijn beroepsbrief niets over zending met de daad, of over zogenaamde hulpdiensten.."

[66] Requests for help were often interpreted in a spiritual way, referring to Acts 16:9; so for example, T. Schaafsma (1984, p.41): "Op een dag - onze zendeling was nauwelijks twee jaar in het Natalse - komt er een Zoeloe-deputatie van over de Umkomaas, uit het z.g. Ixopo-district, naar Richmond. Ze komen aan Ds. Vonkeman vragen of hij bij hen ook een kerkje wil bouwen. Zo in de geest van: 'Kom over en help ons.'" M. Busstra (2007, p.3) suggests that Rev. Vonkeman in fact actively sought to follow a comprehensive approach: "Ook had hij al snel door dat woordverkondiging samen moest gaan met praktische hulpverlening en dus, eenmaal gevestigd op de zendingspost Groothoek, startte hij een kliniek, een winkeltje, een kosthuis."

that the construction of church buildings would be an important aspect of the proclamation of the Gospel. The buildings were designed and built by the Mission which also hosted the opening ceremonies.[67] Several of these buildings were used as Primary Schools by teachers, who were appointed by the Mission and who were expected to give Sunday school lessons on Sundays. So for example, the three new church buildings, built in 1963 in eNgwegwe, kwaBambinkunzi and in eNdongeni (par.16.9) functioned as Primary Schools during the week, as requested by the local communities.

A second example of the symbiosis of the Mission's intention to proclaim the Gospel and its willingness to meet the needs of the communities, was the distribution of secondhand clothes. During the 1960's, a total number of 64 wooden boxes filled with secondhand clothes were transported from The Netherlands to the Mission Post, to be distributed amongst church members. Asked why the clothes were distributed by the Mission, several interviewees answered that the people had asked for the clothes. On the question why the people asked for clothes, some answered: "Because they wanted to go to church."

Another need of the eNkumane community was the lack of medical facilities. The request for a clinic was made by the community to Rev. Vonkeman as early as in 1959, before he had even established himself in the area.[68] On 1st August 1967, the request was met with the opening of a clinic at the Reformed Mission Post.[69] Subsequently, a shop was opened for basic food products such as beans, maize meal, milk powder, rice and fortified biscuits.

It is unclear to what extent the willingness of the Mission to help people in their material needs was a precondition to work in their communities. A comparable situation is described in chapter 3. In this chapter it is suggested that Mr. M. Cockburn received the title deed for Inkooman from the Provincial Government of Natal and subsequently, obtained the 'grazing rights' on Inkooman from the local *inkosi* in return for the opening of a shop in the area (par.3.5). In a similar way it can be doubted, whether the Reformed Mission would have been able to function in eNkumane, had it not been willing to meet at least some of the wants of the local community.[70]

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[67] In their design, the church-school buildings erected by the Kampen Mission, were clearly different from the local homesteads, consisting of several round huts made of wattle-and-daub with grass roofs. The plan of the church-school building was rectangular. Initially, the walls were made of mud plastered with cement, like in eNgwegwe (1963), or with river stones, like in kwaNompofane (1964). Later on, the walls were made of cement blocks. The roofs usually consisted of timber and corrugated iron. Local people were paid to assist with the building. Interviewees remember that the Mission paid 15 cents to persons carrying building material for every trip made from the Mission Post to kwaNompofane (C.J. Dladla, 2002*).

[68] T. Schaafsma (1984, p.64): "Tijdens zijn eerste verkenningstocht op 8 december 1958 hoort hij van een paar oude mannen, beneden bij de Umkomaas, dat zij het belangrijker vinden om een 'ikliniki' - een kliniek - te bouwen dan een kerkje."

[69] During the months February until March 1967, the Enkumane Clinic functioned with Mrs. D.F. Moalosi as the only registered nurse and a general practitioner visiting on Mondays. The initiative collapsed and the clinic was left without a nurse for another three months. On 1st August 1967, the clinic was reopened with Mrs. A.B. Vilakazi, from KwaMashu, as a registered nurse. Since then, the clinic has functioned continuously and still serves the community.

[70] Permission from local communities to erect a church building, often included the request to establish a Primary School. J. Lagendijk (1971, p.104): "Meestal is het zo dat mensen nog liever eerst een schooltje willen hebben voor hun kinderen, dan een kerkje voor henzelf. Meer dan eens werd toestemming verleend voor kerkbouw op

16.12 Reformed Mission Enkumane during the late 1960's

In 1968, because of ill health, Rev. Van den Berg was replaced by Rev. A.H. Reitsema. His ordination coincided with the schism in the Free Reformed Churches in The Netherlands in the late 1960's (par.15.20). Some local Church Councils did not approve the examination of candidate Reitsema by the Regional Council, as he had not passed his final exam at the Theological School of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen but at the Free University in Amsterdam. Consequently, 12 Church Councils, representing about half of the total number of supporting churches, decided to stop their support for the Mission.

Builders / handymen full time employed at the Reformed Mission Enkumane:

Moses P. Sindane	1960-1971
Kheswayo Dlamini	1971-1980
Hlezwayo	1980-1987
Viva Shange	1987-1990
Afred Mbhele	1990-1993

(Since 1990, major maintenance done by P.M. Naicker & K.P. Naicker.)

The Reformed Mission intended to be a transitional, temporary organisation. However, though the Mission was received by the local community, it was not supported by the community: "it was a white man's missionary work in a black homeland."[71] The organisation was controlled and financed by the missionaries and their overseas church in Kampen. No plan was available indicating how the Mission should eventually withdraw from its responsibilities. Instead, the Reformed Mission grew and became a substantial organisation sustained by funds from The Netherlands. It seemed to be there to stay.

For example, the training of evangelists on the Mission Post in eNkumane was in principle temporary but the evangelists who stayed at the Mission Post needed accommodation and water. As the Mission Post was situated on a high, flat area, in eThafeni, this resulted in permanent pumps having to be installed to provide the Post with water.[72]

Furthermore, in 1965, Rev. Vonkeman and his family moved from Richmond to a newly built house at the Mission Post.[73] The Mission Board in Kampen had advised that a prefabricated temporary house be buil but Rev. Vonkeman argued that this would be too expensive, unsafe, unfit to control temperature changes and unfitting in the landscape. Moreover, he hoped to be succeeded by a local minister, who would need the house in future. So the house, about 136 square metres in size, got a foundation of sandstone, outside walls of plastered mud blocks rough-casted with cement, a roof of corrugated iron and a timber floor and ceiling.[74] For the community, it confirmed the impression that the Mission was there to stay, especially after a

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voorwaarde dat er in de week school zou worden gehouden."

[71] B. Wielenga, 2004, p.115.

[72] In 1964, inside the Mission Post a round water reservoir was built with a diameter of 10 metres for the storage of 50 000 litres of water. In the course of the year, three more reservoirs were added.

[73] Rev. J. Vonkeman and his wife had five children. When in 1965, their family moved to eNkumane, the children became weekly boarders at the 'Richmond Primary School' and during their Secondary School period at the 'Voortrekker Hoërskool' in Pietermaritzburg.

[74] The House was enlarged to 152 square metres in size after, in 1977, the study room and the main bedroom were extended by 16 square metres.

Evangelists/Pastors employed and trained by the Reformed Mission:

	evangelist	pastor	(minister)
S.G. Zondi	1960-70		
A. Zitha	1962		
S.T.(E.) Mbadu	1962-67	1967-85	(1985-2000)
B.B. Ncwane	1962-91		
B.Q. Mtakwende	1963-67	1967-72	
M.P. Mlambo	1963-64		
P. Nkabinde	1964-67	1967-73	
L.S. Mbhense	1965-66		
A.S. Ndlovu	1965-78	1978-85	(1985-1988)
B. Mzizi	1966-72		
W. Molefe	1967-77		
E. Zuma	1967-68		
Mbambo	1968-72		
S.A. Vilakazi	1969-70		
M.C Ngubane	1973-77		
M.M. Funeka	1971-85	since 1994	(1985-1993)
J.B. Hadebe	1972-06		
W. Mkhize	1977		
J.P. Sithole	1980-91		(since 1991)
P. Sithole	1981-83		
R. Zuma	1981-84		
J. Mncube	1981-84		
A.B. Zaca	1982-91		(since 1991)
V.M.A. Mkhize	1983-93		
S.Z.Phungula	1983-92		(since 1992)
S.S. Shange	1988-93		
S. Ndlovu	1988-95		
A.T. Shange	1989		
S.Z. Gumede	1989-97		
T.P. Hlela	1990-99		(since 1999)

main gate was built with the name 'Reformed Mission' in capital letters on top of it. The main road through eNkumane was extended from kwaGogo to reach the Mission Post.

As the Mission Post was situated on a Government Trust Farm, the family Vonkeman was required to naturalize as South Africans in order to get a Government permit to live there. The move to the Mission Post gave Rev. Vonkeman the opportunity to extend his work to the southern banks of the uMkhomazi River. Several attempts were made to facilitate transport over the uMkhomazi River, for example with the aid of a permanent cable fixed on the river banks.

In 1966, the Mission built a house for evangelist Nkabinde and the following year a church, neighbouring his house in eSijokolweni. In the same year, 1966, a house was built for evangelist Mbadu in eNgwegwe, about 500 metres uphill from the church eNgwegwe which had been finished in 1963. So both would live close to the people they would lead. In 1967, the evangelists Mbadu, Mtakwende and Nkabinde were ordained by the Reformed Mission (par.6.10). For the work of the missionaries, evangelists and pastors, the Mission had up to 11 horses, to the amazement of the members of the local community, who were only allowed one horse per homestead by the Government (par.6.6).

At the Mission Post, a Boarding School was built for a few children who lived too far away to attend the Mqolombeni Primary School, which had been relocated from the old Nicholson farmhouse at kwaGogo to a site directly neighbouring the Mission Post in eThafeni. In 1969, the Boarding School was extended to accommodate 20 boys and 10 girls.

On 1st August 1967, a clinic was also opened at the Mission Post. Its staff consisted of one registered nurse, Mrs. A.B. Vilakazi, and one assistant.

During the same year, 1967, the Mission Board in Kampen urged its two missionaries to concentrate on consolidation of the work.[75] The organisation had grown substantially over the years and further extensions would lead to more responsibilities. In the meantime, the growing

[75] J. Lagendijk (1971, p.73): "De aandacht van de zendelingen is nu niet meer zo gericht op uitbreiding dan wel op consolidatie van het verkregene."

schism in the Free Reformed Churches in The Netherlands threatened the very existence of the Kampen Mission.

In 1969, three congregations were instituted as independent Reformed Churches, two in the eastern part of the Richmond District (eNgwegwe and kwaBambinkunzi) and one in the western part of the District (kwaMagoda). These local churches functioned as home-bases for pastors and evangelists. The Reformed Church in eNgwegwe when instituted, totalled 94 members, including 50 women and 8 men.[76] Their pastor was S.T. Mbadu. The Reformed Church in kwaBambinkunzi, situated on a commercial farm, was served by evangelist B. Mzizi. The Reformed Church kwaMagoda was served by evangelist A.S. Ndlovu. The three local churches became members of the Regional Council Itheku of the Synod Middellande, established in 1962, as a separate 'national' Synod of the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*. Although instituted as independent local churches, they were linked financially and administratively to the Mission. Their pastors and evangelists received their salaries from the Mission.

16.13 Reformed Mission Enkumane during the 1970's

During the 1970's, several aspects of the Mission became causes for controversy. Firstly, the assistance offered by the Mission to people in need, seemed to attract people interested in material gain. As early as 1969, Rev. Reitsema drew attention to what he called 'Clothing Christians', people who became church members just in order to receive the material benefits of their membership (par.16.8). Some families had themselves represented in the church by only one family member, who would collect benefits for the rest. Apart from personal convictions, the church membership offered several material advantages, such as poverty relief, transport, baptism certificates and help in emergency situations.[77]

Secondly, the dependency relationship created by the Mission became a controversial aspect of the missionary work. The Mission organized and facilitated the work in the congregations in a way that would never be sustainable for the congregations themselves. In addition to salaries and transport, the facilities on the Mission Post, such as the clinic, the shop, the boarding school and the Bible School, opened in 1977, were established and maintained by an overseas church, supported by several other overseas congregations. These facilities and the maintenance of the more than 50 residents of the Post were beyond the financial resources of the local congregation. Moreover, the outreach by the Mission discouraged mutual care within the

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[76] The Church Council of eNgwegwe consisted of four men: Khenos Ndlovu, Mathekeni Joseph Nxele, Nkonka Albert Sishi (par.5.5) and Voyizane Sishi. Within 15 years, all the members of the Church Council had passed away without being replaced. When, in 1987, Rev. S.T. Mbadu left eNgwegwe for kwaMashu, he left a congregation without a Church Council.

0. Members of the Reformed Church Enkumane, asked about the causes of poverty in their area, gave the following three reasons: lack of education possibilities (*akukho ukufundiswa*), problems with the obtaining of Government grants (*akukho ukusizwa ekuceleni ipenshini*) and the disregarding of church funds (*isikwama sebandla asisebenzi kahle*). They expected the Mission to be able to assist them in these matters (RMA, 2002#). Asked about the difference between 'Mission' and 'Church', often the answer 'money' (*imali*) was given.

community.[78] As one of the interviewees stated: "If the Mission is here to help us, why should we help each other?" Yet, the Mission had planned to withdraw as soon as local churches had been planted and instituted.[79]

Thirdly, the difficulty for many local people to identify themselves with the Reformed Mission, complicated the missionary work. According to some interviewees, the Mission was run like a commercial farm, as a top-down organisation. Moreover, it was seen as a 'white man's affair'.[80] The missionaries had accepted the role of leaders, running the risk of losing flexibility and becoming defensive. The Mission lacked the vision and the means to concentrate on city townships. Bound to the rural situation, it dealt with people, especially women and children, with minimal education, lack of financial means and living scattered over mostly inaccessible areas. Much energy was invested by the Mission in its own organisation, including its evangelists, selected and appointed by the Mission and, by 1968, about 813 church members divided over 13 congregations.[81]

Fourthly, the Mission's stance in political matters was sometimes difficult to maintain. As the presence of the Mission was legitimized by a Government, which, during the 1970's, came under more and more criticism, the Mission put on a neutral stance in political matters and expected a similar position from church members and especially from evangelists. However, through the growing political awareness and pressure in the country as a whole, it was not easy for everyone to take a neutral position. Many people expected guidance, not neutrality from the church. One evangelist, W. Molefe, became involved in the protest against the transfer of the eNdaleni-kwaMagoda-eSimozomeni area, south of the Richmond Village to the newly formed KwaZulu Administration and accordingly against the local Chief K. Mbhele. However, the Church Council of the Reformed Church in kwaMagoda urged Molefe not to get involved in the political intrigues. Consequently, in 1977, Molefe left his work as an evangelist.[82]

Finally, the Mission's motivation and aim became matters for debate. In 1957, Rev.

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[78] For a critical evaluation of foreign aid in Africa, see D. Moyo's book *Dead Aid*. In its introduction, D. Moyo (2009, p.xviii-xix) states: "Deep in every liberal sensibility is a profound sense that in a world of moral uncertainty one idea is sacred...: the rich should help the poor, and the form of this help should be aid... Aid has become part of the entertainment industry... Aid has helped make the poor poorer, and growth slower. Yet is remains a centrepiece of today's development policy and one of the biggest ideas of our time.... Millions in Africa are poorer today because of aid; misery and poverty have not ended but have increased. Aid has been, and continues to be, an unmitigated political, economic, and humanitarian disaster for most parts of the developing world."

[79] T. Schaafsma (1984, p.62) quoting Rev. Vonkeman: "Maar wat beplan ons eintlik? Tog nie anders as dit om selfstandige kerke van Christus hier te plant, om langsaam maar seker die woord 'sending' deur te krap en in pleks daarvan die woord 'kerk' te skryf."

[80] B. Wielenga (2004, p.115, note18): "In the Elandskop area, north of Pietermaritzburg, the Reformed Church was known as the *ibandla lamaBhunu*, the church of the Boers (die kerk van die Boere)."

[81] J. Lagendijk (1971, p.102) quoting J.Vonkeman: "Het werken in een dergelijke wereld met een verspreide dunne bevolking is oneconomischer -duurder- voor de zendende en steunbiedende kerken, want er moeten meer kerkjes worden gebouwd, en er zijn meer evangelisten nodig, en de vervoerskosten zijn hoger dan in een gebied, waar een dichtere bevolking is en het terrein gelijk."

[82] Reference to 1 Peter 2:13-14; A.H. Reitsema (RMA: 1977#, p.4) comments on the matter: "Molefe vond dat het evangelie ook iets met politiek te maken had en dat ontkenden de broeders [of the Church Council of kwaMagoda] niet. Politieke intriges waren echter niet zaken die tot de taak van een evangelist behoorden, vonden ze."

Vonkeman was called by the Church Council of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen to do missionary work with a double focus: to preach the Gospel to non-Christians and to gather the church among them.[83] In line with A. Kuyper (par.16.1), the 'Great Commission' was understood by the Church Council as a command which had not lost its relevance for today.[84] Yet, Rev. Vonkeman did not see the task of proclaiming the Gospel among non-Christians as obedience to a command from God .[85] His definition of his own work was: "To transfer the Good Message from the West-European culture to the African culture."[86] The difference between 'proclaiming' and 'transferring from culture to culture', is that, in the first option, the in-culturation of the message is left to its receiver. The missionary can simply deliver his message, bring people together and leave. However, in the second option, the messenger is responsible for the in-culturation of the message. The missionary has to show its relevance in the receiving culture. Consequently, the accent in the missionary work moved from proclaiming the Gospel to teaching it. The missionary was there to stay as a teacher of the evangelists, who would succeed him as leaders of the church.

However, the question about the relevance of the missionary teachings for the receiving culture, became a matter for debate. During the 1970's, the debate cumulated into a controversy, which ended in the resignation of Rev. D.J. van Stelten in 1977. In 1973, the Church Council of Kampen had sent Rev. Van Stelten to the Richmond District as a third missionary. His task was to partially relieve the workload of the two other missionaries, Rev. Vonkeman and Rev. Reitsema, so that they could concentrate themselves on the training of youth, evangelists and other church leaders.[87] Preparations were made for a training centre at the Mission Post, to be

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[83] T. Schaafsma (1984, p.5): "In de beroepsbrief van Ds. Vonkeman, van 13 maart 1957, staat dat hij een instrument in de hand des Heren zal worden om door de prediking van het Evangelie heidenen te brengen tot het geloof in Christus en zo de kerk te vergaderen op het fundament van apostelen en profeten, dat gelegd is in Jezus Christus. Hij wordt gezonden om aan zwarten te vertellen dat Jezus Heer is."

[84] In the Kampen Mission Board, Matthew 28:19-20 is one of the most frequently quoted texts, understood as an actual command by Jesus. For example, L. Eland (2009a#): "Gaat heen, brengt alle mensen het evangelie, maak ze mijn discipelen", zei Jezus voor zijn hemelvaart (Matt.28). Een opdracht. Geen verzoek." The letters of instruction, given by the Church Council of Kampen to its missionaries, refer to Matthew 28:19, Mark 16:15 and Acts 1:8 as a the basis for an actual command to witness, not only for Jesus' first disciples, but also for His people today.

[85] Die Redakteur (2007, p.16) quotes Rev. J. Vonkeman stating: "Dis dan ook nie nodig en wenselik om van die 'sendingsbevel' van Matteus 28 te praat nie. Dit het trouens in die sendingsgeskiedenis nouliks 'n rol gespeel ... Calvyn het dan ook geskryf van 'n vervulde sendingsbevel. Die apostels het gedoen wat aan hulle opgedra was. Opdrag uitgevoer. Dit trek ons vandag uit die vermoeiende klimaat van 'ons MOET'. Die Bybelse aksent lê anders: sending hoort by die kerk soos die Gees by die gelowiges hoort. Kerk IS sending, uitbeweeg na buiten toe."

[86] J. Vonkeman (1995, p.7): "zendingswerk ... het overdragen van de Goede Boodschap vanuit de cultuur van West-Europa naar die van Afrika."

[87] In August 1973 (KMA: 1973#), a proposal was made by two South African Ministers, Rev. K.A.J. van Rensburg and Rev. D.C. Coetzee, and four Reformed Missionaries from The Netherlands, A.H. Reitsema and J. Vonkeman (Richmond District) and R. Keesenberg and W.L. Kurpershoek (eNqutu District). The proposal envisaged the establishment of two training institutes, one in the Richmond District and one in the eNqutu District, with the common name 'Sonqoba simunye' (= we will conquer as one). The syllabus of the institutes would consist of training of: evangelists (three years) and ministers (two additional years); voluntary workers in the church (wives of evangelists and ministers, elders, deacons, Sunday School teachers); 'family members' (adults, boys and girls). The proposal led to the establishment of 'KwaLanga' in eNqutu and the 'Bible School' in eNkumane.

called the 'Bible School', which was finally opened in 1977.

Rev. Van Stelten stressed the importance of prayer and the inspiration by and gifts from the Holy Spirit but he did not see the direct relevance of the *Reformed Creeds* and *Dordtse Church Order* for the local churches. Moreover, he warned against the financial dependence of local congregations on a church in The Netherlands and against the recruiting of evangelists from outside the working area of the Reformed Mission.[88] Some interviewees remember Rev. Van Stelten as a man with exceptional gifts, who prayed powerfully over sick people. The following story illustrates how he was experienced as a person with a special radiation.

> Whenever Rev. Van Stelten visited the Mission Post, at the exact moment he entered the main gate, one of the residing evangelists would suddenly become sick, even when the evangelist was inside his house and completely unable to see the gate. It turned out that the evangelist had a bad conscience about his own past.

In January 1977, after the Mission Board in Kampen had questioned him about his opinion on the power of prayer, Rev. Van Stelten resigned as a missionary and as a minister of the Reformed Church in Kampen.

16.14 Triple Focus

In summation, it can be stated that during the first decades of its existence, the Reformed Mission developed a triple focus: preaching, teaching and need relief. In these three aspects of the work, the missionaries were positioned at the giving-side of the relationship. They held the positions of decisiontakers, teachers, employers and donors. They defined the needs of the local people in terms of spiritual, educational and medical shortcomings, fear for ancestors and especially by the end of the century, the violence in the community.

The first two focus points, preaching and teaching, were part of the instructions the missionaries received from their home-church. The third focus point was not a mere addition. More or less, it became the legitimation for the presence of the Mission. The Mission was not only there because of a command by God but also because the people were in need of the Mission to guide them and help them to become Reformed churches. Compared with the Synod of Middelburg (1896), the Reformed Mission had moved from a Sender-motivated approach ('obedience to God') to a more receiver-based approach ('care for people in need').[89]

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[88] RMA: 1977#.

0. This 'care for people in need' was not free from paternalism, as may be illustrated with a quotation from T. Schaafsma (1984, p.6) in his memorial book about 25 years of Kampen Mission: "Wij moeten ons wel voor ogen houden dat deze mensen, net uit het heidendom gekomen, alleen maar met 'melk' gevoed kunnen worden. Ook dat hun bevattingsvermogen niet groot is; dat velen van hen geen letter kunnen lezen en aan een Bijbel dus niets hebben ... De jonge gelovigen onder de Zoeloes moeten beter klaargemaakt worden om getuigen te kunnen zijn van Christus in de heidenwereld waarin zij leven". B. Wielenga (RMA: 2003a#, p.2): "Speelde rassisme in kerk en opleiding wellicht niet zo'n sterke rol als in de samenleving, patriarchaal ging het ook daar aan toe ... Dat was natuurlijk op het zendingsveld niet anders - laten we dat gewoon erkennen. In Richmond maakten de zendelingen de dienst uit."

16.15 Reformed Mission (1980-2000): expansion and violence

By the end of the 20th century, South Africa made the transition from Apartheid to Democracy. As from about 1984, governmental segregation laws were no longer enforced and many people moved from rural areas to cities, such as Pietermaritzburg and Durban in an accelerated process of urbanisation. The process caused tensions which escalated into violence in areas which saw a sudden influx of people (par.7.3), as well as in areas which were confronted with a sudden exodus (par.7.5).

During this period, the Reformed Mission had to reorganize itself. Initially, with the support of the Government, it had been organized in an informal way as part of a Homeland. With the collapse of the Apartheid Government and its Homeland Policy, the Mission had to re-establish its position, let alone for the reason that several church leaders would no longer accept a subordinate position under the Mission.

Number of church members of the congregations linked with the Reformed Mission (including full members in brackets):

	1965	1968	1981
Richmond district east:			
eNkumane	146	88 (55)	227 (85)
eNgwegwe	106	144 (92)	120 (79)
kwaNompofane	79	66 (38)	130 (43)
eSijokolweni/kwaVishavisha		34 (20)	15 (09)
eMbuthweni			21 (13)
Mid-Illovo district:			
kwaBambinkunzi	121	127 (46)	31 (18)
eMpangisa		9 (04)	25 (10)
eMhlengamvula		1 (01)	3 (01)
eMahlabatini			38 (11)
eMqomo			68 (32)
eMfeni			54 (21)
Richmond distric west:			
Greenhill	57	35 (17)	45 (20)
eNdogeni	70	33 (15)	17 (12)
eMsengeni	34	107 (34)	24 (18)
kwaMagoda		95 (40)	145 (57)
kwaNomabhunga		70 (26)	39 (19)
eNcwibi			17 (08)
kaSodo		4 (04)	
eNdaleni			130 (67)
kwaNkulungwane			4 (02)
eSimozomeni			36 (16)
kwaOzwatini			18 (09)
Other:			
eMbumbulu			39 (27)
Richmond			33 (11)
kwaMncane/Elandskop			16 (07)
Total:	613 (83)	813 (392)	1295 (595)

(J. Lagendijk, 1971, p.68+103; T. Schaafsma, 1984, p.80)

In the meantime, changes had taken place in The Netherlands. In 1979, the local Church Councils, including the Church Council in Kampen, which, since 1967, were no longer part of the the Free Reformed Churches, adopted a new name: Netherlands Reformed Churches (*Nederlands Gereformeerde Kerken*). By that time, the number of local churches supporting the Netherlands Reformed Church in Kampen in its missionary work in South Africa had increased to almost 40. In 1980, they formed a solid basis for the replacement of Rev. J. Van Stelten, who had resigned in 1977, with Rev. B. Wielenga. Rev. Wielenga was instructed to concentrate on areas around the Richmond District and on the training of evangelists. He started to work in Elandskop (west of Pietermaritzburg), in eMbumbulu (east of Richmond, close to Durban), in KaSodo (south-west of Richmond, close to the uMkhomazi River) and in

Estimated number of church members (including full members in brackets):	2001	2007
KwaMncane	115 (037)	109 (070)
Mid-Illovo	unknown	120 (065)
Ndaleni	268 (148)	365 (205)
Umbumbulu - Umlazi	unknown	80 (050)
Reformed Mission Enkumane	unknown	210 (092)
Totals:		

(Source: *Agenda van die 95ste Klassis Natal* 04/09/2007; estimations by informants)

eMazabhekweni (close to Ixopo). With the decision to start missionary work in Elandskop and eMbumbulu the Mission reacted to the ongoing urbanization process.

During the 1980's, twelve new evangelists were employed, almost as many as during the previous twenty years. Their training became one of the main activities in the Bible School, the training centre on the Mission Post. During the 1990's, four of these evangelists were ordained as ministers in the region 'Itheku' of the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*.[90]

Because they worked for an overseas European Mission, the evangelists came under pressure from their communities as Apartheid started to near its end. They had to defend their neutral position in political matters and at the same time, prove their independence of the missionaries. The replacement of Rev. J. Vonkeman, after his retirement in 1991, with another missionary from The Netherlands made their position even more complicated.

The physical danger they faced, became clear in several tragic incidents. On 20th October 1989, in eMahlalini, at the foot of the hill on which the Mission Post is situated, the church-school building was destroyed together with all the homesteads, followed, on 24th December 1989, by the murder of the eNkumane preacher A. Dlamini (par.7.6). On 26th June 1991, Rev. B.B. Ncwane and his 15 year old son Joel were killed in eMbumbulu.[91] In 1992, the congregation of the Reformed Church kwaMagoda scattered as a result of the ongoing violence in the area and Rev. A.B. Zaca had to evacuate his house in the area. Also the population of kwaNompofane, at the foot of the Mission Post hill, fled from the violence, leaving their area uninhabited. On 17th July 1994, the last service in the Reformed Church kwaNompofane was conducted. On 23th July 1996, three church members were killed while they were sleeping in one of the outbuildings of the Reformed Church Indaleni.[92] The ongoing violence accelerated the migration of people from the Richmond District to more urban areas around Pietermaritzburg and Durban and led to the establishment of new Reformed congregations, such as in eMphumalanga, close to Hammersdale, and in eMlazi.

16.16 Reformed Mission (1980-2000): reorganisation

During the 1980's and 1990's, the Reformed Mission tried to restructure its formal and informal church relations in four different ways: it organized yearly meetings (*imihlangano*

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[90] By the end of the 1980's, the Regional Council Itheku of the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* consisted of the following isiZulu speaking churches: Groothoek, KwaMashu, KwaMncane (= Elandskop), Mid-Illovo, Ndaleni, Nqutu, and Umbumbulu. In 1992, the Groothoek Church Council collapsed. In 2004, shortly before the Regional Council Itheku was dismissed, the Nqutu Church was divided over four independent church councils.

[91] B. Wielenga, RMA: 1991c#.

[92] A.H. Reitsema (RMA: 1996#); the three men killed on 23 July 1996 were: Khulekani Keneth Mbanjwa (born: 04/03/1978), Sibonelo Amos Nxele (born: 02/07/1969) and Ben Eugene Radebe (born: 15/02/1973).

yamabandla) for all congregations involved with the Reformed Mission, regardless of whether or not they had a Church Council; it continued to develop its relationship with the Potchefstroom Synod; it developed the relationship with the Middellande Synod of the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*;[93] it organized more or less informal meetings with the local ordained ministers who were related to the Reformed Mission.

During the *imihlangano yamabandla* matters of common concern to the Mission and the local churches were discussed. For example, since 1977, after the opening of the Bible School at the Mission Post, the *umhlangano wamabandla* established a Bible School Committee, which was responsible for the use of the building. During the yearly meetings, the committee reported about its work and new committee members were chosen. At the *imihlangano yamabandla*, decisions about the character of the Reformed Churches were also taken. For example in 1983, it was decided that the Reformed Churches would not prescribe a church uniform.[94]

Also the relationship between the Reformed Mission and the Potchefstroom Synod was revised. In 1961, the Reformed Mission had made an agreement with the Mission Deputies of the Synod. In that year, the missionary Rev. Vonkeman represented the Free Reformed Church in Kampen. In the meantime, a schism had taken place in the Free Reformed Churches (par.15.20), so that, as from 1979, the Kampen missionaries represented, formerly speaking, another local church: the Netherlands Reformed Church in Kampen. In 1981, the missionaries approached the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* in order to formalize their mutual relationship and to revise their 1961 agreement.[95] The next year, in 1982, a new mission agreement was accepted, which replaced both the 1961 agreement with the Church Council of Kampen and the 1962 agreement with the Church Councils of Haarlem en Leerdam.[96] The new agreement was accepted by the

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[93] From 1962 until 2008, the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* were divided over four ethnic, or 'national' synods:
1. a 'White' Synod Potchefstroom with several Regional Councils, e.g. Natal;
2. a 'Black' Synod Middellande with several Regional Councils, e.g. Itheku;
3. a 'Venda-Sotho' Synod Soutspanberg with several Regional Councils;
4. a 'Coloured' Synod Suidlande.

[94] T. Schaafsma, 1984, p.90-91; the last *umhlangano wamabandla* was held on 22th November 2002.

[95] Although, in 1961, a mission agreement was accepted between representatives of the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* and the Church Council of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen, no official relationship had been formalized between the two Church denominations. A complication was the fact that the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* was in contact with the several Reformed Church denominations in The Netherlands, most of them involved with mission projects in South Africa: the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*, the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland - Vrijgemaakt* (Free Reformed Churches); the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland - Vrijgemaakt - Buiten Verband* (since 1979: *Nederlands Gereformeerde Kerken*); the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*, and the *Gereformeerde Gemeenten in Nederland*. After, in 1976, the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* ended the relationship with the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*, the other Reformed Church denominations in The Netherlands sought to re-establish their relationship with the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*, including a revision of the agreement about their mission projects in South Africa.

[96] C. Breman, 1985, p.40-42; the 1982 mission agreement accepted by the *Gerefomeerde Kerke in Pietermaritzburg en Vryheid* and the Church Councils of the Netherlands Reformed Churches in Bunschoten-Spakenburg, Haarlem, Kampen en Leerdam was confirmed by the Synod Potchefstroom of the *Gerefomeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* (Handelinge van die Sinodale Vergadering, 1982, p.555-556):
"1.1.3.1.2.1 Die Nederlands Geref. Kerken verzoek dat die bestaande ooreenkomste vervang word met die volgende:

Gereformeerde Kerkerade van Pietermaritzburg en Vryheid in co-operation with the Mission Deputies of the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* on the one hand and the Church Councils of the Netherlands Reformed Churches in Bunschoten-Spakenburg, Haarlem, Kampen and Leerdam on the other hand. Although the relevant missionary projects fell within the working area of the Regional Council Itheku, no representatives of Itheku were involved in the agreement.[97]

The new Mission Agreement recognized that the missionary projects started by the Free

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Konsep-ooreenkoms van samenwerking tussen die Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika verteenwoordig deur die sendingdeputate van die Nasionale Sinode en die Nederlands Gereformeerde Kerken van Bunschoten-Spakenburg, Haarlem, Kampen en Leerdam.
Die Kerkrade van Pietermaritzburg en Vryheid, handelende deur en in samewerking met die sendingsdeputate van die Nasionale Sinode van die Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika (GKSA) en die Kerkrade van die Nederlands Gereformeerde Kerken van Bunschoten-Spakenburg, Haarlem, Kampen en Leerdam (NGK) elk handelende deur sy sendelinge te Richmond en Vryheid, gaan die volgende ooreenkoms aan ten opsigte van die sendingwerk van die NGK in Natal.
Art.1. Die sendingwerk van die GKSA, wat in die verlede begin is in Richmond en Nqutu, is oorgeneem deur die NGK en word deur hulle in eie verantwoordelikheid teenoor die Here behartig.
Art. 2. Die GKSA, verteenwoordig deur die sendingdeputate van die Nasionale Sinode, tree waar nodig by die Owerheid in vir die NGK ten opsigte van terreine, personeel of waar dit verder nodig mag wees, terwyl laas-genoemde onderneem om nie in stryd te handel met hierdie verantwoordelikheid van die Gereformeerde Kerk nie.
Art. 3.Albei partye in die ooreenkoms ag hulle in sendingbeleid en –metodes gebonde aan die beginsels van Skrif, Belydenis en Kerkorde soos dit deur die GKSA en die NGK aanvaar is. Alle besluite insake sendingbeleid word deur die betrokke partye onder mekaar se aandag gebring.
Art. 4. Gemeentes wat tot stand kom als gevolg van die sendingwerk van die NGK word gestig binne die kerkverband van die Klassis Itheku.
Art. 5. Die sendingsinstansies van die GKSA is bereid om aan die sendingwerkers van die NGK, waar nodig, advies te gee en om in geval van noodtoestande soos ziekte, sterfgevalle of oorlog, hulp te verleen.
Art. 6. Indien die NGK nie meer volgens hierdie ooreenkoms met die sendingwerk kan en/of wil voortgaan nie, sal dit onmiddelik terugval aan die GKSA sonder enige kompensasieverpligtinge.
Art. 7. Daar word wedersyds aanvaar dat die bedienaars van die Woord met hulle gesinne lidmate is van die plaaslike Gereformeerde Kerk waar hulle woonplek is; hulle deel dan ook in die voorregte hieraan verbonde.
Ten aansien egter van hulle arbeid en ampsbediening bly die sendelinge staan onder opsig en tug van hullle respektiewelike sendende kerke. In die geval van sensuur (of oortredings wat volgens die plaaslike Kerkraad sensurabel is) pleeg genoemde Kerkraad oorleg met die betrokke sendende kerk in Nederland.
Art. 8. Dit word eweneens aanvaar, dat die naaste plaaslike gemeente van die GKSA met en in die sendingswerk van die NGK die nouste kontak, belangstelling en, waar moontlik, samewerking sal hê.
Art. 9.Hierdie ooreenkoms kan gewysig word met instemming van alle betrokke partye; in gevalle waarin hierdie ooreenkoms nie voorsien nie, beslis die partye na oorlegpleging.
Hiedie ooreenkoms vervang die wat in 1961 (Acta 1961, p.179 e (1)) met die Kerk van Kampen en die wat in 1964 (Acta 1964, pp.224/5, c) met die Kerk van Haarlem aangegaan is.
1.2.2 Beide die Kerkrade van die Geref. Kerk Vryheid en Pietermaritzburg het laat weet dat hulle die ooreenkoms in orde vind en beveel aan dat dit bekragtig word.
1.2.3. Aanbeveling: Die Sinode bekragtig die konsepooreenkoms, maar skrap die woord "(gas) in art.7. (Reeds gedoen – deputate Hand). Besluit: Die term (gas)lidmate in art.7. word vervang met lidmate soos aanbeveel deur die deputate, en die konsepooreenkoms word goedgekeur. -Goedgekeur."

[97] From 1962 until 2008, the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* were divided over four ethnic, or 'national' synods (note 92), sometimes working in the same geographical areas. For example, the Regional Councils Natal and Itheku worked in the same province, KwaZulu-Natal. Occasionally, the four 'national synods' met in a 'general synod'. In 2008, the Synod Middellande dissolved itself to integrate with the other synods as one synod for all the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*. The first session of the new synod took place in January 2009.

Reformed Churches during the 1960's had been continued by the Netherlands Reformed Churches. In the new agreement, the parties involved promised to co-operate and keep each other informed about the progress of the missionary projects. Contrary to the 1961 agreement, the new agreement stipulated that newly instituted local Churches would be part of the Regional Council Itheku.

The Reformed Mission strived for recognition of its theological training and for independent Church Councils in the Regional Council Itheku. In 1982, the need for a theological training in KwaZulu-Natal was recognized by the Synod Potchefstroom and, in 1983, also by the Middellande Synod of the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*. In 1985, the Synod Middellande approved the ordination of ministers who had completed the evangelists' training of the Reformed Mission, on the basis of their "exceptional gifts".[98] In 1989, the evangelists' training by the Reformed Mission was recognized by the Middellande Synod as a fully-fledged institute for the theological training of ministers.[99] Subsequently after examination by the Regional Council Itheku, four more ministers were ordained.[100] However from 1989, no new students were admitted and finally in 1996, the Mission Board in Kampen officially decided that no new students would be admitted.[101]

The ministers trained by the Reformed Mission were called and ordained in instituted Reformed Churches. During the 1980's and 1990's, all three Church Councils instituted in 1969 collapsed.[102] Yet, during this period four more Reformed Churches were instituted: KwaMncane, Mid-Illovo, Ndaleni and Umbumbulu-Umlazi.[103] The four Church Councils became members of

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[98] Article 8 of the *Dordtse Church Order* regulates the ordination of ministers who have not completed a recognized theological training, but who do have special gifts to become a minister. In 1985, the following evangelists were ordained as ministers on the basis of Article 8: S.T. Mbadu in eNgwegwe, A.S. Ndlovu in kwaMagoda, and M.M. Funeka in the newly instituted Reformed Church Mid-Illovo.

[99] In 1989, not only the theological training in the Richmond District, but also in eNqutu, Mareestane / BathoBathostad (Cape), and Mukhanyo (near Pretoria) were recognized by the Synod Middellande; in 1994, the theological training centre in Hammanskraal was closed (RMA: 2004#, p.2).

[100] In 1991, J.P. Sithole was ordained as minister in kwaMncane, and A.B. Zaca in kwaMagoda. In 1992, S.Z. Phungula was ordained as minister in eNdaleni. In 1999, T.P. Hlela was ordained as minister in the newly established Reformed Church Umbumbulu-Umlazi, an extension of the former Reformed Church Umbumbulu.

[101] In 1997, the last arrived evangelist left unhappy with the spiritual climate in the Mission, claiming that the fight between good and bad was not seriously fought. In 2006, shortly before Rev. A.H. Reitsema retired, the last remaining evangelist also retired. The Reformed Mission took no new initiative to train ministers and the matter was left, until, in 2009, the integrated Synod of the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* decided to recognize all existing theological training beside the University of North West (before: Potchefstroom), i.e. Batho Batho Stat, Mukhanyo, Nqutu (including Richmond), and to appoint deputies for theological training, not only for ministers, but also for church elders. However, students for the ministry had to do their exams at the University of North West.

[102] At the beginning of the 1980's, the Church Council of kwaBambinkunzi, situated on a commercial farm, collapsed, when the farm was sold and most labourers dismissed. By the end of the 1980's, the Church Council of eNgwegwe collapsed, as there were no men available to replace deceased Council members. In 1992, the Church Council in kwaMagoda collapsed, when most of the church members fled from the ongoing violence in the area.

[103] In 1985, the following Reformed Churches were instituted: Mid-Illovo (minister Rev. M.M. Funeka; since 1993, Rev. A.B. Zaca); Ndaleni (since 1992, minister: Rev. S.Z. Phungula; par.6.3); Groothoek. In 1992, the Church Council of Groothoek, in eNkumane, collapsed and the Regional Council Itheku asked the Reformed Mission, for the time being, to take care of the congregation. In 1991, the Reformed Church KwaMncane (minister: Rev. J.P.

the Regional Council Itheku, until this Council was dissolved in 2007.[104] On 19th September 2007, they became members of the newly established Regional Council 'KwaZulu-Natal South' integrating isiZulu and Afrikaans speaking Church Councils, which were, until then, divided over the Regional Councils Itheku and Natal.

Finally in 1991, the Mission restructured its relationships by establishing a rather informal 'Reformed Mission Committee' for the missionaries and the ordained or to-be-ordained ministers. Its meetings were intended to lead to a sharing of responsibilities and discuss common concerns, including financial matters and the preparation for other meetings or conferences. However, the local ministers experienced the Reformed Mission Committee as an initiative by the missionaries and, on occasion, used its meetings to level criticism at the missionaries, whom they accused of, for example, paternalism, exclusive control over financial resources, luxurious living conditions ("The missionaries have more water taps in their gardens than we have in our houses") and racism in their social lives.

In 1998, two local ministers visited Kampen without the intervention of missionaries, a major step towards a direct relationship with the Netherlands Reformed Church in Kampen.

Sithole) and, in 1999, the Reformed Church Umbumbulu-Umlazi (minister: Rev. T.P. Hlela) were instituted.

[104] By the end of the 20th century, the Regional Council Itheku consisted of the following Church Councils: KwaMashu, KwaMncane, Mid-Illovo, Ndaleni, Nqutu, and Umlazi-Umbumbulu. In 2004, the Church of Nqutu was dissolved and divided over four independent Church Councils: Isandlwana, Munywana, Ndindindi, and Nkande. On 17th August 2005, a combined Regional Council was held by the Afrikaans speaking Regional Council Natal (consisting of 12 Church Councils, representing about 3 500 church members) and the isiZulu speaking Regional Council Itheku (consisting of 9 church Councils, representing about 3 000 church members). The combined meeting was a decisive step in the direction of integration. In 2007, it was decided by the Regional Council Itheku to dissolve itself, in order that its members would integrate with one of the newly established Regional Councils KwaZulu-Natal South and KwaZulu-Natal North. Outstanding matters were dealt with until, on 7th May 2009, in KwaMncane, Itheku's last meeting took place.

Chapter 17: Reformed Mission Enkumane in Action

17.1 Introduction

During the course of the past 50 years the Reformed Mission and the eNkumane Community developed a symbiotic relationship which can be described in terms of the following categories: church work, individual help and development (*ukusontisa, ukusizabantu nentutuko*). The area developed from a Government Trust Farm under the authority of a Commissioner of Native Affairs, into a part of the KwaZulu Homeland and finally, into a Ward of the Richmond Municipality. During this process, the Reformed Mission was accepted as part of the area. It contributed to its development in several ways: it opened several Church buildings annex Primary Schools; it started a Clinic; it facilitated contact between the Government and the Community, it provided transport and means of communication (post and telephone); it opened a grocery shop and a boarding school; it operated a maize grinding machine; it facilitated a yearly Easter Feast; it offered training for church leaders; it established a Mission Post which, until today, is one of the biggest employers in the area with a permanent staff of eleven South African employees. At present, the activities at the Mission Post concentrate on three major fields: church work, medical care and training facilities. The Reformed Mission supports several local church congregations with Sunday services, prayer meetings and training; it is involved with several social networks in the community; it maintains a Primary Health Care Clinic and a VCT Clinic;[1] and it has a conference centre where youth meetings, conferences and courses are held, some organized by the Mission itself.

Although the community never supported the Reformed Mission in a substantial material way, it accepted the presence of the Mission in the area. At present, the community uses the Mission Post for meetings, including weddings, for training sessions, school holiday classes, as a monthly Pension Pay Point, as a monthly service point for a Government mobile clinic, as a permanent community clinic, as an advice centre, for example for pension problems, and as a centre for the various activities of the Reformed Church Enkumane. Furthermore, the Mission is asked for assistance with funerals, for prayer meetings on special occasions and for Bible lessons at two of the local Primary Schools.[2]

In this chapter several examples are given of contact points between the Reformed Mission and the eNkumane community, situations where the Mission and the community meet, communicate and share: the funerals, the singing of *amakhorasi*, the prayer meeting, the teaching situation, the clinic and the church service.

17.2 Funerals

By far the most open and hospitable occasions at the local homesteads in the area are funerals. Usually, representatives from the Mission are welcome to attend funerals and, when they do, are expected to 'open the Word' (*ukuvula iZwi*) in this situation. Sometimes, often via the leadership of the Reformed Church Enkumane, the Mission is explicitly invited to attend a funeral. In that case, the Mission is expected to contribute to the proceedings,

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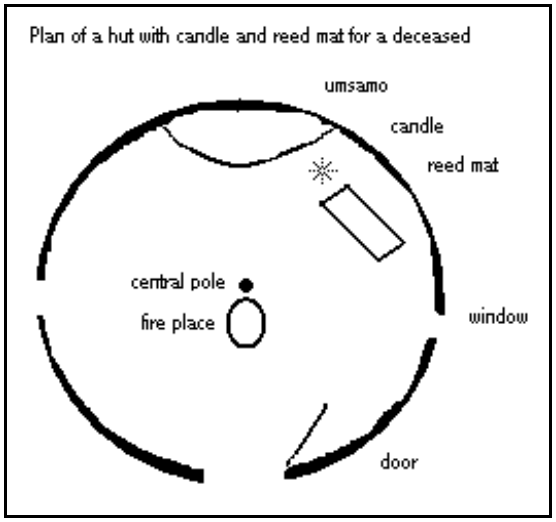
[1] VCT = Voluntary Counselling and Testing for HIV.

[2] Bible lessons are given at the eMahlalini Primary School in eMachobeni and at the Mqlombeni Primary School in eNkumane.



especially during the prayer meeting on the evening before the burial, during the morning prayer meeting shortly before the burial and at the grave. Although the local funerals seem to have a rather informal character the proceedings follow a certain pattern which may be illustrated by the following example.

On 5th and 6th June 2009, a funeral took place at a homestead close to the Reformed Mission Post. During the afternoon of Friday 5th June, the coffin arrived containing the body of a 43 year old man who was born at the homestead, but who had lived in one of the townships around Durban, where he worked. The coffin was accompanied by the deceased's two wives, also from Durban, each with one of the two deceased's children. The coffin was placed in one of the round huts on the right side of the *umsamo*, the part of the hut opposite the entrance door. Left of the *umsamo* the mother of the deceased sat down on a reed mat facing the coffin. Behind her the two wives of the deceased sat down in a similar position.[3] Each of the three women was covered with a blanket isolating her from the other people who attended the funeral.[4] Another blanket was placed over the coffin and on top of the blanket a small branch, *umlahlankosi*.[5] The small branch had accompanied the deceased from the place of death, a

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[3] The position of the mother of the deceased in front of his wives, probably indicates that the deceased had not been married officially. H. Ngubane (1977, p.80-81) writes about the chief mourner: "It is significant that the chief mourner is always a married woman. She is the chief mourner when her husband and her unmarried children die... An unmarried woman is never a chief mourner." However in the example described in this chapter, the impression was given that there were three chief mourners, with the mother of the deceased in a senior position.

[4] Writing about the role of women in the situations of birth and burial, H. Ngubane (1977, p.98-99) writes: "These situations are associated with married women, who fulfil the important social role of forming a bridge between two worlds... new ritual boundaries have to be set out between the truly normal world and the uncertain world represented by an individual in a marginal state. Hence the use of insulating materials, e.g. the [mother who has just given birth] and the chief mourner are covered up in a blanket."

[5] The small branch with small leaves is taken from a specific type of tree, the '*uMlahlankosi*' or '*uMphafa*' (the Buffalo-Thorn Jujube; *Ziziphus mucronata*; V. Thomas & R. Grant, 2004, p.158-159). Traditionally, at the feast of *ukubuyisa* (par.8.2), the branch is used to guide the *umoya* (spirit) of the *umufi* (deceased) from the grave to the *umsamo* (part of the round main hut of the homestead opposite the hut door). In the case that the family moves house, a similar branch may be used to transfer the *umoya* from one homestead to the other. Before the *umoya* is moved from one place to the other, a goat is slaughtered and a piece of its meat is fixed to the branch to guide the *umoya*. During the 20th century, it became common, especially when a person died far away from his homestead, to guide the *umoya* (spirit) of a *umufi* (deceased) with a small branch of *uMlahlankosi* to accompany the corpse (*isidumbu*) while it is transported from the place of death to the homestead, where the burial takes place. The inherent idea is that the *umoya* (spirit) of the deceased (*umufi*) should not be separated from the *isidumbu* before the *umufi* is properly buried, otherwise the *umoya* cannot come to rest and will endlessly wander around. In the excerpt of an interview by A-I. Berglund (1976, p.83) the unity of the *umufi* (deceased) and *isidumbu* (corpse) at the burial is expressed as follows.

"Where does *umufi* go?"

"He goes into the earth. That is his new place."...

"Is it correct to say that *umufi* is *umuntu* without *isidumbu*?"

"Sometimes it can be said. But when *isidumbu* is in the grave, then it rots. *Umufi* cannot rot. He is the

hospital in Durban, to his homestead in eNkumane. On the floor, between the head side of the coffin and the *umsamo*, a burning candle was placed.[6] Three long tree branches were placed leaning over the coffin against the wall of the hut. A white sheet was attached to the branches concealing the coffin from sight. During the evening and right through the night a vigil (*umlindelo*) was held. During the vigil several neighbours and family members arrived who spent most of the time in silence. A prayer meeting was held consisting of the singing of choruses (par.17.3), a reading from the Bible, a sermon, prayers and personal testimonies comforting the bereaved family or commemorating the deceased (par.17.4).

Before sunrise, most of the family members left the hut.[7] The women started preparing a meal. The men started to dig a grave in front of the hut.[8] Usually, the grave is about one metre wide and two metres long and deep, while at the bottom two ridges of earth were left in place along the long side of the grave on which branches cut to size would be

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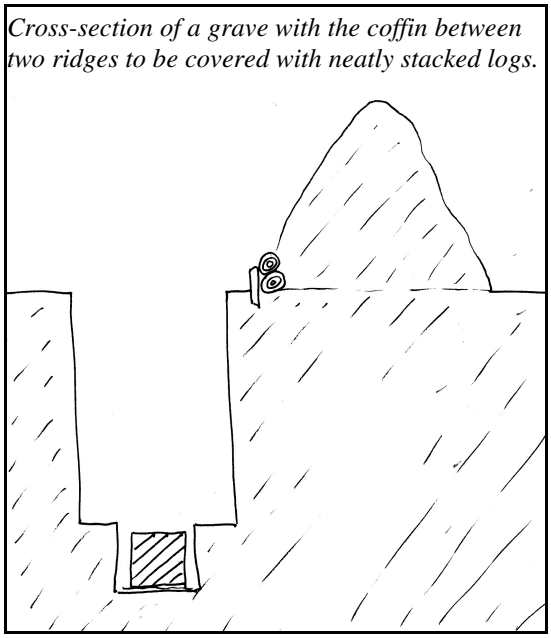
one that has gone down."
Commonly, the word *abaphansi* (= those down there) is used for 'deceased people who are properly buried'. Some interviews insist that the *umoya* does not stay inside but closely above the grave until it is collected by its descendants and brought to the *umsamo* at the feast of *ukubuyisa*.

[6] None of the interviewees was able to explain clearly the meaning of the burning candle (*ikhandlela*). It was suggested that, maybe, the candle guides the spirit of the deceased to the homestead, or it connects or introduces the spirit of the deceased to the spirits already present in or above the *umsamo*, the part of the main hut opposite the entrance. The candle is always placed at the short head side of the coffin, in between the coffin and the *umsamo*. In the case a person died elsewhere, but will be buried in his homestead, a candle is lighted as soon as the message about the death is received. A reed mat is rolled out in anticipation on the spot where the coffin will be placed, just right of the *umsamo*. On the mat some personal items are placed, usually including a change of clothes and, sometimes, also a picture of the deceased. The candle is placed in-between the *umsamo* and the reed mat. Sometimes, on the day of the burial, the candle is carried in front of the coffin when it is brought from the house to the grave. It may be suggested that the burning of the candle derives from church rites and marks the presence of a spirit (*umoya*).

[7] Sometimes the digging of a grave starts in the middle of the night so the burial can take place early in the morning.

[8] Like many aspects of the burial, the choosing of the site of the grave was also extensively discussed by the men. Usually, people of old age are buried directly in front of the main hut of the homestead. Younger people who die as result of a sickness, like in the case described in this chapter, are buried more to the side. Sometimes, family members who died because of an accident or through suicide are buried closer to the perimeter of the homestead. An even more extreme reaction to catastrophes is described by H. Ngubane (1977, p.81): "People who die in accidents such as a car crash or by drowning, or who are stuck by lightning, or who die in fighting, or who are murdered, are never [sic] brought within the homestead premises, but are buried outside, without ceremony, while weeping is restrained. The same applies also to those who die of incurable diseases such as epilepsy and chronic chest diseases."
In rare cases, what A-I. Berglund (1976, p.364-370) calls, 'funerary inversions' take place. In 2007, one of these cases took place in the working area of the Reformed Mission Enkumane, when an albino girl was buried. The girl was not called a person but a monkey (*inkawu*). Her burial took place not in the middle of the day but in the middle of the night. The grave was dug not outside in front of the hut but inside at the back of the hut. The body was not placed right of the *umsamo* but left of the *umsamo*. Contrary, to Berglund's account (idem, p.364), during the funeral, no special entrance was made at the back of the hut. After the funeral, the hut was not used anymore for any purpose and it was no longer maintained. Most of the interviewees asked about this burial stated not to know anything about it. Some remembered that in the past, when a set of twins was born, one of the babies would be killed and buried outside against the wall of the main hut of a homestead directly right of the door and that for a long period the water with which the other child was washed was poured over the grave. Some interviewees indicated that the corpse of an albino person, also called '*isishaywa*' (a cursed person), holds special powers and that such a person is buried inside the hut to prevent other people diging open the grave to retrieve body parts they believe have special power.



Cross-section of a grave with the coffin between two ridges to be covered with neatly stacked logs.

placed to cover the coffin like a roof. While the digging continued, several more, in total about twenty, men from the neighbourhood arrived to assist with the digging, which included the removal of several heavy stones and lasted for more than six hours.

Around half past ten, while still more people arrived, some from as far as Durban, a second prayer meeting started in the hut. During this meeting one of the younger family members acted as the Master of Ceremony. She led the singing of choruses and gave some of the people the opportunity to talk on behalf of, for example, the paternal family, the maternal family, the neighbourhood, the working place of the deceased and his friends. They were spontaneously followed by others who stood up, started a chorus and shared some of their memories about the deceased or some words of comfort. Many of these short speeches contained the wish that the deceased might have a safe journey (*Hamba kahle*), or that he might take on the duty of looking after his homestead and his remaining relatives (*Gad' umuzi wakho*), or they encouraged the mourning relatives to accept the situation as it was (*Siyadlula sonke*, or *UNkulunkulu otshalile uyavuna*).[9] After the speeches, opportunity was given for the donation of gifts (*izimbali*), which usually consist of reed mats, blankets, pillows and some donations in money. After the gifts were collected, one of the leaders of the Reformed Church Enkumane introduced the minister inviting him to 'open the Word'.[10]

Twice during the proceedings, one of the men digging the grave, entered the hut to measure the coffin with a rope. When, about half past twelve, he came in for the third time he sat down beside the coffin and whispered something in the ear of the Master of Ceremony, a clear indication for everybody in the hut that the grave was ready. More men entered the hut and slowly took away the sheet hanging over the coffin. The three branches were removed and the part of the lid of the coffin above the head of the deceased was opened. The candle was lifted up to shine in the coffin and people were invited to have a last look at the deceased (*ukubonwa*). While a chorus was being sung many who passed by the open coffin wished the deceased a safe journey (*Hamba kahle*). Some, including the two wives of the deceased, burst out crying. After all, who wished to do so, had had a last look at the deceased, the lid was closed again and the coffin fully covered with the blanket.

Before the men lifted up the coffin to carry it to the grave, a last prayer was said. Subsequently the coffin was lifted up by male members of the family. A discussion then evolved whether the head or the feet should leave the hut first. It was decided that the feet should leave first. The men taking turns carrying the coffin followed a paternal uncle of the

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[9] In the case of the burial of a girl or young women the expression "*UNkulunkulu uthathe imbali*" (God has taken a flower) is often used.

[10] A popular reading from the Bible at funerals is John 14:1-2.

deceased who carried the candle.[11] The small branch of *uMlahlinkosi* was laid on the blanket covering the coffin. The coffin was followed by the family, the minister with a Bible and the neighbours.[12]

Outside, the coffin was placed at the side of the grave and, on the other side, a reed mat was rolled out for the mother and the wives of the deceased to sit on. The men stood at one side of the grave behind the coffin, the women at the other side around the mother and the wives - about ninety people in total. The minister led those present at the grave in the recitation of the Apostolic Creed and in prayer after which he said the benediction. While the male family members of the deceased lowered the coffin into the grave those standing around joined in the singing of choruses. First a reed mat was cut open at the sides with a spade and placed at the bottom of the grave. Then the coffin was lowered down by hand and placed on the mat. Tree branches cut to size were placed on the ridges alongside the coffin forming a roof above it. Over the branches, another reed mat was placed stretched flat with some more branches and sealed with a layer of soil around the edges. Before filling the upper part of the grave, one of the men filled a spade with loose soil and offered it to the minister to throw some of it in the grave.[13] Subsequently, the relatives of the deceased approached the grave, took some soil from the spade and threw it into the grave. Some wished the deceased a safe journey. Some, especially the wives of the deceased burst out crying. Others added some of their sputum to the soil to make it a more personal contribution. After all the relatives had passed by the grave, the men picked up their spades and hoes and filled the grave with soil finishing their work with a heap of soil over the grave surrounded, especially at the lower part, by some stones to prevent the sand being washed away by rain.

The final part of the burial was the cleansing of those who were in close contact with the body of the eceased.[14] At some distance from the grave, the men who dug the grave

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[11] A senior male member of the household, sometimes, like in the example described in this chapter, a paternal uncle of the deceased, is supposed to lead the procession to the grave, sometimes with the *uMlahlankosi* or the burning candle in his hand. Usually, however, the *uMlahlankosi* is placed on the coffin and the candle is left behind in the hut.

[12] The order in which people follow the coffin from the hut to the grave seems to be quite arbitrary. Sometimes, especially if the deceased was a full member of a church, the family encourages the minister(s) to walk ahead of the coffin. At least one of the ministers is expected to carry a Bible.

[13] The minister, who is the first one to throw some sand into the open grave, is supposed to say some words such as "*Ungumhlabathi uzophenduka umhlabathi*" (Genesis 3:19). Or more elaborate: "*Njengokuba bekukuhle kuNkulunkulu uMninimandla onke, ukuthatha umphefumulo womufi lo esibeka isidumbu sakhe kulelithuna, uNkulunkulu uthe: 'Uluthuli, uzobuyela othulini', ngenxa yalokho umzimba ubekwa ethuneni, umphefumulo ubuyela kuNkulunkulu lapho uvela khona. Ngesikhathi esithile abasemathuneni bazakuzwa izwi leNdodana yeSintu, bavuke*" (Ikomidi, 1965, p.89). Sometimes, the two expressions are combined to, for example: *"Uthuli ubuyela othulini, umhlabathi ubuyela emhlabathini*." In the *IBhayibheli eliNgcwele* (1959), *uthuli* instead of *umhlabathi* is used in Psalm 103:14.

[14] The actual period of cleansing continues after the day of the burial. For the men involved with the digging of the grave and the carrying of the coffin, the cleansing spans a period of a few weeks, while the mourning period for the male relatives ends after three months at the *ukukhumula* feast (par.8.2). On the day of the burial, after the grave has been completed, the men wash their hands in a basin which contains water and *umswani*, the contents of the intestines of a goat slaughtered outside the homestead on the day before the funeral and, sometimes, some strong-smelling herbs (*imithi yentelezi*), such as mint or dill (*imbozisa*). The cleansing is called *ukugeza ubunyama*, the cleansing from darkness. One or more days after the funeral, male relatives and neighbours may join in a symbolic hunting party (*ukujikijela*, the throwing of stone). This party ends with the cleansing of spears by holding them point down in running water to ward off the association with death. The holding of the spears in running water is called *ukukhipa ihlambo*, or in a more modern version *ukukhipa ibhadi*,

cleansed their hands in a basin with water and goat dung and herbs to free themselves from the association with death. At the same time, the mother and the wives of the deceased were brought outside the homestead to be cleansed with the water in another similar basin. After the cleansing, the women returned to the homestead with small pieces of firewood, symbolically showing that they were not completely bewildered by the death and were still able to take care of their household duties.[15] Finally, those who attended the funeral joined in a meal with extra meat and beer.

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the removal of bad luck.
On the day after the funeral, the children and cattle of the homestead are cleansed with protective medicines (*amakhubalo*). The cattle are supposed to stay in the kraal (*esibayeni*) on the day of the funeral, especially when the head of the household is buried.
The chief mourner, in the case described in this chapter, the deceased's mother (and his two wives), is assumed to have been in direct contact with the deceased's body. Her cleansing is more elaborate and is completed only at the end of the mourning period (*ukuzila*). According to H. Ngubane (1977, p.82): "To be near a corpse by being present at the burial gives one a mild form of pollution, but to touch it inflicts a strong form of pollution, which requires more elaborate cleansing rites." For the chief mourner, the mourning period lasts about a year in the case of the death of a married man, about half a year when the deceased was unmarried and about three months, when the deceased was a child. On the day of the funeral, after the grave is completed, the chief mourner is led outside the homestead and washes her hands in a basin with water and *umswani* (the contents of the intestines of a goat) to cleanse herself (*ukugeza ubunyama*). Often, she returns to the homestead, with some small pieces of firewood, symbollically showing that she is still able to fulfil her household duties. "The blanket is removed from her face after the burial and only then she may speak" (idem, p.83).At the end of the day, she is expected to go to a river, wash herself, shave her head and return to the homestead in mourning clothes. The following morning, before sunrise, the chief mourner goes back to the river and washes her body again. The colour of the mourning clothes is black or dark blue. Sometimes, when the deceased was involved in a accident, the chief mourner will be dressed in dark clothes with white dots. The mourning clothes are used until the day the spirit of the deceased is brought back (*ukubuyisa*) from the grave to the main hut of the homestead. On that day, a small branch of a tree (*umlahlankosi*) is used to guide the spirit from the grave to the *umsamo* (opposite the door of the homestead's main hut) from where the spirit looks after the family.
The central position of a married woman in the cleansing rituals underlines H. Ngubane's hypothesis (idem, p.82-99) that there is a strong parallel between the ideas about pollution around birth and around death, suggesting that death is a form of second birth. This is also expressed in the words of some of the speakers during the prayer meeting just before the burial "*Sonke sizodlula*" (we'll all pass on). Similarly, interviewees who are members of the Reformed Church, indicated that they see death as the way to go to heaven (*indlela eya ezulwini*) and to be united with Jesus and with their ancestors. Some interviewees think that the spirits of believers on their way to heaven can be assisted with food and prayer. Contrary to Ngubane's hypothesis about the role of a married woman as chief mourners, M.M. Fuze (1922, 1979, p.27) remarks: "[The death] of a chief [*inkosi*] is different in that all the men shave their heads as the women do on the death of their husbands, for the chief is regarded as the husband of all the men who are bereaved."
The church does not play any role in the purification rites, unless, as is the procedure in more urban areas, about a year after the burial, the family organizes an official unveiling of the tombstone. The unveiling of the tombstone often takes the form of a service or prayer meeting. Generally, in the Reformed churches, the official unveiling of tombstones is discouraged, as it is thought to be a modern form of *ukubuyisa* which is also thought to be an improper practice for Christians.

[15] The symbolically collecting of firewood by the female main mourner has a parallel in the symbolic hunting party (*ukujikijela*) of the male relatives of the deceased This hunting party takes part one or more days after the funeral and has no serious intention of hunting game. Anything small can be brought home, for example a bird hit with a stone. Traditionally, the party ends with the cleansing of spears in running water, the removal of bad luck (*ukukhipa ibadi*).

17.3 Expressions of Faith: Choruses

17.3.1 Introduction

It proved quite difficult in the context of this research to reflect with interviewees on matters of faith and church. The method of direct interviewing proved more or less fruitless. People seemed to look for 'correct' answers or failed to answer questions. For example, a common answer to questions about the impact of faith, revolved around 'forgiveness of sins' (*ukuthethelelwa kwezono*). A follow-up question about what types of sins were forgiven, was usually left unanswered. So it was decided to choose a more indirect approach to gain insight into the impact of faith and matters of the Church on the life and mind-set of the members of the Reformed Church Enkumane. In order to collect some information in this respect, it was decided to concentrate on more spontaneous expressions of faith, such as the singing of choruses (*amakhorasi*) and the giving of personal testimonies during prayer meetings (*ukufakaza emthandazweni*; par.17.4).

During the years 2002 and 2003 a collection of a total of 151 *amakhorasi* (Appendix C) was made. The *amakhorasi* consist of songs with a short text and a short melodic and rhythmic pattern. During the given period, each chorus was performed spontaneously in the area under research at least once. Contrary to the performance of other songs (*amaculo*), the performance of *amakhorasi* needs a chorus leader who triggers the singing and leads others in a pattern of repetitions.[16] During the years 2002, 2003 and 2004 the collected *amakhorasi* were recorded on tape and put in writing, with special attention to the role of the chorus leader. Furthermore, they were discussed with volunteers in yearly *amakhorasi* workshops. To interpret the content of the *amakhorasi* four different performance contexts were identified, against which the individual choruses have a relevant meaning.

17.3.2 Historical Background of *amaKhorasi*

Until the last quarter of the 20th century South African Churches of European origin continued to use a liturgy, including church music, that was predominantly Western. Also African Initiated Churches of the 'Ethiopian' type initially continued to use church hymns and music that was predominantly Western, characterised by fixed rhythms and diatonic music. "The 'Ethiopian' churches, founded since the 1880's in opposition to white domination, have generally continued to use mission hymns and songs, but the 'Zionist' or 'indigenous spiritual' churches ... have been much more innovative musically, joyfully embracing African rhythm and ignoring the ... taboo on drumming."[17] The difference might be explained by the influence of American Faith Missions, which originated from the Holiness Movement in the United States of America, on the origin of Zionist churches in Southern Africa (par.10.8).

An essential factor which led to the origin of the American Holiness Movement was the "Great Migration of African Americans [in the United States of America] from South to North. What began as a trickle in the latter years of the 19th century became a flood by World War I. The two most commonly given reasons for this mass exodus have been the intensifying oppression of blacks in the South and the increasing employment opportunities in

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[16] Examples of *amakhorasi* wherein the chorus leader plays a marginal role: Appendix A: no. 14, 35, 88 and 101.

0. D. Dargie, 1997, p.323.

the North."[18] Popular destinations were cities such as Chicago, Detroit, New York and Philadelphia. "The new urban African-American world brought about almost immediately changes in the economic, social and musical lives of original city residents and wide-eyed immigrants alike. It is not surprising then, that this new world would need a new religion as well... After an explosive period of growth, the new movement began to splinter in the 1880's, dividing into numerous smaller Holiness-related denominations."[19] "Whatever the absence of decorum in the folk of Holiness churches, they were places of refuge that filled an emptiness in bad lives, that raised people out of despair. The shouts, the rhythmic chanting, the foot stomps, the preaching, the singing, the handclaps, the degree of personal participation made for an intense emotional experience."[20] Around the turn of the century the American Holiness Movement developed into its most prominent form: the Pentecostal Movement, characterized by speaking in tongues, faith healing and emotional worship.[21]

Around the beginning of the 20th century the first South African Pentecostal and Zionist Churches were established inspired by the American Pentecostal Movement to find their own ways of expressing Christian faith.[22] In this Movement, the church liturgy centred around revivals and healing and, moreover, the church music, which was predominantly based on traditional 18th and 19th century Spirituals marked by pentatonic tunes, solo-group alternation and by poly-rhythmic handclapping and stamping.[23] At the end of the 19th century, the Spirituals gave way to more elaborate hymns, often from Euro-American origin, adapted to a more rhythmic way of singing. During the first half of the 20th century the rhythmic hymns developed into what is still known as Gospel music, marked by a free-rhythmic ornate style of singing and an echoing bass voice.[24]

Stimulated by the contact with American Churches such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church (par.10.7.2), African Initiated Churches developed their own form of indigenous church music, called '*amakhorasi*' or 'choruses'.[25] *Amakhorasi* consist of short songs with a specific melody and rhythmic pattern fit to be repeated many times. The

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[18] R. Darden, 2005, p.131.

[19] R. Darden, 2005, p.138-139.

[20] L.F. Litwack, 1999, p.395-396.

[21] R. Darden (2005, p.139) mentions the 'Assemblies of God', the 'Church of God' and the 'Church of God of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith' as "the three main components of modern Pentecostalism."

[22] H. Pretorius & L. Jafta, 1997, p.217. The influence of Pentecostalism in Southern Africa followed racial lines, reserving the name 'Pentecostal' for mainly 'white' churches and 'Zionist' for 'black' churches.

[23] W.T. Walker (1974, pp.43, 32, 84), "The Spirituals were born in slavery... They are, at first, the Negro obsession for freedom,... After the Emancipation Proclamation by President A. Lincoln came into effect in 1863, during the American Civil War, the use of Spirituals got into decline for formal worship. So sharp was the decline in the use of the Spirituals in formal worship services that the great body of them might have become extinct had it not been for their popularization through the national and international tours of the Fisk Jubilee Singers that began around 1875."

[24] Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia Deluxe, 2000; in the present research only one chorus (no.12) was found, which might be marked as an example of Gospel Music.

[25] Striking content similarities between the 18th and 19th century Spirituals and the *amakhorasi* found in the present research are the following. The 18th century Spiritual of William Cowper, "There is a fountain filled with blood" (W.T. Walker, 1974, p.113), seems to be closely related to *ikhorasi* no.21, "*Egolgotha kukhon' umtombo wegazi*". Other common themes are the fall of the Walls of Jericho (Spiritual: "Joshua Fit de Battle of Jericho", idem, p.59; *ikhorasi* no.47: "*Izindonga*") and the Jordan River (Spirituals: "Deep River" and "Roll, Jordan, Roll", idem, p.61; *ikhorasi* no.107: "*Siliwelile*).

performance of *amakhorasi* is triggered by a chorus leader who chooses a pattern of repetitions and leads the congregation in supporting body movements and handclapping. Especially in Zionist Churches, the singing is supported by drums or rattles.[26] In more formal situations, there is a tendency to slow down the speed of the performance and to leave out the handclapping or to restrict it to a simple rhythmic beat.

In a more restricted way (no drumming and rattles), mostly outside the official church services, African church music also found its way in women's (*manyano*) and young men's (*amadodana*) groups in the churches of European origin, especially in African Methodist Churches like the Bantu Methodists and the Transkei Methodists.[27] "Among churches like certain African Methodist groups, singing may be somewhat more restrained than the 'Zionist style' - that is, church songs with drum and African rhythm ... This singing nonetheless uses African rhythm - clapping, body movement, and beating of hymn-books with the open palm. Many songs are not hymns arranged in verses but choruses of frequently repeated single-line texts or simple verses more closely related to the cyclic songs of African music than to the stylized structures of Western hymns. Such songs are called *amakhorasi* or choruses."[28]

During the last quarter of the 20th century the acceptance of *amakhorasi* in the churches of European origin was facilitated by a charismatic revival movement and by the political resistance and freedom movements in South Arica.[29] The Churches started to look

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[26] Hymns (*amaculo*) do play an important role in Zionist Churches, as may be illustrated with the publication of the liturgy book *Incwadi Yomthandazo Nama Culo Ase Zion*, issued by the "Holy Ethiopic Catholic Church in Zion" (N.D.J. Marwa, 1990), which contains a collection of 101 hymns with each 4 to 5 verses each, but no collection of *amakhorasi*.

[27] In a more or less natural way, several hymns of the Methodist hymn book *Icilongo Levangeli* (Ikomiti, 1905,1996), hereafter shortened to IL, developed into *amakhorasi*. Several *amkhorasi* originate from choruses (refrains) of hymns in IL. Others were already listed as *amakhorasi* in IL. A third group of *amakhorasi* has developed from small phrases of hymns in IL. A number of *amakhorasi* found in the present research (see Appendix C) could be traced back to IL, sometimes with slightly different wording.
Amakhorasi in the present research which originally were choruses (refrains) of hymns in IL:
no.28 *Esandleni* = IL116; no.92 *O bayede* = IL.62; no.94 *O nxa ebizwa* = IL.240; no.95 *Ophuzayo* = IL.155; no.131 *Uma singena* = IL.103; no.146 *We Ngonyama* = IL.126.
Amakhorasi in the present research which are also listed as *amakhorasi* in IL:
no.33 *Hamb' ekukhanyeni* = IL.2; no. 34 *Hamba naye* = IL.7; no.85 *Ngizikhethele mina* = IL.5; no.103 *Sinesithembiso* = IL.8.
Amakhorasi in the present research which have developed from phrases of hymns in IL:
no.90 *Nokuphathwa* = IL.110; no.135 *Uthando lukaBaba* = IL.18.
Compare a similar example in no.25 *Engibiza ngimlandela* , which was originally a single phrase in hymn 301 in the hymn book *Amagama okuhlabelela* (The Mission Press, 1850, 2002)

[28] D. Dargie, 1997, p.325.

[29] B. Smith, 1997, p.318-319.
An example of a specific collection of *amakhorasi* published by the end of the 20th century is:
- *AmaKhorasi eMvuselelo - Revival Choruses* (D.M. Sigasa; undat.)
An example of *amakhorasi* incorporated in a hymn book is:
- *Icilongo Levangeli* (Ikomiti, 1905, 1996) containing 262 hymns (*amaculo*) and 35 *amakhorasi*.
Examples of revival song books containing hymns and choruses published by the end of the 20th century are:
- *AmaCulo eMvuselelo* (Ikomiti, 1990) containing 70 revival songs (*amaculo*) and 25 revival choruses (*amakhorasi*)
- *Amaculo namaKhorasi okudumisa* (M.T. Shezi & S.J. Nhlapho, 1989), a collection of 185 songs in English, Sotho or Zulu. A number of *amakhorasi* found in the present research (Appendix C) are also mentioned in *Amaculo namaKhorasi okudumisa* (hereafter shortened to ANO), sometimes with slightly different wording:
no.30 *Ewe Jesu* = ANO.138; no.32 *E'nsukwini* = ANO.123; no.35 *Hamba nhlinziyo* = ANO.147; no.42 *Ithemba*

for and develop their African identity and relevance and turned more and more to *amakhorasi* as part of their African liturgy.

Although *amakhorasi* may be composed purposely, many of them have developed as the result of a melodic repetition of a sentence derived from the Bible or from an existing hymn.[30] An example of a chorus derived from a hymn is '*Nokupathwa*' (Appendix C, no.90), consisting partly of the third and fourth line of the first verse of the following hymn:[31]

We, bathandwa, yek' inhlanhla	We, beloved, what luck we have
Yokukholwa uy' uJesu	To believe in Jesus
Nokuphathwa ezakh' izandla	And be held in his hands
Asiyise ekhaya ngale	And carried to that [heavenly] house

17.3.3 Performance Contexts of *amaKhorasi*

Amakhorasi are common property and may be performed at any occasion. This makes a categorisation of *amakhorasi* difficult and is a warning not to take the content of a specific performance too seriously. I remember a mechanic working on my car, singing an *ikhorasi* (no.13), which is categorised in this research as a 'Funeral Chorus'. Slightly worried, I asked the mechanic to explain the song, but as an answer he just shrugged his shoulders.

Nevertheless, *amakhorasi* do have a specific context ('*Sitz im Leben*'[32]) against which they may be understood. The following four different performance contexts were identified: revival (*imvuselelo*), praise-and-worship (*indumiso*), funeral (*umgcwabo*), and comfort (*induduzo*).[33] About 50% of the *amakhorasi* collected in the present research can be categorised as revival songs, as fitting most meaningfully in a revival context. About 20% of the *amakhorasi* were categorised as praise-and-worship songs. About 15% each as funeral and as comfort songs. As *amakhorasi* have their historical background in revival movements (par.17.2), it can be no surprise that most of them actually fall into this category.[34]

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lami =ANO.137; no.83 *Ngisondela* = ANO.121; no.94 *O nxa ebizwa* = ANO.145 (cf. IL.240); no.106 *Sivuselele* = ANO.142; no.129 *Ukuthula* = ANO.143.

[30] Similar observations about the origin of Spirituals are made by W.T. Walker (1974, pp.31,52): "Frequently, snatches of verses lifted directly from hymns of Euro-American authorship were incorporated into Spiritual music form... The primary source of the lyric material is the Holy Bible."

[31] Ikomiti, 1996, no.110. Recently, new *amakhorasi* have been developed from songs spread via radio and CD's, for example the chorus 'Umkhuleko unamandla' (not in Apendix C), derived from the song 'Ulalela' by Sipho Makhabane, from his album *Injabulo* (CCP Record Co, 2000).

[32] The term *Sitz im Leben* was coined by H. Gunkel (1926) and S. Mowinckel in their functional analyses of Old Testament Psalms. They typified and interpreted Psalms according to their function in the Temple Cult (Th.C. Vriezen & A.S. van der Woude, 1984, p.262-263).

[33] A similar observation about the context of Spirituals has been made by W.T. Walker (1974, p.109): "To some degree the Spirituals were reserved for the pre-service 'devotions', prayer meetings and revivals." In this series, the specific setting of 'funerals' is probably omitted by mistake.

[34] In his collection D.M. Sigasa typifies all *amakhorasi* as revival choruses, which are to be used in the first place during revival meetings, but also during other meetings, especially where youth are present: "*Alungele iziMvuselelo, amaConferences, amaConventions, izinkonzo zaBasha, izinkonzo zikaSonto Skole, imithandazo yasemakhaya ... kanye nayo yonke imihlangano nemibuthano engcwele, ngoba isithembiso esethu nabantwana bethu, nabo bonke abakude*" (D.M. Sigasa, undat., p.1).

17.3.4 Revival Choruses

Regarding the impact of African Initiated Churches (AICs) on people's lives, C.B. Thetele remarked: "The AICs in South Africa in many ways are both pre-revolutionary and actively revolutionary at the same time. They are pre-revolutionary in the sense that they do not operate according to a set plan or strategy in trying to move society towards a specific goal. But they are revolutionary in their impact on the fabric of society, creating a change that provides dispossessed people with a sense of hope and a vision for the future."[35] A characteristic situation in which these two elements are found together, is the revival meeting. Revival meetings are often mass meetings in a hall or a big tent, especially aimed at teenagers or young adults. Much time is spent in the singing of *amakhorasi*, followed by a sermon concentrating on evils, sins and blessings in a person's life. The attenders are invited to give their life to the Lord in a symbolic 'altar-call', which is an opportunity to come to the front to be prayed for and to make a new commitment in life. The revival meeting (*imvuselelo*) is pre-revolutionary in the sense that it does not give a blue-print for a new life, but revolutionary in the sense that it stresses a completely new start in life, a re-birth.

The combination of these two elements is evident in many *amakhorasi*. About 50% of the *amakhorasi* found in the present research, centre around key words like 'freedom', 'choice', 'conquer', 'walking in the light' and 'the coming judgement'. In the content of this type of *amakhorasi* the individual believer, or the believers as a group, hold a central position. They decide to turn away from sin and follow Jesus. Conversion in this context is like a 'rite de passage'[36], a public transformation to the full responsibilities of adulthood and a definite decision 'to walk the corridors of power'.[37]

The following excerpts of six *amakhorasi* may illustrate this type of revival chorus. For a full description see Appendix C under the corresponding numbers.

74.	*Ngangiboshiwe mina*	I was held bound
	Ngubani na?	By whom?
	Nguy' esathane	By Satan
	Ngikhululiwe mina	I am set free
	Ngubani na?	By whom?
	Nguy' uJehova	By Jehovah
85.	*Ngizikhethele mina*	I have made my choice
	Ukuhamba noJesu	To go with Jesus

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[35] C.B. Thetele, 1979, p.151.

[36] The French term 'rites de passage' was coined by the sociologist A. van Gennep (1905). According to M. Harris (1983, p.202), "Rites of passage accompany changes in structural position or statuses that are of general public concern ... Rites of passage conform remarkably similar patterns among widely dispersed cultures ... First, the principal performers are separated from the earlier routines associated with their earlier life. Second, decisive physical and symbolic steps are taken to extinguish the old statuses. Often these steps include the notion of killing the old personality ... Finally, the participants are ceremoniously returned to normal life."
The 'altar-call' during revival meetings can be described as a rite of passage, as a marker of re-birth. After a long meeting, those who want to become believers, or who want to renew their faith are called to the front, 'to the altar'. There they stand together. They are prayed for, individually, often in powerful loud prayer, while hands are laid upon their heads. Then they are sent back.

[37] P. Gifford, 1998, p.341: "Africa's new churches have a rather different agenda, one element is to walk the corridors of power".

114.	*Sonqoba ngemithandazo*	We will conquer by our prayers
117.	*Thutha lapho wakhe khona*	Move out from where you live
	Lo mhlab' uyazamazama	This world is shaking
	Lo mhlab' akusilon' ikhaya lam'	This world is not my home
143.	*Wamuhle uJehova*	Jehovah is very good
	Siyaya ezulweni	We go to heaven
	Unity is the power	Unity is the power
150	*Yiwo lawa yiwo lawa*	Here it is, here it is
	Zithathele amandla kaJehova	Accept the power of Jehovah
	Ungenzela konk' okuhle	He prepares for me all that is good
	UJehov' uBaba umalusi wami	Jehovah Father is my shepherd

17.3.5 Praise-and-Worship Choruses

A second situation in which choruses are frequently sung is the praise-and-worship (*indumiso*), the opening part of many church services. Ideally, the meaning of about 20% of the *amakhorasi* collected in the present research, fits in this context. Praise-and-Worship *amakhorasi* proclaim the greatness of God and Jesus and are full of thanks for God's intervention in our lives. Contrary to the revival choruses, which concentrate on the believer, praise-and-worship choruses focus on God and Jesus. The excerpts of the following four *amakhorasi* may illustrate this type of chorus. For a full description of the choruses see Appendix C under the corresponding numbers.

3.	*Akekh' ofana nawe*	There is nobody like you
	Sikwenza 'mkhulu wena	We magnify you
	Siyakubabaza	We praise you
	Siyakudumisa	We honour you
	Singumndeni 'munye	We are one family
32.	*E'nsukwin' zokuphila kwam'*	(All) the days of my life
	Baba, ngiyakubonga	Father, I thank You
92.	*O bayede, Nkosi yami*	O hail, my Lord
135.	*Uthando lukaBaba*	The love of our Father
	Lubanzi lujulile	Is wide and deep
	Lumnand' i'nsuku zonke	Is nice every day

Sometimes, the contents of the revival and of the praise-and-worship type of choruses look very similar. Compare, for example, revival chorus no.143 ("Jehovah is very good") with praise-and-worship chorus no.2 ("There is nobody like You"). The relative difference is a difference in focus. Revival choruses focus on the believer and the newly found power (no.143: "We go to heaven - unity is the power"), while praise-and-worship choruses focus on God and the feeling of being accepted by Him (no.2: "We honour You - we are one family").

17.3.6 Funeral Choruses

A third situation in which choruses are frequently sung is the funeral (*umngcwabo*;

par.17.2). During the night-vigil (*umlindelo*), during the prayer meeting in the morning and finally, at the grave the singing of *amakhorasi* is an important part of the proceedings. It fills the time of waiting, introduces speakers and helps to express emotions, especially grief.

The meanings of 15% of the choruses collected in the present research become evident in the context of funerals. Choruses of this type deal with topics like 'going home', 'our home in Jerusalem', 'the gates of heaven', 'the crossing of the Jordan River', and 'my hope', as can be illustrated with the following five examples. For a full description of these choruses see Appendix C under the corresponding numbers.

10.	*Asakhile lapha*	We have no house here
	Sinekhay' eJerusalema	We have a home in Jerusalem
13.	*Avulekil' amasang' ezulu*	The gates of heaven are open
	Thina siphum' enqam'lezweni	We escape our cross
17.	*Bawelile ngaphesheya*	They have crossed to the other side
	Ngophathani mhla ngifayo?	What will I carry on the day I die?
40.	*Intokozo yami*	My joy
	Ayikho lapha	It is not here
	Isemazulwini	It is in heaven
	Ikuphi namhlanje?	Where is it today?
	Isemazulwini	It is in heaven
	Bakithi simi	Our people stand
	SiseJoridane manje	We are at the Jordan now
	Abanye bayawela	Some cross
	Bayawela khona	They cross here
	Umful' omkhulu manje	The big river now
	Sebengaphesheya	They are already across
	Ngizwa izigi	I hear footsteps
	Ngizw' inhlokomo	I hear voices:
	UJes' useyabuya	Jesus is coming back
43.	*Ithemba lami lona*	With this my hope
	Ngonyuka nalo	I will go up
	Mangingene	May I enter
	Endumisweni	Into glory

17.3.7 Comfort Choruses

The fourth significant context of *amakhorasi* is the prayer meeting (*umthandazo*). Prayer meetings are visits by the congregation on a day during the week to families troubled with sickness or grief. After being welcomed by a member of the family visited, the meetings start with the singing of *amakhorasi* followed by a prayer and a sermon, followed by short personal testimonies aimed to encourage or to comfort the members of the family. Usually, each testimony is preceded by the singing of a chorus, triggered by the person who is about to give a testimony. After the testimonies the meeting is closed in prayer.

The meanings of 15% of the choruses collected in the present research become evident in the context of prayer meetings. They are characterised by references to feelings of

guilt, pain, sorrow and trust, and by key words like 'hide', 'the blood of Jesus[38]', and 'a difficult path'. Although, of course, there is overlap between choruses of the funeral and choruses of the comfort type, the first type concentrates more on feelings of relief and arrival, while the comfort choruses lay more stress on perseverance and longing for God's mercy.

The following five examples are excerpts of comfort choruses. For a full description of the choruses see Appendix C under the corresponding numbers.

21.	EGolgotha kukhon' umthombo	At Golgotha there is a well
	Umthombo wegazi	A well of blood
24.	Ekuhluphekweni kwami	In my suffering
	Mina sengikhala kuJehova	I call to Jehovah
28.	Esandleni esomusa	In the hands of grace
	Uyagcinwa	You are cared for
	Noma kungathini	Whatever happens
41.	Inzima le ndlela	This path is difficult
	Inameva iyahlaba	With thorns and pain
	Guq' uthandaze	Kneel and pray
134.	Usesigcine kwaze kwabe la	He took care of us up to here
	Thina simethembile	We trust Him

17.3.8 *AmaKhorasi* and the Bible

Some *amakhorasi* are clearly derived from Bible texts.[39] In a few cases a biblical message or doctrine is referred to, for example the following comfort chorus referring to Romans 5.8:

149.	*Yingoba engithandile*	Because He loved me so much
	Waze ngifela	He died for me
	Esiphambanweni	On the cross

However, in most instances the reference to a Bible text evokes an emotion, or gives comfort or a warning. Examples of *amakhorasi* which consist of almost literal quotations from the Bible are the following:

1.	(Revival chorus referring to Isaiah 40:31)	
	Abash' abakulel' ivangeli	Youngsters who belong to this Gospel
	Mabagijime bangakhathali	Let them run and not be tired
111.	(Revival chorus referring to Malachi 4:2)	

[38] The term 'well of blood' (*umthombo wegazi*) suggests power to live, as the blood does not clot. It seems to be equivalent to the 'well of water' as in *ikhorasi* no.95.

[39] Most quotations from the Bible, found *amakhorasi*, are derived from the *IBhayibheli eliNgcwele*, published in 1959 by the Bible Society of South Africa. However, in rare cases a quotation is derived from the the older Zulu Bible translation, the *IBaible eliNgcwele*, dated 1893, published by the Bible Society of South Africa for the first time in 1974. For example, chorus no.47, quoting Joshuwa 6:20, mentions *udonga* (= wall) as in *iBaible eliNgcwele* (1893), in stead of *ugange* as in *iBhayibheli eliNgcwele* (1959).

Siyakutshekula njengamatholo	We will jump like calves

121. (Comfort chorus referring to Psalm 23:2)

UJehova uNkulunkulu wami	Jehovah my God
Uyangihola emadlelwen' aluhlaza	Leads me to green pastures

144. (Comfort chorus referring to Luke 23:42)

We Jesu Nkosi	Jesus Lord
Ngikhumbule embusweni wakho	Remember me in your kingdom

147. (Revival chorus referring to Acts 10:33)

Wenze kahle wafika nawe	You have done well to come here
Sesilapha phambi kweNkosi	We are here in front of the Lord
Ukuzwa iZwi layo	To listen to his Word

In other instances two biblical quotations are combined into a new thought or feeling:

81. (Revival chorus combining Mark 10:17 and John 3:4)

Ngingenzenjani	What can I do
Ukuze ngizalwe kabusha	To be born again

Other *amakhorasi* combine several biblical elements:

113. (Praise-and-worship chorus referring to Psalms, Matthew and Revelation)

Sohlabelel' uHosana	We will sing Hosana
Sizungeze isihlalo sobuKhosi	We will dance around the throne of the Lord

Ikhorasi no.113 refers to the singing of the 144 000 people in Revelation 14:3, but at the same time, also to Matthew 21:9 giving content to the song: "Hosana". Moreover, it changes the 'standing' in front of the throne into 'dancing around', thereby linking the song to the dancing around the altar (Psalms 26:6-7) and Zion (Psalm 48:13-15), both of which are to be found in front of the throne (Revelation 8:3 and 14:1). Old and New Testament elements converse into one picture about what will happen after death or at the end of times.

Even when biblical persons are mentioned, a combination of biblical references is made giving the *amakhorasi* a dynamic character. In the present research only three names were found: Noah, John the Baptist, and Jesus.

119. (Revival chorus about Noah referring to Genesis, Matthew, 2 Peter and to Revelation)

Ubatshele, we Nowa	Tell them, Noah
Umhlab' uyabhubha	The world perishes
Likhala lakhala icilongo	The horn sounds, sounds loudly
Intatha yokusha	The day dawns

In the Old Testament Noah is an example of silent obedience. However, in this chorus, the judgement found in the first book of the Bible (Genesis 6-8) converses with the one found in the last book (Revelation 11:15-18). The chorus not only makes a comparison (like in Matthew 24:37-42), but revives Noah as a preacher (cf. 2 Peter 2:5) of the last judgement.

Another biblical person mentioned in the *amakhorasi*, is John the Baptist. *Ikhorasi* no.6, refer to John's warning at the beginning of the Gospel of Luke and combines it with Jesus' warning at the end of the Gospel. John's warning that the axe is laid on the root of the tree, is interpreted in the light of Jesus' warning, addressed especially to mothers, that the

days will come when there are no hiding places anymore.

6. (Revival chorus about John the Baptist referring to Luke 3:9 and Luke 23:28)

"Amahlathi aphelile	"The forest is gone
Akusekho ukucasha	There is no place to hide
Yelele mama yelele mama"	O mothers, o mothers"
UJohan' 'yashumayela	John preaches
Esehlane laseJudiya:	In the desert of Judea:

In several *amakhorasi* the blood of Jesus is mentioned. *Ikhorasi* no.132 refers to the blood of Jesus as an Old Testament peace-offering (Leviticus 16:14), a view also found in Colossians 1:20 and Hebrew 9:12. *Ikhorasi* no.100, a revival chorus, refers to the blood of Jesus as a well of blood that never clots - a living source of power, which, in *ikhorasi* no.95, is symbolised as a well of water.

21. (Comfort chorus about Jesus' blood referring to Matthew 27:33)

EGolgotha kukhon' umthombo	There is a well at Golgotha
Umthombo wegazi	A well of blood

95 (Revival chorus about a well of water (= Jesus ?) referring to Isaiah 12:3 and John 4:14)

Ophuzayo kulawo manzi	Who drinks from that water
Akomile naphakade	Will never be thirsty
Woza nawe uzophuza	Come, also you will drink
Lowo mthombo wosindiso	From that well of salvation

100. (Revival chorus about Jesus' blood)

Igazi likaJesu	The blood of Jesus
Al'soze liphel' amandla	Shall never lose its power

129. (Comfort chorus about Jesus' blood referring to Leviticus 16:14, Colossians 1:20 and Hebrews 9:12)

Ukuthula kulo mhlaba wezono	Peace to this sinful world
Igazi likaJesu linyenyez' ukuthula	The blood of Jesus sprinkles peace

Finally, several quotations from the Old Testament Prophets were found fused with New Testament elements giving them a very dynamic character.[40]

15. (Revival chorus referring to Isaiah 6:8 and Matthew 28:19)

Baba, thuma mina	Father, send me
Ngizokusebenzela	I will work for you
Kulezi zizwe zonke	In all these countries
Kulamagumbi omane	In all four wind directions

48. (Funeral chorus referring to Ezekiel 1:1, John 1:51, and 1 Thessalonians 4:17)

Izulu lavuleka	The heaven was open
Sabona umbono	We saw a vision
Umbona kaJehova	A vision of Jehovah
Sabon' ingelozi	We saw angels
Ezehla zenyuka	Coming down and going up

[40] A similar observation was made by W.T. Walker (1974, p.52) about Spirituals: "It is not uncommon to find Old Testament and New Testament references within a single song."

Zimhubel' uJehova	Singing for God
Ngelinye ilanga	Some day
Sonyuka neNkosi	We will go up with the Lord
Siy' ekhay' ezulwini	Go to our home in heaven

125. (Praise-and -worship chorus referring to Ezekiel 36:26-27 and to Jesus)

UJes' uyamangalisa	Jesus works a miracle
Inhliziyo yam'	To my heart
Wakhiph' inhliziyo yelitshe	He removes my heart of stone
Wafak' inhliziyo kamoya	And places a heart of spirit
Wamangalisa inhliziyo yam'	He really does a miracle to my heart

Ikhorasi no.15 resounds the calling of the prophet Isaiah, without his hesitation, but spontaneously extended with a New Testament worldwide implication (see also Zechariah 6:1-8). *Ikhorasi* no.48 fuses an Old Testament expression for the start of a revelation by God with New Testament visions about the Son of Man and the coming of the Lord.[41] In *ikhorasi* no.125, a promise by God to the prophet Ezekiel is seen as being fulfilled by Jesus. Remarkably, in this chorus, the 'heart of flesh' and the 'spirit' (Ezekiel 36:26-27) are combined into a 'heart of spirit'.

17.3.9 *Amakhorasi* and a Spiritual Journey

As shown in par.17.3.8, the use of Bible texts in the *amakhorasi* is eclectic and the quotations often refer more to expressions of emotions than to a specific biblical teaching. Also, when two or more quotations are fused into a new semantic unit, the combined meaning remains secondary to the function of the *ikhorasi*.[42]

Often the content of the *amakhorasi* suggests a spiritual journey from personal salvation and conversion through a life of worship and perseverance to fulfilment of the promise of eternal life after death. This journey is even more prominent in *amakhorasi* which may be traced back to secondary Christian literature, especially to *The Pilgrim's Progress*.[43]

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[41] Probably, no.48 (*izulu lavuleka*) refers to a scene in *The Pilgrim's Progress* (J. Bunyan, 1973, p.278).

[42] The function of Revival Choruses is to urge people to choose and to be strong, e.g.
No.66: *Masiqhubekeni* referring to Hebrews 12:3;
No.101: *Shiy' umhlaba*, referring to Mark 8:34;
The function of Praise-and-Worship Choruses is to praise God and Jesus, e.g.
No.120: *Ubusisiwe* referring to Psalm 118:26;
No.125: *UJes' uyamangalisa* referring to Ezekiel 36:26-27;
The function of Funeral Choruses is to give hope, e.g.
No.48: *Izulu lavuleka* referring to John 1:51 and 1 Thessalonians 4:17;
No.58: *Kuyoba mnandi* referring to 1 Timothy 4:8;
The function of Comfort Choruses is to comfort and console people, e.g.
No.57: *Kuwe, Baba* referring to Psalm 46:10;
No.121: *UJehov' uNkulunkulu* referring to Psalm 23:2.

[43] In 1678, the Puritan preacher John Bunyan (1628-1688) published the first part and, in 1684, the second part of *The Pilgrim's Progress* (J. Bunyan, 1973), a book about the pilgrimages of Christian and of his wife Christiana. In many churches, especially Methodist Churches, it has become a most famous book about the Christian life as a "pilgrimage to Glory" (W.W. Wiersbe, 1989, p.8). It was translated in isiXhosa by Tiyo Soga (d.1871) and, in 1956, in isiZulu by B.A. Johanson under the title "*Uhambo lwesiHambi nguJohn Bunyan - umKristu noKristina*" (B.A. Johanson, 1956). It became the source for several *amakhorasi* but in the eNkumane

Some *amakhorasi*, possibly developed in the Methodist Church in South Africa, are more easily understood when compared with the pilgrimage described in this book. Examples of elements derived from *The Pilgrim's Progress* are: 'the-rolling-away-of-the burden-of-sin', 'the-going-forward-carefully-not-willing-to-go-back', 'the-path-full-of-thorns', and 'the-crossing-of-River-Jordan' (a symbol of death).

98.	*Sengawulahlela eKalvari*	I have put it aside at Calvary
	Wangiqgilika	It rolled away
	Umthwalo wezono zami	The burden of my sins[44]
70.	Mpefum'lo wami bo	My soul,
	Nyathela kancane	Choose your steps carefully
	Siy' ekhay' ezulwini	We are going to heaven[45]
41.	Inzima le ndlela	The path is difficult
	Inameva iyahlaba	It is full of thorns and it is painful
	Guq' uthandaze	Kneel and pray
45.	I will never go back	I will never go back
	Ngizophikelela	I will persevere[46]
40.	Bakithi simi siseJordane lapha	We stand at the river Jordan
	Abanye bayawela	Some are crossing[47]

17.3.10 *Amakhorasi* as Masks

Just like Spirituals, *amakhorasi* may be described in terms of deep Biblicism, rhythm, antiphon, repetition, double-coded meaning and unique imagery.[48] The element 'Double-coded meaning' refers to the function of Spirituals and *amakhorasi* as expressions of determination and hope for one's present life, wrapped in a song about determination and hope for a future life after death. "The Spirituals that can be identified as 'code songs', with historic and legendary connections to slave rebellions, reflect still another element of African influence... the use of mask and symbol... Many Spirituals were developed as a part of the slave language to conceal their business from the overseers and the plantation owners."[49]

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area the book itself is unknown.

[44] Compare J. Bunyan (1973, p.41): "His burden loosed from off his shoulders, and fell from off his back; and began to tumble, and so continued to do, till it came to the mouth of the Sepulchre, where it fell in"; and B.A. Johanson (1956, p.27): "*Umthwalo wawohloka wagingqika washona ethuneni.*"

[45] Compare J. Bunyan (1973, p.289): "Look well to their feet"; and B.A. Johanson (1956, p.155): "*Qaphelani lapho ninyathela khona.*"

[46] Compare J. Bunyan (1973, p.361-362): "They cheered up one another... they made a pretty good shift to wag along... a third [cried]: The bushes have got such a fast hold on me"; and B.A. Johanson (1956, p.188): "*Abanye babanjwa izihlahla zameva. Kodwa basizana bakhuthazana baphikelela.*"

[47] Compare J. Bunyan (1973, p.380): "This river has been a terror to many... this Jordan"; and B.A. Johanson (1956, p.195): "*Lomfula ubesabisile abaningi*."

[48] W.T. Walker, 1974, p.52-58.

[49] W.T. Walker, 1974, p.59. Similarly, R. Darden (2005, p.2): "Slaves used the spirituals to convey not just religious truth but information vital for survival in the face of ferocious oppression." Darden (idem, p.85) gives the following examples of metonymic overlay in Spirituals: Satan = slave master; King Jesus = slave benefactor;

Both Spirituals and *amakhorasi* refer to Biblical stories about miraculous victories such as the delivery from slavery in Egypt, the passing of the Jordan River and the tumbling of the walls of Jericho. These themes are found in Spirituals such as *When Moses went to Egypt Land*, *Deep River*, *Roll Jordan Roll* and *Joshua Fit de Battle of Jericho* and in *amakhorasi* such as *Izindonga* (no.47), *O nxa ebizwa 'magama* (no.94) and *Siwelile iJordane* (no.107).[50] In the *amakhorasi*, the Jordan River seems to indicate death and the transition to eternal life but at the same time, it has political significance pointing to the escape from present suffering.

Other *amakhorasi* with a double meaning might be *Asakhile lapha* (no.10), *Jerusalema* (no.51) and *Sinesithembiso thina* (no.103) referring to a house in Jerusalem where all sorrows are gone. Instead of understanding these *amakhorasi* as examples of spiritual escapism, they may also be understood as confirmations of worth and self-esteem. The underlying thought might be: if you have a house in Jerusalem, you must be an important person, even more important than people who have a house in industrial areas such as Durban and Johannesburg.

Although most *amakhorasi* found in this research describe determination and conviction, two choruses explicitly express confusion and dissatisfaction, almost accusing God to intervene.

9.	*Aningiboleke*	Please, lend me
	Ngibolek' imbokodo	Lend me a grinding stone
	Ngigay' izono zam'	Then I will grind my sins
	Ziyangisinda	They are too heavy for me.
139.	*Uyabona selomile*	You see that she is thirsty
	Limantise ngom'sa wakho	Water her with your grace

Chorus no.9 expresses the problem of unsolved feelings of guilt or abuse. Its counterpart might be found in Revelation 18:20, where a large millstone is thrown into the sea: "This is how the great city Babylon will be violently thrown down and will never be seen again."

Asked about the meaning of no.139, several interviewees stated that this is an *ikhorasi* about the suffering of the church. Only one lady, herself very poor, answered that this *ikhorasi* is a prayer on behalf of the world: "The world is crying for God's mercy."

17.3.11 Conclusion on Choruses

In general, it can be concluded that the content of *amakhorasi* does not determine their use but the other way around, that the use of the *amakhorasi* determines their content. They play a specific role in the lives of the people in and around eNkumane, no matter whether they belong to a church or not. The *amakhorasi* are common property and serve a common purpose: they stress unity and stability in situations of transition and uncertainty. They seldom urge for a specific action. To expect *amakhorasi* to give guidance for action in specific

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Babylon = winter; Hell = further south; Jordan River = first step to freedom; Israelites = enslaved African Americans; Egyptians = slave holders; Canaan = land of freedom; Heaven = Canada (north); Home = Africa.

[50] W.T. Walker, 1974, p.59-61.

situations is a misunderstanding of their intrinsic value of confirming unity.[51]

It can also be concluded that the content of the *amakhorasi* varies according to the character of four different situations in which they are often used: revivals, praise-and-worship, at funerals, and during prayer meetings.

Finally, it can be concluded that the *amakhoras* collected in this research are a reflection of faith in God. By emphasizing God's power and guidance ("Accept the power of Jehovah / He prepares for me all that is good / Jehovah Father is my shepherd", no.150), they liberate people and equip them for life ("This path is difficult / With thorns and pain / Kneel and pray", no.41); "He took care of us up to here / We trust Him", no.134).

Apart from the ecclesiastic or uniting value and from their liberating or equipping value, many *amakhorasi* also express expectation in the form of a warning against a coming judgement ("The horn sounds... The day dawns", no.119), a preview as of joy ("We will jump like calves", no.111), or even of a certain victory ("We will conquer by our prayers", no.114).

It might be expected that, if *amakhorasi*, like Spirituals, are expressions of oppression and deprivation, their popularity will fade as soon as socio-economic conditions improve and that they will be gradually replaced with more formal hymns supported by musical instruments, such as a keyboard.

17.4 Expressions of Faith: Testimonies

17.4.1 Prayer Meetings and Healing

Generally speaking, a church congregation in the area under research may both be seen as a 'kinship group'[52] (*umndeni*) and as consisting of different 'age grades' (*amabutho*). As a kinship group, the congregation meets on Sundays at the Sunday service (*inkonzo*). As age grades, parts of the congregation meet in prayer meetings during the week (*imithandazo*). The Sunday service is dominated by men, regardless of the fact that they form a minority in the congregation. The prayer meetings are led by one of the members of the specific group. The unmarked prayer meetings (*imithandazo*) are the meetings of the women. The presence of a (male) minister (*umfundisi*) may facilitate the meeting.[53] If another man regularly attends these meetings, he is automatically considered to be an evangelist (*umshumayeli*). Men, even

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[51] The urge for 'relevant songs' with a content tending "in the direction of the *Kairos Document's* call to action" (S. de Gruchy, 1991, p.22) is not compatible with the use of the *amakhorasi* discussed in this chapter. The *amakhorasi* do not ask for a specific action, but are an assurance of unity. Where protest songs cause unrest and stress dissatisfaction, the singing of *amakhorasi* unites and assures. It is especially this aspect which is questioned in the Kairos Document: "Much of what we do in our Church services has lost its relevance to the poor and the oppressed. Our services and sacraments have been appropriated to serve the need of the individual for comfort and security" (ICT, 1986, p.29).

[52] J. Kiernan (1995, p.125) remarks about Zionist congregations: "The Zionist congregation caters for the individual in much the same way as the kinship once did." At the same time, he observes that allegiances in these congregations are predominantly restricted to members of the same age group: "The Zionist congregation largely fails to retain the allegiance of its children, and finds recruits from among adults troubled by misfortune in the population at large." He concludes that especially the relationships between women are crucial for the continued existence of the congregation: "It is here that links established by and through women become crucial."

[53] Usually, the leader of a prayer meeting is called *umphathi*, whereas, sometimes, the role of the minister is indicated with *ummeli*, the mediator, who opens the Word (*ovula iZwi*). As, biblically, the term *ummeli* refers to Jesus (1 John 2:1), its use in connections with ministers might be an indication of the way some people see ministers.

male members of the household where a meeting takes place, rarely attend. Marked prayer meetings are for example the youth prayer meetings (*imithandazo yabasha*), attended by both boys and girls.

Usually the women's prayer meetings take place around midday and are attended by 10 to 15 women, comprised of members of the congregation and neighbours of the family which is visited. Sometimes a few children and youth are present. The venue of the meeting is the home of the family which has asked for the meeting because of a certain problem in the family, or sometimes because they want to give thanks for a pleasant event such as, for example, the recovery from sickness. It may also happen that the members of the congregation, without being invited, decide to bring a prayer meeting to the home of a family suffering from sickness or death. The different components of prayer meetings are seen as aspects of unity and healing, including the visiting together, the prayers, the singing and dancing and even the opening of the Bible which is often referred to as the cleansing of the heart (*iZwi liyayihlanza inhliziyo*).

The prayer meetings follow a fixed pattern, in which a crucial role is played by the leader of the meeting, one of the members of the congregation. The meeting starts with the singing of choruses until the leader stands up to invite one of the members of the family to welcome the visitors (*ukwamukela*). After being welcomed, which may include an explanation of the reason for the prayer meeting, the leader leads the meeting in prayer, often a praying together by all who attend the meeting, each one in his or her own words (*ukuthandaza kanyekanye*). After the prayer, often followed by the singing of another chorus, the leader invites the minister or in the minister's absence somebody else, to 'open' the Bible and give a sermon *(ukuvula iZwi*). After the sermon the leader invites all who are present to give a testimony (*ukufakaza*) or prayer. Each testimony is introduced by the singing of a chorus. Finally, somebody, often the minister, is asked by the leader to close the meeting in prayer. After this final prayer sometimes a small money collection is made, especially when somebody has died in the homestead visited. Thereafter one of the family members may approach the leader to ask all visitors to wait a short while (*ukulinda kancane*). This means that they will be offered something to drink, or will have a plate of food. Finally, the visitors leave the hut singing another chorus and shaking hands.

17.4.2 Belief in Words

Even more than spontaneously recalled *amakhorasi*, personal testimonies given during meetings of the congregation can be analysed as reflections of personal faith. During the year 2004 about 60 testimonies were collected and analysed.

Generally speaking, because the testimonies were collected during prayer meetings in homesteads troubled with sickness or grief, they encourage and give moral support. Usually, four steps can be discerned in the testimonies: greetings; excuses and thanks; sharing of thoughts or feelings; final words of encouragement.

In the first step, 'the greetings', different groups of people in the meeting are greeted separately often with the final addition "in the name of the Lord" (*egameni leNkosi*), triggering the response "Amen" from the others.

The second step, 'the excuses and thanks', is used to apologize for taking the opportunity to speak, for example "I have nothing to say but..." *(angisukumi nalutho ngi...*), or: "I don't know how to preach but..." (*angikwazi ukushumayela ngi...*). The second step is often used to say thank you for the opportunity to be present, or for the Word just read. It may

also be used to emphasize the relevance of the Word just read *(leliZwi lithinta inhliziyo*; or: *leliZwi likhuluma nathi sonke*), or to stress the importance of the meeting, for example: "We are here to ask God to help this family" (*sicela uNkulunkulu asize lomndeni*).

The third step in the testimony, 'the sharing of thoughts or feelings', may be used to elaborate on the relevance of the Word just read for the situation in the house being visited. Sometimes another biblical thought is shared, or the speaker talks in general about the problems in the house without further reference to the Bible.

Usually, the testimony ends with an encouragement closing with a final remark like "May the Lord bless you" (*iNkosi 'nibusise*), or: "I give way to somebody else" (*Ngiyayishiy' indawo*).

The most creative part of the testimonies is the third step, the sharing of thoughts or feelings. Most of the time, it starts with a reference to the Bible text just read, applying it to the present situation. Sometimes, another biblical passage is cited, or a biblical person such as Job is mentioned as an example of somebody who persevered in his sufferings . Usually, a comment is given on the situation in the house being visited. The content of the thoughts and feelings typically centres around four focus points: the present deplorable situation, Jesus, God, and a good attitude. The present world is depicted as perishing (*liyabhubha*) and full of suffering (*ubuhlungu nezihlupheko*). Jesus is mentioned as the one who saves us (*uyasisindisa*) and who gives us strength (*uyasipha amandla*). Often, He is referred to as the husband of the widows and the father of the orphans (*Indoda yabafelokazi noyise wezintandane*).[54] God (*uNkulunkulu*) is mentioned as the one who is present (*ukhona*), who knows everything (*uzazi zonk' izinto*), who has a plan (*unepulani*), who never rejects anybody (*akalahli muntu*), but consoles (*ukwazi ukududuza nokusula izinyembezi*). God gives us power *(uyasipha amandla*), and He revives us (*uyaphilisa / uyasivuselela*). In the description of the good attitude for us as human beings, the word 'respect' (*inhlonipho*) plays a central role. We should submit ourselves (*ukuzinikela*) to God, trust him (*ukumethemba*), walk in the light (*ukuhamba ekukhanyeni*) and persevere in a difficult situation (*ukubekezela*).

The last step in the testimonies, 'the final encouragement', takes the form of a short wish, advice, or promise. Examples of final wishes are: "may God protect you" (*makakulondoloze*), "may He help you" (*makakusize*), "may He be with us" (*abe nathi*), "may He give us strength" (*asiphe amandla)*, "may He bless you" (*makanibusise*). A remarkable wish during an *umthandazo* held after a stillbirth was: "We pray that your (eldest) son will get another child" (*sikhuleka inkosana yasekhaya aphinde athole ingane*). Examples of final advices are: "stay with Jesus" (*hlala noJesu*), "keep on hoping / believing" (*hlala ethembeni / enkolweni*), "trust God" (*methembe uNkulunkulu*), "we should submit ourselves to God" (*simelwe ukuzinikela kuNkulunkulu*), "convert" (*phenduka*), "pray" (*thandaza*), "give your heart to God" (*nikela inhliziyo yakho kuNkulunkulu*), "go-on" (*qhubeka*), "thank God" (*bonga uNkulunkulu*), "have respect" (*hlonipha*). Examples of final promises are: "there will be joy some day" (*ngelinye ilanga kukhona ukujabula*) and: "God will turn the bad into good" *(uNkulunkulu uzoshintsha okubi kube okuhle*).

17.5 Beyond Teaching

In isiZulu, a minister is called an *umfundisi*, meaning: teacher-minister. Ministers may

[54] Reference to Psalm 68:6 and Psalm 146:9.

have different gifts, such as the gift of prophecy or healing. In the eNkumane area, Reformed Ministers are expected to have the gift of opening the Word (*ukuvula iZwi*). The Word is already there, but it has to be opened to speak and to be remembered.[55] This opening of the Word is an act which is expected to take place in all church services and during prayer meetings.

Some interviewees, when asked about the content of sermons, indicated that preaching is teaching (*ukufundisa iZwi*, or *ukuchaza iZwi*), often in the sense of moralistic teaching. Otherwise, the word 'teaching' is not used for the sharing of the Gospel. Generally, the word 'teaching' is associated with development, certificates and positions. Interviewees indicated that teaching was needed in the area, but hardly any teaching situation created by the Reformed Mission lasted very long. Between 1963 and 1996, the Reformed Mission trained and paid evangelists to become ministers. However, this form of training partly through practical experience has lost its appeal. Teaching is also associated with confirmation classes.[56] Yet, apart from these specific situations, the interviewees associated 'teaching' with children not with adults. To train Sunday school teachers, preachers and church leaders, the Reformed Mission had to consider developing alternative learning methods fit for adults.

In the eNkumane area, the most acceptable way of expanding knowledge amongst adults seems to be a process of exchanging information by asking each other questions, called *ukubonisana* (share views) or sometimes *ukufundisana* (teach each other).[57] To use this process as an educational tool, three steps must be clearly identified: the Mobilisation of knowledge, the Sharing of knowledge and the Expanding of knowledge.[58] This so-called MSE-method is used often by the Reformed Mission in informal learning situations. In this method, it is assumed that knowledge can only be shared when it is mobilized; and that knowledge can only be expanded when it is shared. In order to mobilize existing knowledge in groups of people, use is made of a simple 'word web'. A word is chosen and eventually, written on a blackboard and people are asked to reflect on this word with a question like:

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[55] G.O. West (2003, p.123): "Most ordinary African 'readers' are more familiar with the Bible as symbol - the 'unopened' Bible, or with the heard or remembered Bible... So when it comes to the 'opened' Bible - the Bible as text - ordinary 'readers' eagerly embrace the resources offered by socially engaged biblical scholars, in order to 're-member' the text."

[56] Two types of confirmation classes are organised by the Reformed Mission Enkumane. The first class consists of a series of 23 talk sessions where topics are raised such as Christian feasts, sacraments, tasks of Christians, the structure of a Church Service, prayer, etcetera. For the second class, especially for youngsters able to read and willing to do some homework, a written method has been designed, called *Iklasi Lomqiniso* (RMA, 2001c#). The method consists of 22 lessons, about half of which deal with the content of the Bible.

[57] The teaching approach proposed in this chapter might be called 'asking each other' aproach, a basic form of what G.O. West (2003, p.32) calls the 'speaking/reading with' approach. West argues, "that 'speaking/reading with' takes seriously the subjectivity of both the biblical scholar and the ordinary poor and marginalized 'reader' of the Bible, and all that this entails for their respective resources, categories and contributions." A precondition for the 'speaking/reading with' approach to be successful, not explicitly mentioned by West, is that the participants feel confident enough and are able to express themselves about their experiences. If this condition is met , the poor and marginalized may use the 'speaking/reading approach' as a tool "to break [their] silence and create their own language" (idem, p.21).

[58] The two phases 'Mobilize' and 'Share information' correspond with what, for example, C. Dryden & J. Vos (2005, p.333-336) call 'activate the memory banks' and 'use and apply the learning'. Yet, according to Dryden & Vos writing about formal education these two phases should follow the 'absorbing new information' (idem, p.333), while in the informal education described in this chapter the 'Expanding of knowledge' is thought to follow the Mobilizing and Sharing of information.

Bathini ng-, what do people say about...? It is noted that nouns representing agents more easily lead to associations than, for example, action words. People are more easily triggered to make associations with, for example, the word 'witch' than with the word 'witchcraft'. Common types of associations are classifications ('A witch is a bad person'), property indications ('A witch has a bad heart', or 'A witch is jealous') and examples ('A witch may ride on a baboon').[59] It is also noted that certain agent words lead more easily to associations than others, because they have more emotional value, for example, the word 'witch' seems to have a more emotional value than the word 'man', but this does not necessarily mean that more associations are made. Especially, where complicated events are involved, the associations, instead of forming a 'word web', are presented as a 'sequence', wherein the remembered actions form a string. For example: 'Somebody sees (action) a witch busy at night - he talks (action) about it to others - they burn (action) the hut of the witch'. Often, in a sequence, several aspects are mentioned such as time ('at night'), location ('in the homestead'), purpose ('a relative'), instruments ('by sending an owl with bad medicines'). It may be assumed that "the memory system is an organized collection of pathways that specify possible routes through the database. Retrieving information from such a memory [system] is going to be like running a maze."[60] To mobilize somebody's knowledge as the first step in a learning process, requires a careful choice of the starting point, the centre of the word web around which associations are made, or the starting point of a sequence. In the process of mobilizing knowledge, the participants are encouraged to share their knowledge, for example by one person writing the associations on a blackboard or, especially in the case of a low level of literacy, by regularly repeating the succession of associations already made by others. If this process of mobilizing and sharing is successful, the third step, the extending of information, may be taken by asking for example the question: "What does the Bible say about witches?" To illustrate the MSE-method, the following example is given.[61]

During a course 'Pastoral Care' for people appointed as leaders in their congregation, the MSE-method was used to stimulate a learning process about 'witchcraft'. The name *umthakathi* (witch) was written on the blackboard and people were invited to make associations with this word following the question: *Bathini ngomthakathi*, what do people say about witches? The following associations were given by the participants, which were written on the blackboard as a web around the word *umthakathi* and the associations were repeatedly recalled as some of the participants were unable to read:

has a bad heart (*onenhliziyo embi*);
curses (*oshwambelayo*);
wants to kill (*ofuna ukubulala*);
is driven by jealousy (*onomona*);
teaches children wrong and bad things (*ofundisa kabi izingane*);
puts poison in people's food (*ofaka ipoyizini ekudleni*);
puts bad medicines on somebody's path assuring, by calling his name, that this specific person will be affected by these bad medicines (*ofaka imithi embi emzini*);
rides on a baboon (*ogibela imfene*);

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[59] The three association aspects 'class', 'property' and 'example' are used by P.H. Lindsay and D. A. Norman (1972, p.386-401) in their model of memory.

[60] P.H. Lindsay and D. A. Norman, 1972, p.400.

[61] The example refers to a session on 13th June 2009, which was part of the 'Course Pastoral Care' in the working area of the Reformed Mission Enkumane.

sends an owl with bad medicines / sickness to somebody's house (*othuma isikova esiletha isifo*);
works during the night (*osebenza ebusuku*).

Subsequently, the question was asked what happened when an *umthakathi* was detected by somebody. Several suggestions were shared by the participants leading to the following sequence:

during the night somebody sees an *umthakathi* doing evil things;
the observation is discussed privately with other people;
they decide to kill the *umthakathi* and burn the *umthakathi*'s house, or they decide to only burn one of the umthakathi's huts, or they bring the matter to the *induna* (the local traditional leader);
the *induna* calls the community together in a meeting to discuss the matter;
the community gets divided over the matter;
the *umthakathi* decides to leave the area to prevent arson to his/her house or an attempt on his/her life.

To expand the knowledge in this matter the participants were asked: what does the Bible say about *abathakathi* (witches). Referring to Deuteronomy and Revelation, one of the participants said that *abathakathi* are rejected in the Bible.[62] The relevant passages were read together and the conclusion was drawn that the Bible does reject *abathakathi*, but does not specify their activities. In other words, everything we know about *abathakathi* comes from the community, not from the Bible. Questions were asked, such as, how, according to the Bible, people should react to an *umthakathi* and whether the life of an *umthakathi* can change?[63] Another point that was raised was the fact that often the accusation is made by a single witness who, thereby, not only brings the accused in danger but also divides the community. The participants shared their views about the importance of more witnesses.[64] The participants were also asked whether an *umthakathi* is always an elderly woman.[65] In response, they emphasized that any adult person of about twenty years and older could be an *umthakathi* but, in practice, people are afraid of openly accusing an *umthakathi*, unless she is an elderly woman. This triggered the question what the Bible says about the care for weak persons in the community.

17.6 Belief in Deeds: Enkumane Clinic

Almost from the start, the Reformed Mission has been involved with practical outreach. This outreach consists of individual help, the employment of people and several community projects in the form of the establishment of Primary Schools and a Clinic. The projects were not started as community projects but as projects under the control of the Mission (par.16.11). Initially, Primary School teachers were employed by the Mission. As soon as possible the school was placed under either the Department for Bantu Education, or under the special Department for Farm Schools. Until about 1994, the missionaries held the

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[62] Reference to Deuteronomy 18:10-11 and Revelation 21:8.

[63] Reference to Matthew 5:38-39 and Matthew 11:28.

[64] Reference to, for example, Deuteronomy 19:15.

[65] Over the last fifteen years in the working area of the Reformed Mission Enkumane, three church members were accused of being a witch. One of them was killed and her homestead burned down. The other two fled before they sustained bodily harm.

position of school managers at several Primary Schools, started by the Mission.

A major project established by the Reformed Mission was the Mission Post in eNkumane. It has three major functions: church work, training work and medical work (par.16.14).[66] The medical work was organized as a separate voluntary organisation called the 'Reformed Mission Medical Aid', since 2009: 'Reformed Medical Care'.[67] This Organisation facilitates the functioning of the Clinic situated at the Mission Post in eNkumane.

When the 'Enkumane Clinic' was opened, on 1st August 1967, it was the only Primary Health Care Clinic in what is now the Richmond District. Currently, the staff consists of two Registered Nurses, two Nursing Assistants and one TB/HIV/AIDS Assistant. The programs of the Registered Nurses and the Nursing Assistants alternate so that, always, one nurse and one assistant are on duty. The Clinic has a mobile service, which until the 1990's visited several farms but, since then, has concentrated on four communities downstream from eNkumane along the uMkhomazi River.[68] Each of these communities is visited once a week. Until about 1994, midwifery was one of the important services of the Clinic. Since 2004, when the impact of the AIDS epidemic started to become pronounced, the Clinic operates as a TB-treating Clinic, and since 2005, also as a Clinic for Voluntary Counselling and Testing for the HI-Virus. To cope with the increasing demand for services, a TB/HIV/AIDS Assistant was appointed. The Clinic is subsidized by the Department of Health for about one third of the running costs. Patient fees and donations make up for the other two-thirds.

According to its Mission Statement, the Clinic intends "to show the love of Christ by caring for the sick and sharing the principles of a healthy lifestyle." As a relatively small clinic, the total number of patient visits is about 6000 per year, the Clinic's staff is able to give full attention to the needs of the people who visit the Clinic. The complaints of the clients are taken seriously at face value and understood as helpful clues in establishing the problems they experience and as adequate directions for the treatment needed.[69] A pilot study

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[66] For several years, the Mission Post also housed a boarding school, a grocery shop and two maize grinding machines, facilities which, in the course of time, were dismantled.

[67] Initially, the Management Committee of the Reformed Mission Medical Aid consisted of the missionaries and their wives and the minister of *Die Gereformeerde Kerk in Pietermaritzburg.* However, since 2007, four members of *Die Gereformeerde Kerk in Pietermaritzburg*, including one retired missionary, form the committee. For financial assistance, management tasks and practical help for transport and housing the Organisation is dependant on the Reformed Mission.

[68] The four places visited by the mobile clinic of the Reformed Medical Care are: on Mondays, eMahlabathini and eMshibane; on Fridays, eNgwegwe and kwaShiyampahla. In 2009, on request of the communities involved, two more places were added to the program of weekly visits: on Mondays, eMalizayo; on Fridays, eMbuthweni.

[69] Contrary to, for example, C. Ellis (2004, p.37): "One of the most common mistakes is to take a presenting symptom at face value, or literally, and not as a metaphor." Ellis' conclusion is based on his experience in a big practice in the urban setting of Pietermaritzburg, where most of the patients are unknown to the practitioner, whereas in eNkumane most of the patients are known and are comfortable speaking without metaphors to the nurses. Some of the complaints patients described in the pilot study done for the present research seem to be culturally specific, such as the expressions '*Igazi lishona phansi* / *Igazi alihambi kahle*'. A literal translation of these expressions would yield awkward English: 'The blood goes down / The blood does not flow well.' However, both expressions are a direct indication of loss of body weight. C. Ellis (idem, p.79) gives the expression '*Igazi lami liphansi*', interpreted by him as an indication that the clients think that there is a weakness in the blood.

A second culturally specific complaint found in the Enkumane Clinic, although not picked up in this pilot study, is "*Inyongo*", literally meaning gall bladder (idem, p.23: bile). The complaint stands for a rather fixed combination of complaints, such as dizziness, headache and nausea, usually, in combination with client's awareness that it has been a long time since the body has been cleansed. The complaint *Inyongo* is interpreted by

was done listing the complaints of a sample of 26 clients visiting the Enkumane Clinic. It was found that almost all patients mentioned four complaints which can be categorized as follows:

17 complaints about the respiration system;[70]
14 complaints about fever and flu;[71]
14 complaints about weakness, body weight loss or loss of appetite;[72]
12 complaints about the digestive system;[73]
08 complaints about boils or rash;[74]
05 complaints about eyes or ears;[75]
04 complaints about bones and joints;[76]
14 other complaints.

During the financial year 2008/9, in the Clinic, a total number of 5 709 patient visits were counted, 1 915 in the Clinic building in eNkumane and 3 497 visits at its mobile Clinic. Moreover, in total 228 children received immunisation, 33 patients were tested for TB and 264 patients for HIV.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the care for clients suffering from TB, HIV or AIDS is seen as a major challenge for the Enkumane Clinic.[77] About a quarter of the clients tested for HIV is tested positive, including both the clients who are tested as part of the antenatal care and clients who are tested for other reasons. Many of them are tested on the advice of the Clinic. Clients who test positive for HIV are offered the opportunity to take a monthly food parcel and medicines to boost their immune system.[78] The diagnosis of 'AIDS' is related to the CD4-Count blood test.[79] If a client is found to have a CD4-Count result of

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the clients as a need for a laxative in the form of Castor Oil or Mist Alba, a white syrup. About the complaint '*Inyongo*', C. Ellis (idem, p.78) remarks: "I have found that my medical diagnosis ends up with gastritis or a hangover." He lists the interpretations of '*Inyongo*' by ten different patients. Their interpretations include the above-mentioned symptoms of dizziness, headache and nausea. In the Enkumane Clinic the complaint '*Inyongo*' is interpreted as a request for cleansing with the help of a laxative. About the habit of many clients to regularly cleanse their intestines with a laxative, C. Ellis (idem, p.80) remarks: "Purification or cleansing is a universal necessary therapeutic manoeuvre both for cultural transgressions and for the removal of poisons." Usually, the sisters of the Enkumane Clinic ask the client to come back when the complaints persist.

[70] Complaints mentioned: *ukukhwehlela* (9), *ucinene isifuba* (6) and *isifuba sibuhlungu* (2).

[71] Complaints mentioned: *uyashisa umzimba* (8) and *umkhuhlane* (6).

[72] Complaints mentioned: *ukungafuni ukudla* (7), *uphelelwa amandla* (5) and *igazi lishona phansi / igazi alihambi kahle* (2); usually, the complaint '*uphelelwa amandla*' is interpreted as a request for a Vitamin B-co injection (*umjovo*).

[73] Complaints mentioned: *ukishwa isisu* (3), *ukubuyisa / ukuhlanza* (3), *ulunywa isisu* (6).

[74] Complaints mentioned: *izilonda emlonyeni* (3), *izilonda emzimbeni* (3), *uqubekile futhi kuyaluma* (4).

[75] Complaints mentioned: *uphethwe amehlo / amehlo abuhlungu* (2) and *indlebe iphuma ubovu / ukungcola* (3).

[76] Complaints mentioned: *kubuhlungu iqolo* (2) and *kuqaqamba amathambo* (2); often, the last mentioned complaints refer to inflamed or degenerated knee or foot joints.

[77] For a recent introduction in different aspects of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa see S.S. & Q. Abdool Karim (2008). According to F. Smit (2009), "[In South Africa, on a] total population of about 49.3 million people (2009 half-year estimate)... more than 800 000 people already receive antiretroviral treatment. But this is just half the number who need it."

[78] Medicines offered as part of the protocol to boost the immune system are Cozole, Ferrous Sulphate, Folic Acid and Vitamin B-co.

[79] According to C. Ellis (2004, p.83), "The Zulus call Aids *ingculazi*, a term which was coined by radio presenter Thokozani Nene and is made up of syllables from a number of words like *udongcula* and *ugconsula*, which all have to do with sexually transmitted diseases, poisonous roots and incurable diseases." For a critical view on the

below 200, the client is referred to the Richmond Clinic, as the Enkumane Clinic does not issue Antiretrovial Drugs. However, the client is offered the opportunity to stay in contact with the Enkumane Clinic via its patient support group 'Bambanani'. This group, of at present more than ten members, meets monthly at the Mission Post for a prayer meeting, discussions about common problems, the sharing of information, working in the Clinic garden, or for workshops or training in, for example, beadwork. It can be stated that the Enkumane Clinic is ideally situated to take care of people who come back sick from urban areas. Assistance is given with the resettling in the area, applications for Government Grants and finding adequate medical and spiritual care. Special attention is given by the Clinic to the taboos around AIDS, to the care for AIDS patients and orphans, preferably by relatives and to the extra burden this puts on women and girls who are generally seen as primary care-givers.[80]

Where the Clinic's staff is confronted with problems beyond their capabilities, clients are referred to the Clinic's doctor, who resides in the Richmond Village, to the Edendale Hospital, in Pietermaritzburg, or to the Reformed Mission. Usually, clients who are referred to the Reformed Mission are troubled with complicated problems at home, problems with application forms which have to be submitted to Government Departments, or problems which are normally referred to traditional healers. As the Reformed Mission is in regular contact with the homesteads in the area, it has the possibility to follow-up on clients at their homesteads and discuss matters in the home environment. The possibility that clients who visit the Clinic consult traditional healers and faith healers as well, cannot be denied.[81] However, in some cases where clients think that their complaints are caused by spirits, whether it is ancestral spirits who start to communicate with their descendants or roaming spirits who try to take possession of them, they come with their problem to the Clinic and ultimately to the Reformed Mission.[82] Generally in these cases, the clients expect that the prayer by a minister can heal them.

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diagnosis of AIDS, see C. Maggiore (2000).

[80] For the taboos around AIDS in a rural area see J. Steinberg (2008). In ideology, the homesteads (*amakhaya*) in the rural areas are the centres of social networks. The AIDS epidemic contradicts and undermines this ideology. Not only do the sickness and its solution come from outside, it destroys in the meantime the very centre of the communal existence. In the words of J. Steinberg (idem, pp.279, 326): "They were once again the sons and daughters of... peasants, fated forever to be on history's receiving end... It is the very intimacy of the home... which has become contaminated."
About the effects of the AIDS epidemic on communities, J. Frohlich (2008, p.351) writes: "'Skipped' generation households, headed by a grandmother, are increasingly common... the stigma attached to the disease... prevents those affected from being able to grieve openly... the number of orphans resulting from AIDS-related deaths in South Africa are predicted to rise over five million by 2014."
About the extra burden put on women and girls as primary care-givers, L. Siwila (2007, p.72) writes: "As the incidence of HIV and AIDS increases in most African countries, so does the burden of care-giving on women and girls."

[81] C. Ellis (2004, p.62) uses the term 'Dual Consultation': "Another interesting feature of African mental disorders in general is dual or multiple consultations with other agencies such as family members... and... traditional healers and faith healers, who are consulted before a medical doctor."

[82] C. Ellis (2004, p.63) lists the following causes outside the realm of physical sicknesses which according to clients may cause their complaints: *indiki* (spirit possession), *umnyama* (pollution or contamination), *ubuthakathi* (witchcraft), *ukuphonsa* (curses or spells) and *ukudlisa* (poisoning). He might have added *ukuthwasa*, the attempts made by an ancestral spirit to contact one of his descendants, experienced, for example, in pain in the shoulders, loss of appetite, falling down and dreams.

17.7 Church Services and Membership

The Reformed Mission Enkumane is involved in Sunday church services at four different places: eMalizayo, eNgwegwe, eNkumane and kwaVishavisha. Normally, these services consist of the following parts: praise and worship (*indumiso*), confession (*ukuvuma*), the reading and the sermon (*ukuvula iZwi*) and the collective part (*ukubhekana*). Often, the initiative during the praise and worship is taken by the youth. The first part of the service consists of the singing of choruses (par.17.3), a prayer and sometimes a reading from the Bible or some testimonies (par.17.4). After the praise and worship the leader of the service takes over the initiative. He leads the congregation during the second part of the service which consists of a prayer, often including the Lord's Prayer, followed by the recitation of the Ten Commandments and the Apostolic Creed.[83] When a minister is available, he leads the congregation during the third part of the service, the reading of Scripture and the sermon.

The past few years, sermons held on behalf of the Reformed Mission Enkumane, concentrate strongly on the element of being on a journey. Contrary to the popular idea that we are stuck in troublesome lives, comparable to the life of Job, the sermons encourage the idea that we are on a difficult journey which is not accidental but planned by God. Readings are chosen about, for example, the calling of Abraham and Sarah, the journey of the Israelite families through the desert, the return from exile, and words of Jesus such as: "If anyone wants to come with me, he must forget himself, carry his cross and follow me."[84] Over successive months, the readings of Scripture are given in a continuous order, so that time can be spent on repetition and memorizing. Much use is made of choruses as focus point of memorizing. Traditional Reformed frame works such as, for example, God's progressive self-revelation in a succession of covenants, seem to be beyond what can be shared in services.[85] Instead, much stress is put on God's presence in Jesus who changes victims into conquerors.

The last part of the Sunday services consists of the prayer for people in need, usually by one of the members of the congregation, the collection of monetary gifts, the contribution from a choir, the blessing and the announcements about activities during the following days or a consultation about actual matters in the congregation.

Interviewees asked about their reasons for becoming members of the Reformed Church indicated that they had to think about the way they would be buried. They wanted to be buried in a Christian way in the belief that, after dying, they would go to God. Others indicated that they became members of the Reformed Church, because in this Church the Bible is opened and explained. Others indicated that they wanted to be part of the Reformed Community. This Community (*ibandla*) is not seen as a local entity but as a unity with all

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[83] References to Matthew 6:9-13; Exodus 20:1-17.

[84] References to Genesis 12-23; Exodus 1-17; Isaiah 40-55; Matthew 16:24. J. Kapolyo (2006, p.1144) remarks about Matthew 16:24: "A follower of Christ is expected to do three things... abandoning one's assumed right to self-determination... surrendering one's life in order to fulfill one's calling to discipleship... walking in the footsteps of Jesus..."

[85] C. Trimp (1986, p.56-57), dealing with sermons about narrative texts in the Hebrew Bible, uses the word 'covenant' to describe the relationship between God and His people and the term 'salvation history' to describe God's progressive revelation culminating in His revelation in Jesus Christ. According to H. Berkhof (1990, p.229) the term 'covenant history' is used in different theological traditions: "Met het woord 'verbondsgeschiedenis' vatten we een breed geheel van hermeneutische tradities samen." Accoring to Berkhof (idem, p.230-248) the term refers to Biblical notions such as law, the relationship between God and His people, calling, faithfulness, promise and hope.

Reformed people as celebrated, for example, in the yearly Easter meeting. Healing was not mentioned as an argument to become members of the Reformed Church, although prayer is thought to be an important task of the church in times of distress or sickness. Jesus is seen as the central person in the Church. He is referred to as *inkosi* (lord), *umsindisi* (saviour), *ummeli* (mediator) or *umhlengi* (helper). For some, it is difficult to explain Jesus' position in contrast to God the Father or to the Spirit. According to others, their lives resemble that of the Biblical person Job, while Jesus fulfils the role of *ummeli*[86] or *umhlengi*[87]. Jesus is also called 'the husband of the widows and the father of the orphans'.[88] His possible return to earth at some point in the future does not seem to play an important role in the belief of many.

According to interviewees, the rejection of ancestor worship is a specific characteristic of the Reformed Church. However, it was admitted that this does not always affect ancestral practices in the homesteads. As an explanation for this discrepancy, the fact was given that men, who are often not members of the church, are responsible for the celebration of the traditional feasts (par.8.2) which form an integral part of ancestral practice. The suggestion that these feasts might be integrated into church services, as is commonly done with at least the first part of wedding ceremonies, was rejected by the interviewees as impossible.

Furthermore, the Reformed Church is identified by its use of and adherence to the Bible, its *Reformed Creeds*, its *Dordtse Church Order* and its church leadership. Although translated in isiZulu, only a few people seem to be acquainted with the contents of the *Reformed Creeds*. Whether members of the Reformed Church differ in lifestyle from members of other church denominations was, apparently, not a point of consideration for most interviewees. Church discipline is related predominantly to extramarital pregnancies.

[86] Reference to 1 John 2:1.

[87] Reference to Job 19:25.

[88] Reference to Psalm 68:6 (/5).

Chapter 18: Conclusion to Part 3

Since the Reformation in the 16th century, in the Reformed Church in The Netherlands, attention is given to the need for missionary work. However, most of the discussions were theoretical and until the 19th century, hardly any missionary initiatives were taken. In practice, until the 18th century, the Reformed Church spread via Dutch trading stations which were established in several locations inside and outside Europe, especially along the coasts of the Baltic Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, in Asia and in strategic ports, such as Cape Town. Unavoidably, at these trading posts, questions were raised about the relationship with the local population. In theory, it was commonly accepted that Christians from The Netherlands and from the local populations had to be treated equally. However, this principle clashed with ethnic and economic interests, for example in the slave-trade. Without convincing proof, it was assumed in the previous chapters that, in The Netherlands, the Reformed Church was seen as a national church and as such, not responsible for people belonging to other nations.

Already in the 16th century, some theologians urged the Reformed Church in The Netherlands to start missionary projects. Late 16th century Dutch writers tried to stimulate the Reformed Church to take its missionary duties seriously. Notable are the three motives for missionary work formulated by Gisbertus Voetius: conversion, church planting and the honour of God. Yet in practice, even during the 17th and 18th century, hardly any cross-cultural mission initiatives were taken by the Reformed Church.

The first Dutch missionary projects were started on the initiative of Pietistic Communities outside the Reformed Church, especially under the influence of the *Herrnhut* community in present day Germany. One of the missionary projects was the establishment, in 1735, of a *Herrnhut* community in the Dutch colony Suriname. The community tried to work among slave labourers but was met with severe opposition. Around the year 1800, under the influence of revival movements, several voluntary Missionary Societies were established in Europe and in North America. One of these societies was the *Nederlandsche Zendeling-Genootschap*, established in 1797. After the Napoleonic wars, the Society started missionary projects in the Dutch colonies, especially in present day Indonesia.

During the 19th century, in The Netherlands, several orthodox Reformed Churches were established which started their own Missionary Societies. In 1896, four years after the unification of the majority of the orthodox Reformed Churches, the decision was taken by their common Synod that missionary work was the responsibility of the Church and had to be initiated and carried out under the responsibility of the Church structures.

In 1944, through another church schism, the Free Reformed Churches were established. These orthodox Reformed Churches emphasized the independence of local Church Councils. In 1951, their Synod also decided that missionary work was the responsibility of local Church Councils. Accordingly, in 1954, the Church Council of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen decided to start its own missionary project, which around 1960 was established as the Reformed Mission in eNkumane, in present day KwaZulu-Natal. In theory, the project was envisaged as a Sender-orientated project undertaken in obedience to God's command to the local Church in Kampen to spread the Gospel in preaching and teaching people who had not yet heard about it. However in practice, almost from the start, the project was also strongly receiver-orientated and a symbiotic relationship between the Mission and the local community developed. The Mission introduced isiZulu-speaking preachers from outside the community and started to negotiate the educational and medical

needs of the people it served. On a spiritual level, the Mission took a strong stance against ancestor-veneration and against other church denominations but it made use of an existing pattern of prayer meetings and, as a result, became functionally involved in a context of healing.

During the 1960's, the Reformed Mission developed contacts, especially with families in the third social stratum of the eNkumane population, families which had recently migrated into the area. Most of them were involved in migrant labour. During the same period the missionary work was extended to farm labourers living on the surrounding commercial farms and via the migration patterns of these farm labourers the missionary project was extended in the areas west of Durban, south of the Richmond Village and west of Pietermaritzburg. In all its extensions, the project was dependent on the home church in Kampen and, from a South African perspective, is functioned in relative isolation. Newly established local churches became part of the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*.

Throughout its existence the Reformed Mission partly shared the history of the eNkumane community. Specific points of contact are funerals, prayer meetings and church services, where through singing and testifying common hope and faith is shared. Moreover, in organizing training sessions and providing medical care, the Mission tries to equip the local community and create new opportunities to become involved in the lives of the inhabitants of the area. For several interviewees, these contacts were in the first place of a healing character. For many years, their wider South African context was a situation of deprivation and discrimination. In recent years, their living conditions improved by the development of the infrastructure of the area. However, the character of the population as a residue population has not changed. There is a continuous migration of especially young adults and men into industrial areas while some of them return, especially the retired, the sick and the unemployed. In this context, questions can be asked about a lasting task of the Reformed Mission, which will be the topic in the next chapters, in Part 4, dealing with the real and possible motives of this foreign missionary project, its relationship with local Reformed churches and its prospects.

Part 4

REFORMING MISSION

Chapter 19: Margins of God's Kingdom and Boundaries of the Church

19.1 Introduction

Part 1 of this research gave an overview of the eNkumane area and its history. Special attention was given to continuous movement of people migrating over generations into and out of the area, their transient lives determined by the search for places to stay and opportunities to work. While for some their homesteads in the eNkumane area became nodes in social networks stretching out as far as Durban or Johannesburg, others live vulnerable lives marked by poverty and sickness.

Part 2 gave an overview of missionary projects in areas around eNkumane. This overview was used as a context for the description of the Reformed Mission Enkumane in Part 3.

In Part 4, in the final three chapters of this research, a more theoretical analysis is given of missionary motives and themes, and questions are asked about the prospects and challenges of the Reformed Mission Enkumane among established church congregations. Chapter 19 concentrates in general on the Margins of God's Kingdom as a focus of missionary work. It explores some Biblical themes which may function as a motivation for missionary work. Chapter 20 explores the development from missionary work into more egalitarian relationships between churches. In chapter 21, the concluding chapter, the findings of this research will be summarized.

19.2 Biblical Motives in the Reformed Mission

Initially, the proclamation of the Biblical message was seen by the Church Council in Kampen as the main task of its missionary project, but little reflection on this premise has been documented.[1] A central point for the Mission was the independence of the local church being responsible for its own missionary work (Acts 13:1-3). If there was a debate about the Biblical foundation for missionary work, it centred around the question whether the Great Commission (Matthew 28:19-20, Mark 16:15 and possibly also Luke 24:47) was still to be seen as a command for the church (par.16.1 and 16.13). According to the Church Council of Kampen, the Great Commission is indeed a command for the church today to do missionary work. The letters of instruction for its missionaries include explicit references to Matthew 28:19-20 ("Go, then, to all peoples everywhere and make them my disciples: baptize them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and teach them to obey everything I have commanded you") and to Acts

[1] A recent summary of Biblical Missionary motives discussed in the Netherlands Reformed Churches can be found in the 2009 Mission Policy of the *Nederlands Gereformeerde Zendingsvereniging*, the organisation which co-ordinates the missionary projects of the Netherlands Reformed Churches in Bunschoten-Spakenburg, Den Haag and Leerdam. The Policy lists five Biblical motives for missionary work (RMA: 2009b#, p.3-6):
a. the motive of obedience to the Great Commission (reference to Matthew 28:18-20; Luke 24:46-48; Acts 1:8);
b. the motive of *missio Dei* ("Zending als werk van God"; reference to John 3:16-20; Romans 1:16 and 10:14);
c. the soteriological motive of holistic care (reference to Luke 4:18-19; John 11:25; Revelations 21:4);
d. the ecclesiological motive of the partnership of sister churches under one Lord (reference to Ephesians 1:22-23);
e. the eschatological motive of humble hope (reference to Psalm 2; Matthew 4:17).
The difference between the motives b. and c. seems to be rather gradual in terms of spiritual versus physical.

1:8 (“When the Holy Spirit comes upon you, you will be filled with power, and you will be witnesses for me in Jerusalem, in all Judaea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth”).[2]

In reality, the Kampen missionaries had a limited range of action after their arrival in the Richmond District and they were surrounded by other church denominations. Extension of activities was usually not in response to the command to go to all peoples everywhere but a consequence of the missionaries following church members who moved to other areas.[3] Shortly after its arrival, the Reformed Mission started to spend a considerable amount of time training evangelists and ministers, most of whom already had previous experiences with Christianity and assisting church members in Sunday services, prayer meetings, classes and home visits. Much time and effort was spent by the Reformed Mission on the centre of the church establishing a solid foundation by equipping its leaders and members.

As a result, tension arose between the attention given to the centre of the church and the attention given to its periphery. The focus of the missionary work tended to move away from an orientation on the ‘margins of God’s Kingdom’ to a training of church leaders, especially ministers.[4] However, it can be maintained that the main characteristic of missionary work is its centrifugal movement from the centre of the church towards the margins of God’s Kingdom. This movement can be described in at least three aspects: an eschatological, an ecclesiological, and a soteriological aspect.[5]

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[2] RMA: 1990c#, p.1: The missionaries were sent by the Church Council of Kampen “... voor de prediking van het evangelie overeenkomstig de woorden van onze Here Jezus Christus tot Zijn apostelen, zoals we lezen in Mattheüs 28:19 en Handelingen 1:8.”

[3] For example, around 1970, farm labourers removed from their farm in kwaBambinkunzi, moved to eMbumbulu, where they became the centre of a new Reformed congregation. Likewise, during the 1970's, farm labourers removed from the farm Greenhill, north of Richmond, moved to eNdaleni, where they became the centre of a new Reformed congregation. And inhabitants of kwaNompofane, who left their area during the violence in the early 1990's, formed the centre of a new congregation in eMlazi.

[4] The term ‘margins of God’s Kingdom’ refers to the presence of ‘others’ in God’s special attention for ‘some’. For example, in the stories of God calling Abraham and Jacob, His concern for the nations is explicitly implied: “You will be a blessing... through you I will bless all the nations” (Genesis 12:3); “through you and your descendants I will bless all the nations” (Genesis 28:14). Furthermore, the prophecies of Amos (1-2) and Isaiah (21-25)against the nations imply God’s relationship with them and the possibility to take them to account although they seem to be outside the centre of God’s direct attention. The nations are accused of breaking God’s law and breaking His covenant: “The people have defiled the earth by breaking God’s laws and by violating the covenant he made to last forever. So God has pronounced a curse on the earth. The people are paying for what they have done” (Isaiah 24:5-6). Also, for example, God’s intervention in the crisis of the exile has immediate implications for the nations: “He will save His people and all the world will see it... many nations will marvel at him and kings will be speechless with amazement. They will see and understand something they had never seen before” (Isaiah 21:10, 15). According to G. von Rad (1968, p.288): “Die Gottesknechtlieder sprechen von einer Bedeutung des Knechts, die weit über Israel hinausgeht; sie konfrontieren ihn mit dem Universum der Völker.”

[5] K. Livingstone, 1990. The three aspects are present in the letter of instruction by the Church Council of Kampen for its missionaries (RMA: 1990c#): eschatology: “Daar het de wil van de HERE is, dat dit getuigenis van Jezus Christus zal uitgaan tot de einden der aarde, opdat de kerk des HEREN zal worden geplant, Gods uitverkorenen zullen worden vergaderd en de volkomenheid van Gods Rijk kome, waarin Hij alles zal zijn in allen - 1 Cor.15:28”; ecclesiology: “ook wij, die vroeger heidenen waren zonder Christus. Zonder hoop en zonder God in de wereld - dichtbij gekomen zijn door het bloed van Christus en medeburgers der heiligen en huisgenoten Gods geworden zijn - Ephesians 2:12,13,19"; soteriology: “ hen die de Vader tot Christus zal trekken.” The letters do not refer to the

19.3 Mission and the Aim of History

Several Bible texts suggest that God's work cannot merely be defined as maintenance. His involvement with the world has a purpose. His history is evolving towards a pre-planned end. In Ephesians 1:9-10, it is mentioned that God has a secret plan to unite His whole creation under Jesus Christ: "This plan, which God will complete when the time is right, is to bring all creation together, everything in heaven and on earth, with Christ as head." Paul formulates the final stage of the plan as follows in 1 Corinthians 15:28: "When all things have been placed under Christ's rule, then he himself, the Son, will place himself under God, who placed all things under him; and God will rule completely over all."

In other words, several Bible texts suggest that God is not satisfied with the stabilisation of His Kingdom somewhere on earth. He wants to extend it in order that it ultimately includes His whole creation. In the Gospel according to Matthew, the expansion of God's Kingdom is described in terms of the incorporation of the nations who have being living so far in the margins of his Kingdom. According to Matthew, Israel is a conduit, a starting point for God's involvement with the whole world and, accordingly in Matthew, special attention is given to the people outside Israel. It is the 'people from the east' who are the first ones to honour the child Jesus (Matthew 2). The child counted several women from the nations among his ancestors (Matthew 1:3-5) and found refuge in Egypt, while the then king of Jerusalem, Herod, resembled the Old Testament king of Egypt, Pharaoh.[6] In Matthew, the prophecy by Isaiah (60:3-5) is

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anticipated relationship between the missionaries and the local population.
Other Biblical motives for missionary work are mentioned by, for example, J. Bavinck (1954, p.25f), who discerns in the Old Testament a universalistic motive (the whole world belongs to God: Genesis 1:10, Deuteronomy 4:39), a doxological motive (the whole world must praise God: Psalm 24, 33 and 47:1; Jeremiah 10:10), and a soteriological / eschatological motive (Isaiah 2:2-3; Zachariah 8:23; Joel 2:28). In the New Testament, he points at a universalistic motive (Luke 2:32; Matthew 2:1-12), the motive of being sent (John 20:21), an eschatological motive (Acts 2, referring to Joel 2), and a reconciliation motive (2 Corinthians 5).
J. Verkuyl (1981, p.124), more or less following J. Bavinck, points out four missionary motives in the Old Testament: an universalistic (eschatological) motive, a soteriological motive, a missionary (witness) motive, and an antagonistic (doxological) motive, while in the New Testament, he points at the motive of command.
D.J. Bosch (1991, p.172-178), concentrating on the letters of Paul, discerns five missionary motives: an ecclesiological motive, mission to the Jews, God's immanent triumph, transformation of society and the motive of mission in weakness.
The seemingly arbitrary lists of Biblical motives for missionary work may be summarized with the aid of the main features of the letters of Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles (Galatians 11.13). According to J.C. Beker (1980, p.351), "Paul's theological thinking is characterized by two fundamental features: the contingent particularity of his hermeneutic and his sure grasp of the coherent centre of the gospel. The latter focuses on Christ as the proleptic fulfilment of the triumph of God, that is, the redemption of the created order, whereas the former manifests itself in the occasional and opportune character of the letters." The church, united by Christ under his reign of reconciliation (Romans 8:1-16), moves towards God's final triumph (Romans 8:17-39), which already becomes manifest in Christ's reign. The ecclesiological, soteriological and eschatological aspects of this process (Romans 8:30: set apart, put right and share in His glory) become evident, when the church moves beyond its original centre (in Paul's days: the Jews) and becomes manifest in its margins (in Paul's days: the Gentiles).

[6] Compare Exodus 1:22 with Matthew 2: 16.

actualized in that, at the end of times, the nations will come together in Jerusalem.[7] Accordingly, Matthew gives full attention to, for example, a Roman officer's belief in Jesus, culminating in Jesus' prophecy that the people from far will take the central position in God's Kingdom (Matthew 8:5-13). It is Matthew who refers to 'Galilee of the nations' and to Jesus' care for people in Syria and Decapolis (Matthew 4:15, 23-25). It was Pilate's wife who calls Jesus 'just' and again a Roman officer who said about Jesus: "He really was God's son" (Matthew 27:19, 54), while the Jewish authorities asked for his death. The central demand in Matthew is to do God's will, to do His Justice (Matthew 5:20; 6:33; 7:21). The church is not merely asked to preach a perfect life, but to be perfect itself (Matthew 5:48). This includes an active involvement with the world (Matthew 28:19-20).

In a similar way, Paul saw himself as a servant of Christ committed to the Gospel with the task to reach out to the nations (Romans 15:16). For Paul, the secret truth behind the salvation of the nations is that their salvation is the final step towards the salvation of Israel (Romans 11:25-36).[8] For God's people, God's reconciliation with the world is the final step towards their resurrection from death (Romans 11:15). God's focus on the margins of his Kingdom is a sign that the present existence is coming to an end. For both Matthew and Paul, these margins are the nations, the non-Israelites. They take the lead in the final phase of history which starts for Jews and Gentiles alike at the cross (1 Corinthians 1:23-31).

Similarly, in the Gospel according to Luke, Jesus' birth inaugurates the final era in history: God's focus turns to the margins of His Kingdom. Yet, for Luke, these margins are not so much the non-Israelites, as they are the poor, the prisoners, the blind, and the oppressed (Luke 4:18-21). Luke actualizes the prophecy by Ezekiel (34:16): "I will look for those who are lost, bring back those that wander off, bandage those that are hurt, and heal those that are sick; but those who are fat and strong I will destroy, because I am a shepherd who does what is right." In this Gospel, the people marginalized in society take the lead in God's Kingdom. It is not the 'people from the east', but the shepherds who are the first ones to honour the child Jesus and who spread the Gospel about the new born Saviour (Luke 2). In his teachings, Jesus holds up the people on the margin of the society as examples, such as a Samaritan (Luke 10), a run-away youth (Luke 15) and a tax collector (Luke 18). The end of time is marked by the coming of the Holy Spirit over all people, irrespective of their position in society (Acts 2). Repentance and forgiveness of sins must be preached to all people, beginning in Jerusalem (Luke 24:47).

19.4 Mission and the New Community

Through God's attention to the outsiders, the margins of his Kingdom, a new community is established (John 10:16). Paul calls the new community 'the unity of Christ' (1 Corinthians

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[7] The notion of the nations being incorporated into God's people is also found in the book of the prophet Zechariah, e.g. 2:1-5; 8:18-23; 9:5-8.

[8] L. Newbigin (1992, p.125): "In Romans 9-11... Paul gives his most fully developed theology of mission, and here the centre of the picture is the eschatological event in which the fulness of the Gentiles will have been gathered in and all Israel will be saved."

1:9) or 'the body of Christ' (Romans 12:5; 1 Corinthians 12:12).[9] In this community all people may take part: "Hurry out to the streets and alleys of the town and bring the poor, the crippled, the blind, and the lame... so that my house will be full" (Luke 14:21, 23). The new community is principally different from the world, but still fully in the world. According to John (15:19), the world will hate this new community, so it will become a community of witnesses, literally: 'martyrs' (John 15:27).[10] The new community is characterized as protected by God and based on unity and mutual love (John 17:9-11; 1 John 2:7-17). Its task is not to stabilize itself but to focus on and move into the world (John 17:18-21; 20:21). The community is a God-made nation glorifying Him in mutual love (1 Peter 1:22-23; 2:9-10). It reflects and is transparent to God's being (John 17:11).[11]

19.5 Mission and Reconciliation

Another aspect of missionary work is reconciliation. In God's plan, there is no place for hate or revenge (Luke 9:51-56). The crucial difference brought about by Jesus' death is that people no longer live for themselves but for Christ (2 Corinthians 5:14-15). They have their own experience of Christ and do not need other people to be mediators between them and Jesus (John 4:42). Yet, they should not isolate themselves, not even from people thought to be unclean or dangerous (Acts 10:9-17, 34-35). In the newly found community, it is not only the outsiders who change. In Acts 10-11, the person affected most in the contact between Peter and the Roman officer, is Peter (Acts 11:17-18).[12] The church is not merely asked to preach reconciliation. It has to live it (1 Corinthians 5:16-21), and it will be taken to account if it fails (Galatians 2:11-14). In the process of being saved, people are not only freed from human-made burdens which separate them from God, they also cross human-made borders which separate people.

19.6 Living on the Margins

To understand the Great Commission as a command by Jesus to the church (implicated in His disciples), raises questions about the relationships between the three entities involved: Jesus; the church and the disciples; all nations. The question is to what extent the church is the object or the agent of the command, in other words, whether the church is being sent, or whether it is implored to send others. The Free Reformed Church of Kampen understood the Great

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[9] 'Unity is the translation of *κοινονια* in 1 Corinthians 1:9; 'body' is the translation of *σωμα* in Romans 12:5 and 1 Corinthians 12:12.

[10] The verb μαρτυρεω is frequently used in the Gospel of John. Its meaning 'to witness' carries the connotation of 'standing for the truth even in the face of death' (John 18:37), "im Sprachgebr[auch] der Märtyrerkirche Zeugnis ablegen, (Blut)zeuge sein, das Martyrdum erleiden... Auch 1Ti[motheus] 6:13 gehört wohl hierher" (W. Bauer, 1988, p.999).

[11] S. de Cruchy (2008, p.7): "Mission is not about making connections. We are already connected. Mission is about transforming that connectedness so that it resonates with the connectedness within the trinity, made known to us in the incarnation. Everyone is sent everywhere, within His movement to bear witness to other ways of being connected."

[12] L. Newbigin: "Mission will not only be a matter of preaching and teaching but also of learning."

Commission to imply that the church is both an object and an agent of the command to proclaim the Gospel.[13] The church is sent and, at the same time, it functions as sender on authority of Jesus. In other words: the church is sent to send. Accordingly, the Free Reformed Church of Kampen sent missionaries, to proclaim the Gospel to people who had not yet heard about it. It was left to the missionaries to identify those people, who they were and where they lived.

Alternatively, the church as part of the nations may be seen in the first place as the object of the Great Commission, as the entity being sent.[14] From this point of view, the church is not sent to send a message. The message is conveyed by living, and forming relationships, with those who live on the margin of God's Kingdom. In this sense, mission becomes the process in which the church moves beyond its own boundaries. God's involvement with the church and via the church with the world serves a purpose for the whole of creation. To be part of this process includes an orientation on the margins of His Kingdom, a new unity based on love and an ongoing process of reconciliation.[15] It may be true that in the past, missionaries stressed the gain and the risk of accepting or rejecting their message to the receivers. The gain would be life (John 10:10). The risk would be disaster (2 Peter 3:12). Yet, the trap for the missionaries is the assumption that they are on the giving side, while 'the world' stands on the receiving side and that the missionaries use this dichotomy as a legitimization for their activities. For example, to read Acts 16:9 ("Come over and help us") as an encouragement for paternalistic love, is a misinterpretation of the story about giving up one's personal plans, giving up one's control over the situation (Acts 16:7).

If mission is the process in which the church moves beyond its own boundaries and involves itself with the margins of God's Kingdom, if the church is being sent itself, just as Jesus was sent (John 20:21), then it will need the same serving and humbling attitude as Jesus had (Philippians 2:1-11). It will have to re-evaluate its position on a continuous basis in order to maintain a servant-like attitude for the spreading of God's Kingdom. The danger for the church is that, in the course of its existence, it distances itself from the margins of God's Kingdom and starts to think in terms of 'we' and 'them', instead of realising that it is called to be part of the

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[13] B. Wielenga (1998, p.243-282) redefines the terms *missio Dei* and *missio ecclesiae* within the context of God's Covenant. Defining *missio ecclesiae* as a response of the church on the *missio Dei*, he uses the term *missio ecclaesiae* to explain the active missionary task of the church as object and agent. In this view the church is sent to deliver a message: "In deze zin kan het getuigenis van Gods ingrijpen in de geschiedenis [*missio Dei*] de kern genoemd worden van zending als *missio ecclesiae*" (idem, p.251).

[14] J.H. Bavinck (1954, p.13): "De kerk is gezonden." Idem (p.63): "Zending is niet een gaan op uitnodiging, maar het is een gaan op bevel van Hem, die ons zond. We worden gestuwd, niet getrokken."

[15] The focus of the church on the margins of the Kingdom implicates that the margins become part of the centre of the church. For example in a socially engaged approach, this means that the poor become part of the centre: "[Die 1981 Weltmissionskonferenz in] Melbourne ist in der Frage nach der Rolle der Armen in Kirche und Mission einen Schritt weiter gekommen, insofern die Konferenz in den Armen die vorrangigen Träger der Mission Gottes erkannte und dies christologisch begründete" (L. Bauerochse, 1996, p.129). Similarly, F. Chikane (1988, p.6), writing from the perspective of the struggle against Apartheid, writes: "The church... must reject the dominant ideology of the powerful and take the side of the cross. This... will mean that it will have to take the side of the weak, poor and powerless in the world."

margins.[16] Its message is not primarily a verbal but a relational one. Its primary message is the relations it establishes.

In the course of the 20th century, 'mission' was increasingly understood as *missio Dei* (par.3.15; 14.1). The formula *missio Dei*, derived from especially the Gospel of John, emphasizes that mission is not to be understood as the self-expansion of the church, but as the participation of the church in God's involvement with the world. The central process leading to God's Kingdom is constituted by the Father sending the Son into this world, by the Father and the Son sending the Holy Spirit, and subsequently the church being sent into the world.[17]

In practice, however, the applicability of the term *missio Dei* is not very clear. A first disadvantage of the term *missio Dei* is that it obscures the difference between 'church' and 'mission'. In a more 'ecumenical' tradition the term *missio Dei* is used to emphasize God's involvement with the 'world'. God's main concern is thought to be the 'world' and every aspect of His involvement with the 'world' can be called 'mission'. In this approach, there is hardly any identity left for the 'church' outside the involvement with the 'world'. In a more 'evangelical' tradition, the term *missio Dei* is used to emphasize God's urge to establish the 'church' in the 'world'. God's main concern is thought to be the 'church' and the term 'mission' is thought to be the word for God's realisation of His 'church' in the 'world'. In this approach, the possibility that God is involved with the world outside the 'church' is hardly considered and 'mission' tends to become the term for the relationship between overseas churches. In both application of the term *missio Dei*, there is little difference left between 'mission' and 'church'.[18]

A second practical disadvantage of the term *missio Dei* is that it suggests unity and an all-enfolding plan of God without expressing the diversity in the human struggles for meaning and direction. A definition of 'mission' should take the tension between unity and diversity into account, for example, by stating that "Mission is the effort to localize and actualize the promise that God is constructing one heaven and earth for a diverse and pluriform humanity."[19] Both the engagement with human suffering in its different forms and the hope for final redemption should be part of 'mission' authorized by Christ. God uses the church to reach out to the world.

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[16] B. Obama (1995, p.284) refers to one of the guiding principles of Trinity, Chicago, called 'A disavowal of the pursuit of Middleclassness', warning church members against the danger of becoming socially upwardly mobile, "the psychological entrapment of Black 'middleclassness' that hypnotizes the successful brother or sister into believing they are better than the rest and teaches them to think in terms of 'we' and 'them'." Reflecting on 1 Corinthians 9:19-23, a similar warning is given by Mission and Public Affairs (2004, p.87-88): "The gospel can only be proclaimed in a culture, not at a culture." L. Newbigin (1989, p.119): "The church is not so much the agent of the mission as the locus of the mission."

[17] Reference to e.g. John 5:36; 14:26; 15:26; 20:21; Act 1:8.

[18] L.A. Hoedemaker (1988, p.173): "De formule *missio Dei* markeert een overgang naar een nieuwe discussie, naar een poging om zending en kerk in een nieuwe theologische samenhang bij elkaar te krijgen. Maar het is te open naar alle kanten om vruchtbaar te kunnen zijn... Aan de ene ['oecumenische'] kant verdampt de continuïteit met zendingsbeweging, doordat alles wat God in de wereld doet zending genoemd wordt - de georganiseerde 'zending' blijft dan een merkwaardige rest te midden van bemoeienis met diakonaat, ontwikkeling, bevrijding, dialoog - en aan de andere ['evangelische'] kant wordt het eigen [kerkelijke] gehalte van zending zozeer beschermd tegen de implicaties van de nieuwere wereldervaring(en), dat de hele integratieproblematiek [van kerk en zending] eigenlijk blijft liggen."

[19] B. Hoedemaker, 2000, p.178.

Chapter 20: From Missionary Work to Fellowship

20.1 Decolonisation and Partnership

During the second half of the 20th century, major changes in both Africa and Europe changed the position of European missionary projects in Africa: Colonial Empires fell apart; former colonies established their own governments;[1] Europe started developing into an economic and political unit. The Cold War between capitalist Western European and communistic Eastern European countries ended with the fall of the Berlin Wall, on 9th November 1989, and the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics during the 1990's. The European Union, established in 1992, incorporated several former communist countries and increasingly closed its borders to countries in the southern hemisphere, which were seen as economic competitors, markets, suppliers of minerals and tourist destinations. In relationship with developing countries, European countries became lenders or donors of development projects without accepting direct responsibilities for their management. Alternative destinations for aid were found in former communist countries. As African countries effectively closed their borders to foreign aid in kind, truckloads of second-hand furniture, clothes, engines etcetera were transported from Western Europe to Eastern European countries.[2] In the wake of growing interest in East European countries, Western European focus has shifted away from Africa. At the same time, the relationships between churches in different continents were re-established on a more equal basis. Generally, missionary involvement in Africa was transferred into various forms of partnerships, whilst the principal motivation for missionary work was increasingly questioned.[3]

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[1] The process of decolonization was marked, in 1947, with the independence of the first two British colonies in Asia, India and Pakistan and with the independence, in 1957, of the first sub-Saharan colony, Gold Coast, from then on 'Ghana'. By 1957, there were only 6 independent countries in Africa: Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Libya (since 1951) and South Africa (G. Arnold, 2005, p.xiii).

[2] In 2003, the last box with clothes was sent from Kampen to eNkumane (RMMA: 2004b#). The box was impounded by the South African Customs because it contained textiles. It cost the Reformed Mission R.650.00 custom fees, numerous telephone calls and two trips to Durban to trace the box and have it cleared. A year after it had been impounded, it was released and brought to eNkumane. It contained handmade socks for babies born at the Enkumane Clinic and handmade Bible covers.
Since about 1970, the Netherlands Reformed Church in Kampen maintains contacts with Christians in, especially, Hungary and Rumania. It has a partnership relationship with a church in Hodgya, a Hungarian congregation of about 100 members. Over the years, the Church in Kampen assisted the Hodgya congregation with secondhand clothes, food parcels, an agricultural project, the renovation of a church and a minister's house, the building of a church hall and the extension of local gas-mains.

[3] L. Newbigin (1989, p.116): "One searches in vain through the letters of St. Paul to find any suggestion that he lays it anywhere on the conscience of his readers that they ought to be active in mission... nowhere do we find him telling his readers that they have a duty to do so." J. Vonkeman: "Dis dan ook nie nodig en wenselik om van die 'sendingsbevel' van Matteus 28 te praat nie. Dit het trouens in die sendingsgeskiedenis nouliks 'n rol gespeel... Kerk IS sending, uitbeweeg na buiten toe" (Die Redakteur, 2007, p.16). Yet, writing from an African perspective, J. Kapolyo (2006, p.1170) states: "This is a message that the African church needs to hear clearly. For too long we have been recipients of the benefits of the gospel... We do not see it as our duty to go and spread the good news... This is disobedience to the words of the Lord... We must repent of this sin and take up his call... Jesus commands us to make disciples."

20.2 International Missionary Conferences

As early as 1928, at the Jerusalem Conference of the International Missionary Council, the adequacy of notions such as 'sending churches' and 'receiving churches' was questioned. Attempts were made to redefine their relationships as 'partnerships'.[4] In 1938, at the Tambaran Conference of the International Missionary Council the word partnership was used as the term for new forms of co-operation between churches on different continents.[5] In 1947, at the Whitby Conference of the International Missionary Council, the equality of churches in different continents in their co-operation was captured in the phrase 'Partnership in Obedience'.[6] In 1948, at the establishment of the World Council of Churches, all national and provincial churches were accepted as equal members. In 1958, at the Ghana Conference of the International Missionary Council, the distinction between 'older' and 'younger' churches was rejected as no longer valid or helpful. Subsequently, in 1963, at the Mexico City Conference of the Commission for World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches, with the phrase 'Mission in six Continents', mission was redefined as a common concern of all churches in all continents.[7] At this Conference, instead of the word partnership, the term 'Joint Action for Mission' was used to

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[4] According to L. Bauerochse (1996, p. 156-160), before the formation of the Commonwealth, the word 'Partnership' became the common political term to rephrase the relationship between the British Empire and its colonies after being granted independence: "Dabei bestätigt sich die Vermutung, dass der Begriff Partnershaft in seiner spezifischen Verwendung im Zusammenhang mit Nord-Süd-Beziehungen zu einem nicht unwesentlichen Teil aus der britischen Kolonialpolitik stammt... Sie wurde schon gefürt seit den nordamerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskriegen und dem Herausbrechen der Verenigten Staaten aus dem Britischen Empire 1776... Zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhundert und verstärkt nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg kam... die Diskussion um das Recht auf Selbstbestimmung auch für die sogenannten Kolonialvölker auf. Schon 1905 wurde in diesem Zusammenhang erstmal der Begriff 'partnership' verwendet... Im Juni 1942 - fünf Jahre vor der Weltmissionkonferenze in Whitby - erklärte die Britische Regierung das Prinzip der Partnershaft zum 'governing principle of the Colonial Empire'." Although not clearly defined, probably, 'partnership' stood for 'independence within the British Empire'.

[5] L. Bauerochse (1996, p.64), "Das Jerusalemer Verständniss [für Partnershaft] betonte stärker die neue Qualität der Beziejung des Vertrauens und der Gemeinschaft (confidence, fellowship). In Tambaram dagegen rückt aussliesslich das Ziel der Partnershaft ins Blickfeld, die missionarische Aufgabe: Partnershaft werd hier Synonym für wirksame Zusammenarbeit (co-operation)."

[6] Already in 1928, during the Jerusalem Conference of the International Missionary Council, the term 'partnership' was used to indicate a change in relationship between a mission and a mission area after the establishment of a church in that mission area: "In Jerusalem 1928 wird somit erstmals auch vom Begriff her eine 'Partnerschaft' zwischen Missionen und örtlichen Kirchen gefordert" (J. Bauerochse, 1996, p.49). At the this Conference attention was given to the problems inherent to such a relationship, for example, "die Stellung der Missionare und die Formen finanzieller und materieller Hilfe" (idem, p.50).
Subsequently in 1938, at the Conference of the International Missionary Council in Tambaram, the term 'partnership' was used to indicate co-operation: "Partnerschaft wurde hier als eine Zweckgemeinschaft zur Bewältigung einer Aufgabe verstanden; eine Form möglichst effektiver Zusammenarbeit." (idem, p.61).
According to D.J. Bosch (1991, p.379), "The Whitby Conference (1947) coined the phrase 'Partnership in Obedience' in an attempt to give expression to the conviction that it was theologically preposterous to distinguish between 'autonomous' and 'dependent' churches."

[7] In 1961, the International Missionary Council integrated with the World Council of Churches and the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism was established.

indicate the relationship between churches in different continents.[8] However, in 1973, at the Bangkok Conference of the Commission for World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches, it became clear that there was little agreement about what type of partnership or what type of joint action was intended.[9] The suspicion was raised that partnership had become a term to justify the continuous presence of missionary societies in former mission areas.[10] During this Conference, the call was made for a moratorium on missionaries in order to give the churches the opportunity to come to real ecumenical relationships as equal partners.[11] During the following year, 1974, the Lusaka All African Council of Churches elaborated the call for a moratorium on missionaries.[12] In 1981, at the Melbourne Conference of the Commission for World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches, much consideration was given to the poor, not only as a target group for special care, but also as the carriers of the Gospel about God's Kingdom.[13] At the Conference, instead of the word partnership, the term '*kononia*' was used as the expression for witnessing and sharing together.[14] Yet, in the meantime, it had become common practice to use the term partnership for inter-church help projects involving churches or local congregations in different continents.[15]

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[8] L. Bauerochse, 1996, p.108.

[9] According to L. Bauerochse (1996, p.120), at the Bangkok Conference in 1973, serious questions were raised about the mere possibility of a partnership between equal church partners in the North and in the South: "Unter den gegenwartigen Bedingungen... kann diese Partnershaft nur eine Partnershaft zwischen den Schwachen und den Mächtigen sein."

[10] L. Bauerochse (1996, p.123): "So wurde Umfeld der Konferenz von Bangkok der Begriff [Partnershaft] eher dazu genutzt, das bleibende Recht von Missiongesellschaften bzw. der nördlichen Kirchen zum missionarischen Einsate in den Ländern des Südens zu rechtfertigen."

[11] Already in 1967, the idea of a moratorium on missionaries was launched: "The question of a moratorium was first launched by Ivan Illich in an article in the Jesuit magazine, America -January 1967" (J.A. Kirk, 1999, 185). In 1971, during a Mission Festival in the USA, it was defended by Rev. John Gatu, President of the Presbyterian Church in Kenya: "In his address to the Reformed Church in America, at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, he challenged the mission in the West and did so in words of prophetic seriousness: 'I am going to argue that the time has come for the withdrawal or foreign missionaries from many parts of the Third World, that the Churches of the Third World must be allowed to find their own identity and that the continuation of the present missionary movement is a hindrance to this selfhood of the Church'" (B. Sundkler & C. Steed, 2000, p.1027).

[12] A. Wind, 1988, p.255. According to J. Verkuyl (1981, p.344-345), in 1975, in Lusaka, the idea of a moratorium on missionaries was specified as a call for self-reliance and as a call for re-organisation of the international assistance and co-operation between churches: "Het gaat volgens [de voorzitter van de A.AC.C., ds. John Gatu] om een nieuwe koers, die leiden zal tot meer 'mature relationships'... Het debat rondom het moratorium is o.a. bedoeld om de 'self-reliance' te stimuleren en via de 'self-reliance' de katholiciteit van de kerk als geheel... De bedoeling van het gesprek over het moratorium is een koers uit te zetten en te komen tot reoriëntatie in de kerkelijke hulpverlening."

[13] L. Bauerochse (1996, p.129): "Die Armen selbst werden in ihrem Befreiungskampf als Träger der Mission, als Verkündiger des Evangeliums angesehen."

[14] Reference to 1 Corinthians 1:9.

[15] L. Bauerochse (1996, p.135): "Der Begriff der Partnershaft hatte sich spätestens im Verlauf den siebziger Jahre zu einer allgemein gebräuglichen Chiffre im Bezug auf jegliche Form zwischenkirchlicher Hilfe and Zusammenarbeit entwickelt."

20.3 Imbalanced Partnerships

A partnership between churches may have different connotations which can be illustrated with examples from the Bible.[16] The word partnership may refer to the sharing in a common project (Philippians 1:5; 4:15), it may refer to the sharing of gifts (1 Corinthians 12:7) and it may refer to the sharing in suffering (2 Corinthians 1:7). However, in most cases a partnership between churches in different continents refers to the sharing of financial resources.[17] Sometimes, Paul's collection for Jerusalem (2 Corinthians 8-9) is used as a guiding example for this type of relationship.[18] The confusing danger resulting from this is that the word partnership stands for an imbalanced relationship between a donor-church and a recipient-church. The imbalance might be a serious threat for the development of a recipient church. Accordingly, around 1970, the idea of a moratorium on missionaries from the northern hemisphere found an increasing number of supporters, especially in the southern hemisphere (par.19.5). Ironically, however, "the fact of the matter... is that without at least a token number of missionaries going overseas from the West it would have been hard for Churches and agencies [in the South] to maintain financial support at acceptable levels."[19]

The relationship between a donor church and a recipient church may be seriously disturbed by insufficient or unclear decision procedures or by a lack of accountability. The relationship may take the form of a mutual pleasing, which undermines an open and honest

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[16] J.A. Kirk, 1999, 188-191.

[17] L. Bauerochse (1996, p.362): "In der theoretischen Diskussion über Partnerschaften wird dies ambivalent beurteilt. Partnerschaften, so heisst es, sollten eigentlich vorrangig ein geistliches Ziel verfolgen. Die matietierelle und finanzielle Hilfe sei demgegenüber zweitrangig. Es ist schon deutlich geworden, dass diese Vorderung keinen Anahalt an der Realität hat."

[18] C.J. Haak (1995, p.12-13), Professor in "Zendingswetenschap, Godsdienstwetenschap en Evangelistiek" at the *Theologische Hoogeschool* of the Free Reformed Churches in Kampen: "Op de manier waarop we omgingen met onze vroegere zusterkerken moeten we nu ook omgaan met de kerken op het voormalige zendingsveld... Dan is het geen schande om hulp te vragen, personeel en financieel, in de lijn van 2 Kor.8-9... Dan komt de beoefening van het oecumenisch kerkverband in zicht."
Yet, the use of 2 Corinthians 8-9 in the context of a partnership between churches is an underestimation of the uniqueness of Paul's collection for Jerusalem. This collection was, what J.C. Beker (1980, p.74) calls: "Paul's basic apostolic effort - to establish the one church of Jews and Gentiles." This specific unique collection for Jerusalem, if accepted, would mark the fulfilment of eschatological promises (Isaiah 60:4-9) and the establishment of a common church of Jews and Gentiles (Romans 15:7-12). "The collection visit [Romans 15:25] is the fulfilment of Paul's pledge to the apostolic council (Gal.2:10), but its meaning transcends the issue of economic support for the 'poor among the saints' (Rom.15:26) in Jerusalem. [Possibly, the poverty problem in Jerusalem was aggravated by the conversion of priests who, because of their conversion, had lost their position in the temple; Acts 6:7.] It expresses symbolically the eschatological unity of the church of 'Jews' and 'Gentiles'... as the fulfilment of Paul's apostolic mission... it... also expresses the salvation-historical priority of Israel and Jewish Christianity over the Gentiles (Rom.15:27; cf. 15:18)... Paul's anxiety about the collection is evident: he has doubts about its reception by the pillars in Jerusalem... and he fears the Jews in Judea (Rom.15:30[-31])... It is interesting that Galatia - prominently mentioned in 1 Cor.16:1 as a contributor to the collection - is absent from the list in Romans 15, where only Macedonia and Achaia are named (15:26)... The omission of Galatia in the collection list could point to the fact that just prior to the writing of Romans, Paul had not only written Galatians but had lost his case with the Galatian churches as well" (idem; p.72-73).

[19] J.A. Kirk, 1999, p.186.

communication. If it is clear that a donor church favours financial applications for specific projects, for example, 'mission projects', 'water projects', 'orphans projects' or 'projects for HIV & AIDS', then recipient churches will be tempted to formulate their applications in those terms, no matter how they see their real needs. Furthermore, donor churches may alienate recipient churches by being demanding in terms of, for example, accountability or church structures, thereby running the risk that the recipients start to look for other donors.

In practice, the word partnership has paradoxical connotations: the intention of the term is to define a relationship of mutuality while in many cases it is an indication of at least material dependence.[20] The term is intended to suggest a spiritual relationship between churches but often, it indicates a practical form of co-operation in the form of projects sponsored by one partner and realized by the other.[21] However, the use of the word 'partnership' is a recognition of the fact that the term 'mission' is not a proper characterization of the relationship between churches in different continents, which during the second half of the 20th century, was increasingly defined as an inherent aspect of every local church, a recognition that the church itself is sent into the world.[22]

20.4 The Concept of a Common Para-Church Organisation

The word 'partnership' suggests that both partners are equal contributors and beneficiaries and enjoy an equal influence on the relationship.[23] Structurally, this might suggest that partner churches should run common projects, 'para-church agencies', independent of their church structures. "Their main objective should be to facilitate co-operation between local churches and across denominational boundaries."[24] For a para-church agency to be a good expression of a partnership several preconditions must be met, such as the commitment of the partners, and their consensus about the aim and the strategies of the agency, about evaluation procedures and accountability, and about the appointment of staff and volunteers who will

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[20] L. Bauerochse (1996, p.396-397): "Nach wie for erweist sich die Behauptung, der einseitige Finanztransfer werde durch einen 'Transfer von Spiritualität', von Glaubensstärke oder Lebendiger Frömmigkeit zu einem wechselseitigen Geber-Nehmer-Verhältnis als Illusion... Der einseitige Finanztranfer lässt aus Partnerschaften immer wieder Patenschaften werden."

[21] Often, the term 'partnership' indicates that one partner is supported by the other, without much reflection on the effects of the support: "Wiederholt haben die Kirchen darauf hingewiesen, dass das Problem von Armut und Ungerechtigkeit nicht durch den Transfer von Geld und materieller Hilfe zu überwinden ist, weil daraus neue Abhängigkeiten und Unfreiheit erwachsen" (1996, p.165).

[22] L. Bauerochse (1996, p.164): "Mission nimmt Teil an der Sendung Gottes, an seiner Bewegung auf die Welt zu. Sie is nicht Aufgabe von Spezialisten oder Spezialagenturen, sondern gehört zur Lebensäusserung jeder örtlicher Gemeinde."

[23] J.A. Kirk, 1999, p.192: "The ideal would be for resources to be pooled and mutual decisions taken about how they are used."

[24] J.A. Kirk, 1999, p.199; according to Kirk (idem, p.198), "One particular aspect of partnership is the position occupied by agencies within the Church which are not directly linked to the Churches' formal structures. Many of these are ecumenical or interdenominational in constitution. Most of them are recognised by the churches, but some may be operating rather as a law unto themselves." Common examples of para-church organisations are the Bible Societies established in many countries.

constitute the agency.

When at the end of the 18th century and during the 19th century, missionary work became a matter of interest in The Netherlands, several Dutch para-church organisations were established to organize the work (par.15.10; 15.14). In the tradition of the Free Reformed Churches, missionary work was seen as the prerogative of local Church Councils, but by the end of the 20th century, ecumenical contacts were again centrally maintained by the Synod Deputies for Relationships with Foreign Churches (*Deputaten voor Betrekkingen met Buitenlandse Kerken*) and training was centrally organized by the Institute of Reformed Theological Training, in Zwolle. In 2001, the Netherlands Reformed Churches in Bunschoten-Spakenburg, Den Haag and Leerdam, the three Netherlands Reformed local churches with missionary projects in northern KwaZulu-Natal, decided to concentrate their missionary work in a Dutch para-church organisation in order to improve their communication and co-operation, to formulate common aims and to improve the training and selection of new mission workers.[25] However, the new para-church organisation was not established as a combined project of local churches in The Netherlands and local churches in KwaZulu-Natal. Missionary work was simply redefined as: assistance by churches in the Netherlands on request of churches in KwaZulu-Natal.[26] In this way, the formal independence of the local churches in KwaZulu-Natal was guaranteed at the cost of a dual imbalance: as relatively poor churches, they are dependent on rich foreign donors and, as relatively rich churches, they are detached from the socio-economic background of their own church members in KwaZulu-Natal.[27]

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[25] RMA: 2001a#.

[26] The document 'Commissie Bestuurlijke Ordening Zending' (The Document) of the Netherlands Reformed Churches in Bunschoten, Den Haag and Leerdam (RMA: 2001a#, p.6), redefining the tasks of the Dutch 'sending churches', refers to the articles 8 and 31.1 of the Church Orderly agreement between the Netherlands Reformed Churches (*Akkoord van Kerkelijk Samenleven*, RMA: 2008#):
Article 8: "Niemand vervult het ambt van predikant zonder verbonden te zijn aan een bepaalde gemeente, noch verricht hij in een andere gemeente enig ambtelijk werk zonder daartoe een verzoek te hebben ontvangen van of namens de kerkenraad van die gemeente."
Article 31.1"De kerken, die van Christus zijn, werken eendrachtig samen. Zij wekken elkaar op Gods Woord te bewaren en te blijven bij de leer van de kerk naar de drie Formulieren van Enigheid. Zij helpen en dienen elkaar en behartigen in reginaal en landelijk verband zaken die zij gemeenschappelijk hebben. Zij heersen daarbij niet over elkaar, maar hebben geduld met elkaar en verwachten samen de tijd van God waarin Hij de weg duidelijk zal maken."
Remarkably, the words "in regionaal en landelijk verband" restricting the applicability of art.31.1 to The Netherlands, are left out in The Document suggesting that this article for mutual co-operation within the national denomination is made directly applicable to ecumenical contacts with foreign local churches. No mention is made of the *Commissie voor Contact en Samenspreking* (= committee for contact and communication) appointed by the Synod of the Netherlands Reformed Churches for the relationship with foreign churches such as *Die Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* (RMA: 2008#, p.88). By implication, the contradictory conclusion can be made that, in the Netherlands Reformed Churches, 'mission' has become a matter of local Church Councils, while 'contact and communication' with foreign churches is a matter of national Synods.

[27] About the imbalance between the donating and the receiving partner in a partnership relation between churches in different continents, L. Bauerochse (1996, p.394) states: "An keiner anderen Stelle wird in der partnerschaftlichen Beziehung die grosse Kluft zwischen den Partnern so offensichtlich wie in der Frage der Finanzkraft... Zugespitzt sei hier die These formuliert: Es wird über Beträge gesprochen, aber nicht über die Rolle des Geldes in der Partnershaft." About the imbalance between the receiving church and its own socio-economic background, he

20.5 The Concept of Fellowship

In ideology, partnerships between churches in the West and churches in the South are spiritual relationships, however in practice, they often stand for projects entailing material and financial aid. The envisaged partnerships between materially rich churches in the West and spiritually rich churches in the South contributes to the experience of a worldwide church, to the revival of the churches in the West, to the survival of the churches in the South and to a new missionary or ecumenical engagement.[28] However, criticism that this type of partnership leads to an increased dependency on the side of the materially weak partners, is often ignored, especially, where the materially weak partner is seen as socially upwardly mobile, as is usually the case in many evangelical churches.[29] In addition, the criticism that, in practice, the relationship is dictated by the materially donating partner, is often also denied.[30]

An alternative concept for the relationship between foreign churches might be the term 'fellowship'.[31] L. Bauerochse, using the word *Konvivenz*, emphasizes three aspects of existing partnerships to be retained for a real form of international fellowship between churches: the willingness to help each other; the willingness to learn from each other; the willingness to celebrate together.[32] However, as many partnerships in which one partner disproportionately helps the other, inevitably deteriorate, Bauerochse strongly suggests separating fellowship from material help.[33] International material aid should be channelled via independent aid

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remarks (idem, p.375): "Die Durchführung eines Projektes ist immer ein Eingriff in die Lebenswelt der Partner [= des Empfängers], was sich viele Spender nicht bewusst machen." About individual receivers, for example school children in a partner-church, he remarks (idem, p. 386): "Die Erfahrung hatte... gelehrt, dass eine derartige Hilfe die Kinder ihrer Umgebung entfremdet, sie letzlich entwurzelt und ihnen mehr schadet als nützt."

[28] L. Bauerochse, 1996, pp.198, 352.

[29] L. Bauerochse, 1996, p.387-388: "Fragte man die Partnerschaft-Mitarbeider danach, so lauten die meisten spontanen Antworten, die Projekte sollen der 'Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe' dienen... Fast alle Partnerschaften wollen die Entscheidungsbefugnis über die Finanzhilfe ihren Partner überlassen, und damit Machtverzicht zu üben... Dieser Vorsatz... gerät jedoch in Konflikt mit... die Betonung... dass die Hilfe unmittelbar ankommt." Idem (p.449): "Es ist mir... kein in Partnerschaften gefördertes Projekt begegnet, das nachweislich zur Selbständigkeit der Partner geführt oder beigetragen hätte. Mir sind... zahllose Fälle des Scheiterns begegnet oder Projekte, die zu fortgesetzter und verstärkter Abhängigkeit der afrikanischen Partner aufgrund der Folgekosten geführt haben."

[30] L. Bauerochse (1996, p.400) states, "dass es fielfach gar erlaubt, von 'Einbahn-Partnerschaften' zu sprechen... Es kommt kaum etwas zurück!" Sometimes, attempts are made to replace the term Partnership and metaphorically obscure or excuse the practical inequality: "Vielfach wird der Begriff Partnerschaft wegen seiner fehlenden biblischen bzw. Theologischen Qualifikation kritisiert. Versuche, den Begriff entweder theologisch zu füllen oder ihn durch andere biblische oder theologisch stärker geprägte Begriffe zu ersetzen (z.B. Koinonia, Geschwisterschaft), haben sich nicht durchsetzen können" (idem, p.404).

[31] Reference to 2 Corinthians 13:13, often used as a blessing at the end of church services; eventually to be extended into 'Reformed Ecumenical Fellowship'; Dutch: *Gereformeerde Oecumenische Gemeenschap*; isiZulu: *uBudlelwane obuReformed*. The term '*ubudlelwane*' has a stronger connotation of actively striving for unity than, for example, the term '*ubuntu*', which supposes unity as an inherently human characteristic.

[32] L. Bauerochse, 1996, p.406, referring to Th. Sundermeier: "Konvivenz als Grundstruktur ökumenischer Existenze heute", in: Huber, Ritschl, Sundermeier: Ökumenische Existenze heute, Bd.1, München 1986, p.49-100.

[33] L. Bauerochse (1996, p.439): "Wo direkte Kontakte zwischen Gemeinden aufgebaut werden, müssen sie deshalb unbedingt freigehalten werden von jeglicher Finanz- und Projekthilfe."

organizations. Congregations involved in a fellowship should work together on projects in which they are not materially benefiting themselves. Bauerochse emphasizes that the fellowship should be a learning community of congregations taking part in each other's lives, learning from each other's differences and learning to live together.[34] An even more important aspect of fellowship, according to Bauerochse, is celebrating together which gives the opportunity to honour God and to accept each other.[35]

20.6 Changing Focus of the Reformed Mission

As described in Chapter 16, an important element in the context of the missionary project of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen was a church schism in 1944. The then newly established Free Reformed Churches rebuilt their church life which included several Free Reformed organisations. For them, a central point in the schism was the conviction that a local church is a full representation of the Church and so, in 1951, when their Synod decided that missionary work was the responsibility of local Churches, several local Free Reformed Churches took the initiative for mission work under the direct responsibility of their respective Church Councils. One of these local Churches was the Free Reformed Church in Kampen. A missionary project under the direct responsibility of a local Church Council would more or less be proof that the 1944 schism was justified and that the proclamation of the Gospel by a local Church was the way in which Christ ruled and blessed his Church.[36]

When, in 1954, the Free Reformed Church in Kampen started its own missionary project, it motivated this project with reference to Matthew 28:19-20, which was interpreted as a command given by God to local Churches to reveal the Gospel to people who had not yet heard about it. Mission was seen as the proclamation of the Gospel to people outside the church who had not yet been reached with it. The Kampen Mission was established as a home church orientated missionary project. Yet working as the Reformed Mission in present day KwaZulu-Natal, it became more and more target group orientated. Almost from the start it moved from a Sender-motivated approach to a more receiver-based approach (par.16.13). The shift did not so much affect the notion of the receivers who were still seen as the centre, or as potential centres, of new local churches in their own areas, as independent local churches and reliable witnesses of Biblical principles, with their own ministers and Church Councils. However, it did affect the

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[34] L. Bauerochse (1996, p.440): "Entscheidend ist, dass die Partnerschaft [= Konvivenz] als Lernaufgabe begriffend wird und dass sie stärker als bisher von den Gemeinden her und auf die Gemeinden hin gedacht wird."

[35] Mutual acceptance as one of the main characteristics of fellowship is stressed by L. Bauerochse (1996, p.434) referring to René Descartes' premises *Cogito ergo sum* (= I think so I am) which to be meaningful in a concrete African situation, should be transposed into *Cognatus ergo sum* (= I am accepted so I am; isiZulu: *Umuntu ungumuntu ngabantu*).
For the idea of 'mission' as the celebration of God's honour see par.15.7; L. Newbigin (1989, p.127): "Mission is an acted out doxology... Its purpose is that God may be glorified."

[36] About the importance of its missionary project for the Free / Netherlands Reformed Church in Kampen both during its formation period in the 1950's and during the schism period in the 1960's, A.H. Reitsema (RMA: 2009c#, p.4) states: "Feit is, dat het enthousiasme van plaatselijke kerken voor zending een prachtige bloem was in de dorre woestijn van twisten op kerkelijke vergaderingen. Daarzonder zou het werk niet van de grond zijn gekomen. Het hielp ook velen om geestelijk het hoofd boven water te houden in die tijd."

relationship between the Church in Kampen and the receivers. Initially, the Church in Kampen felt the calling to spread the Gospel but during the course of its development its missionary project increasingly became a church planting project creating local churches dependent on the home church in Kampen. 'Mission' became the name for a Church in a Zulu context dependent on a foreign church.

Metaphorically speaking, the new local churches were initially envisaged to be like seedlings sprouting from seeds sown by the Reformed Mission on an empty field. However, in the South African context the missionary activities of church planting more closely resembled the process in which strawberry plants propagate through runners. The actually process resembled the growth of young strawberry plants which remained dependent on the old strawberry plant from which they originated. In a paradoxical movement, the Kampen Mission reached out as far as possible from the centre of the church (in The Netherlands), while at the same time it channelled its efforts through the centre of the church (in South Africa). Key persons in this process were South African evangelists who, via the Reformed Mission, were dependent on the Church in Kampen. They were asked directly or recruited by adverts, appointed, trained and paid by the Reformed Mission. Initially, they targeted rural families but in the course of their work, they became part of the migration process in which whole families moved to more urban, industrial areas, especially around Pietermaritzburg and Durban.[37]

Around the end of the 20th century, several attempts were made by the Reformed Mission to redefine or recapture the focus of its missionary work. In 1998, on a more theoretical level, one of the Kampen missionaries, B. Wielenga, redefined missionary work within the framework of Covenant Theology. According to Wielenga, God fulfils His promises for His creation (*missio Dei*) via a Covenant with His people who in words and deeds witness about this Covenant (*missio ecclesiae*). Part of the *missio ecclesiae* is church-based missionary work consisting of the explicit proclamation of God's promises within the context of God's broader movement in history, the outreach and witness in words and deeds.[38] In 2001, the Kampen Mission Board made a practical effort to redefine its missionary work in terms of a partnership

Furthermore, in 2001, at the Mission Post in eNkumane, the Mission Board in Kampen with the assistance of the Institute of Reformed Theological Training of the Free Reformed Churches in The Netherlands, organized a conference in order to formalize its relationship with the Church Councils of KwaMncane, Mid-Illovo, Indaleni, and Umbumbulu-Umlazi. At the conference, the decision was taken to establish a partnership between The Netherlands Reformed Church in Kampen and the four local churches in KwaZulu-Natal and to establish a Temporary Committee consisting of representatives of these four local churches to maintain the contact between the partners and to take the responsibility for all the aspects of the partnership in South

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[37] At present, two of the four ministers trained by the Reformed Mission, work in Pietermaritzburg, while three of them work in the Durban Metropole.

[38] B. Wielenga, 1998, pp.240, 270-271: "Zending als beweging van God... Zending is de beweging, verbond is wat door de beweging tot stand wordt gebracht... Zover het de kerk betreft als ambtelijk gestructureerde kern van het verbondsvolk, gaat het om getuigen in woord en daad, in kyrugma leitourgia, diakonia... en vooral marturia... van Gods verbondsbedoelingen... Heel het bestaan van het verbondsvolk heeft een missionaire dimensie... Op alle terreinen van het leven kan zo het verbond gestalte krijgen, waarbij de kerk als ambtelijke kern van het verbondsvolk als publieke getuige ervan optreedt en openlijk verwijst naar God en Zijn verbondsbedoelingen."

Africa.[39] By implication 'mission' was redefined as a relationship between a donor-church and receiving-churches. The Church Council in Kampen decided to concentrate on the 'centre' of the partner churches in KwaZulu-Natal, a committee of ministers and elders. In 2007, the Church Council in Kampen sent a new missionary, Rev. J.G. Vel Tromp, with the specific task to assist the partner churches in southern KwaZulu-Natal with the training of their leadership.

An important premise of the Institute of Reformed Theological Training is the thesis that a sending-church ceases to be a sending-church as soon as it finds a 'counterpart'.[40] The crucial element in this thesis is the word counterpart, probably meaning: the Church Council of a receiving-church recognized by a sending-church.[41] According to the Institute, a sending-church, after finding its counterpart, becomes an 'assisting-church'. By implication, the imbalance continues to exist but now, between an 'old assisting-church' and a 'young receiving-church'.[42] Another implication is that when a church ceases to be 'sending' and becomes to be 'assisting', it ceases to concentrate on the periphery of the church and instead, concentrates on its centre.[43] In effect, it can no longer maintain the ideology that it is orientating itself on the margins of God's Kingdom.

During the conference, little thought was given by the Dutch delegates to the question of how local people in South Africa defined the old relationship, or how they would define the new one. Acknowledgement was given of past shortcomings in terms of mutual love and respect, but repeated requests for 'transfer of power' were not included in the final 'Agreement' made during

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[39] RMA: 2001b#.

[40] C.J. Haak (1996, p.2-3): "Alleen dat werk dat direkt op bekering en kerkplanting gericht is, mag zendingswerk genoemd worden... Een [Zendende Kerk] houdt op [Zendende Kerk] te zijn, zodra zij een 'tegenover' haar heeft."

[41] The thesis that a 'sending church' stops to be a 'sending church' as soon as it finds a 'counterpart' is difficult to use for the analysis of the history of the Kampen Mission. Thanks to the fact that the Free Reformed Church in Kampen found a 'counterpart' in the *Gereformeerde Kerk in Pietermaritzburg*, it was able to function as a 'sending church' in the Richmond District. The authority of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen as a 'sending church' in the Richmond District did not derive from a lack of local authority, but it was based on the explicit and written permission given by a local church, the *Gereformeerde Kerk in Pietermaritzburg*, and by the local Government (especially the Department of Bantu Affairs). Also the institution of the isiZulu speaking Reformed Regional Council Itheku in 1962, and the institution of three isiZulu speaking Reformed local churches in 1969 (par.16.12) did not stop the Reformed Church in Kampen being a 'sending church'. Instead, it facilitated the expansion of the Kampen missionary project.
Moreover, it can be doubted whether African churches are happy to be identified as 'counterparts' generated by the contact with Western churches. Speaking from a Nigerian perspective, E.B. Idowu requested recognition for the fact that God is "the Creator of heaven and earth and all that is in them; the God who has never left Himself without witness in any nation, age or generation; Whose creative purpose has ever been at work in this world; Who by one stupendous act of climatic self-revelation in Christ Jesus came to redeem a fallen world"; reference to Acts 10:34-35; 14:14-17 (K. Bediako, 1999, pp.280,298).

[42] About the continuing imbalance between 'assisting' and 'receiving' churches, C.J. Haak (1997, p.6) remarks: "Deze erkenning van verschil in 'soortelijk gewicht' is echter geen aanleiding om dan maar weer in 'zendingscategorieën' terug te vallen... laten we dan ook open staan dat die jonge kerken beperktheden bij ons aantreffen." In Biblical terms (1 Corinthians 4:7), it is difficult to understand how the fact that a church is a 'receiving church' can be listed as one of its shortcomings (*beperktheden*).

[43] C.J. Haak (1997, p.4): "Een assisterende... kerk is geroepen om haar zuster-kerken en/of groepen christenen... te voorzien in haar... nood en te steunen in haar taak om kerk in eigen context te zijn."

the conference. In the Agreement, church leadership is taken for granted without much consideration for the challenges it faces, partly caused by the financial dependency on a Western church.[44] The delegates laid the emphasis on the fact of the 'transfer' not so much on the authority to 'transfer' or about the object of 'transfer'. By implication, it should be understood that by this transfer, they meant the 'transfer of responsibilities to local church leadership'.[45]

The context of the Kampen Mission and the issues at stake overseas played no role for the South African people who came into contact with the missionaries from Kampen. They had their own context, the growing impact of the South African Government policy of Apartheid during the 1960's and 1970's isolating people in prescribed areas with barely any opportunity for development, effectively forcing many migrant labourers to find work in more industrial areas. The Mission entered their areas but had hardly any structural impact on their living conditions. During the 1980's, the South African political climate became increasingly emancipative and tense. In the meantime, several local isiZulu speaking Reformed congregations were established as local churches with their own Church Councils, of which four still exist. Financially, they were and remain dependent on the Netherlands Reformed Church in Kampen. In terms of Church Order, they became part of a Regional Council of the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*. Their relationship with the Reformed Mission became a major point of concern after the first General Elections in 1994, when not only in the South African society as a whole but also in the local churches, responsibilities irreversibly changed. Local ministers emphasized independence, order and local leadership. Accordingly, the basis for the missionary project of the Netherlands Reformed Church had to be re-evaluated and redefined.

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[44] From a European perspective, J.N. Breetveld (1989, p.176-177) tries to understand the challenges of local African leadership in a 'triangular model': "The model indicates that educated Africans have... to take a decision and make up their minds where they stand in the relationship with their African tradition, with the West and with the socio-economic and political situation of their countries - and that each of these three relations are characterized by strong ambivalent... feelings. The basic pattern in the model remains the problem of dominance vs dependency and superiority vs inferiority in the relationship between the West and African tradition." It is unlikely, that assistance based on the metaphor of Paul's collection for Jerusalem (par.17.3) helps to resolve feelings of dependency and inferiority. One of the local ministers referred to Romans 8:17 as an alternative pattern for the new relationship: as, in the past, the West was part of the cause of Africa's suffering, now it should become part of Africa's blessing. The financial dependency was not questioned and the possibilities offered in the 2001-agreement to apply for funds from the Kampen Church was gladly accepted by the four church councils in KwaZulu-Natal.

[45] Bible studies by the Dutch delegates during the 2001 Conference (e.g. about Deuteronomy 17:14-20) stressed aspects of responsible leadership.

Chapter 21: Final Conclusions

21.1 Reconsidering Hypotheses

At the beginning of this research (par.1.3) five hypotheses were formulated.

1. During the second half of the 20th century, the inhabitants of the eNkumane area formed a homogeneous, stable, traditional group of people.
2. During the second half of the 20th century, the Reformed Mission represented a homogeneous stable traditional Church denomination.
3. When the Reformed Mission started to work in the eNkumane area, the inhabitants of the area had no previous experience with the Gospel nor with Christianity.
4. The Reformed Mission exclusively sought to preach the Gospel without involving itself otherwise with the local community.
5. The Reformed Mission proved that 'mission' is the sole responsibility of a local church council to send an ordained minister to an area where the Word of God is not preached otherwise.

In the course of this research, these five hypotheses could not be verified on the basis of the available information. This will be demonstrated in the next paragraphs which summarize the research findings in the light of the hypotheses.

21.2 Rural History in the Context of Colonial Segregation and Apartheid

According to the evidence found in the research, the inhabitants of eNkumane can not be considered as a homogeneous, stable, traditional community. Instead, over the last one and a half century, most families lived transient lives continuously looking for work or for a place to stay. Their family histories illustrate the experiences of a rural South African people in the context of colonial segregation, Apartheid and poverty.

It was found that the earliest common memories relate to the flow of people from the northern parts of present day KwaZulu-Natal in a southwesterly direction escaping violence and repression during the first half of the 19th century. The migration flow was stimulated by the establishment of commercial farms established by immigrants from European origin who entered the southern parts of the present KwaZulu-Natal around the middle of the 19th century. In the course of the second half of the 19th century, the population influx was followed by a flow of people out of the area, migrant labourers who went off to newly developing diamond and gold mines, thereby leaving their families behind in the rural areas in the south.

In the process, most the eNkumane area was surveyed and granted as a commercial farm called 'Groot Hoek'. When in 1920, the farm actually started to be used for commercial purposes, the original inhabitants obtained the status of labour tenants: they were allowed to stay on the farm in return for their free labour during part of the year. The need for labour triggered the influx of more labour tenants from outside the area. A second social stratum was formed by tenant farmers who also came from outside the eNkumane area. They ran the farm during the 1930's. In 1940, the Government bought the Groot Hoek farm and transferred it into the Trust Farm Groothoek. Especially during the 1960's, a great number of displaced farm labourers

entered the Trust Farm as the result of the implementation of the Apartheid Laws. They formed a third social stratum in the area.

During the 1980's, the character of the area changed drastically with the relaxation and finally the repealing of the former pass laws. Whole families started to leave, causing unrest and friction in the area. The tribal authorities were unable to control the growing violence which became overtly political around 1994, the year of the first general democratic elections in South Africa. Waves of violence depopulated the less accessible parts of the area.

Around the turn of the 21st century, the area stabilized. The Government improved the local infrastructure with provisions of electricity, water, toilets, dust roads, schools, a mobile clinic, the maintenance of a mobile pay point for Government grants and small agricultural projects such as sugarcane plantation schemes. Despite these developments, the present population can be described as a 'residue population', those who are left behind, continuously drained of, especially, men and promising youth who try to find and maintain jobs in urban, industrial areas. Some, when they fail, come back and others return upon retirement. Many youngster who return are sick, especially those who suffer from AIDS. As a result, a substantial part of the population consists of old, sick and very young people. However, improvements in transport and telephone communication have concurrently contributed to the homesteads in the area functioning as the centres of, or nodes in social webs which stretch as far as Durban and Johannesburg. For many people, the rural homesteads (*amakhaya*) are stable points in their lives. A new split seems to have developed in the community between those who are able to take part in the new mobile lifestyle and are part of extended social webs and those who lack the expensive options of transport and cell phone facilities and so are left behind.

21.3 Missionary Project by a Reformed Church in Kampen

According to the evidence found in the research, the Reformed missionary project in eNkumane during the second half of the 20th century, did not represent a homogeneous stable traditional Church denomination. In 1944, a split in the Reformed Churches led to the formation of the Free Reformed Churches in The Netherlands. One of the issues at stake was the belief that a local congregation with its own Church Council was a full representation of the Church. Accordingly, several Free Reformed Churches started their own missionary project, convinced that the church has to be a missionary church. One of these churches was the Free Reformed Church in Kampen, which established a missionary project in eNkumane. Initially, the project was strongly Sender and home church orientated and it stood in an old tradition of Reformed thinking about 'mission'. Yet, it was heavily affected by church developments in The Netherlands, including another schism during the 1960's and the growing influence of the evangelical movement during the 1970's affecting the cooperation of the missionaries in eNkumane who started to disagree about issues such as the importance of the Reformed Creeds and the gifts of the Holy Spirit in a missionary situation.

21.4 Early Christian Presence in eNkumane

According to the evidence found in the research, the inhabitants of the eNkumane area

had previous experiences with the Gospel and with Christianity, before the Reformed Mission started to work in the eNkumane area. Already during the population influx into the area during the first half of the 19th century, Christians also moved into the area, the most prominent example being a community around James Allison. This particular community of people with different backgrounds came from Swaziland and established the 'Indaleni Mission', a Christian working and training community south of what would later has become the Richmond Village. Other missionary projects in the immediate surroundings of eNkumane were the Springvale Mission (established in 1858) and the St Bernard Mission (established in 1910). In the course of the 20th century, several Christians moved into the eNkumane area as labour tenants. Most of them were related to the Methodist Church or to the Ethiopian Church in the western part of the Richmond district. For a short wile, during the 1950's, evangelists of the Apostolic Church had been active in eNkumane and a pattern of home prayer meetings was maintained especially by some women in the area.

21.5 Reformed Mission in eNkumane

According to the evidence found in the research, it could not be confirmed that the Reformed Mission exclusively sought to preach the Gospel without involving itself otherwise with the local community. Even the very identity of the Reformed tradition would make the mere concentration on preaching and teaching very difficult. This identity can be summarized with the characteristic faithfulness to: the Bible as the Word of God; the *Reformed Creeds* as an orthodox formulation of faith; the *Dordtse Church Order*; the independent authority of local Church Councils; the ongoing process of reformation of the church and of the lives of the church members living in a covenant with God. The relevance of the Word of God for someone's daily life was something that might be expected from the Dutch missionaries themselves.[1]

Almost from the start, the Reformed Mission became involved with assistance to members of the local population. The help took the form of, for example: a clothing project; a boarding school, a shop and a clinic at the Mission Post; the introduction of the telephone; the extension of roads; a project to protect a natural fresh water spring. With these projects, the Reformed Mission helped others and at the same time, established its own Mission Station. The Station became one of the major employers in the area, a place where help was offered and a major point of contact with the wider world. Gradually, the Reformed Mission turned from a Sender-based approach (the proclamation of the Gospel) to a more receiver-orientated approach (organization of church life and the relief of needs). All activities took place under the control of the missionaries. As the local population felt no ownership of the missionary project, it is difficult to establish whether it contributed to the development of an indigenous church or to the development of the community. The Reformed Mission followed a tradition set by other missionary projects which had been active in the surroundings of eNkumane for about a hundred years. These projects were known for their pattern of church, school, fields, shops and training facilities.

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[1] The conviction that God's Word is not available in isolation is stressed in John 1:14: "The Word became a human being and, full of grace and truth, lived among us."

The members of the Reformed Church at the Mission Station were predominantly drawn from the third stratum of the population of the *Trust Farm Groothoek*, the families of labourers who had been evicted from neighbouring farms during the 1960's. The Mission also contacted labourers still living and working on surrounding commercial farms who, generally, had little certainty about their existence and not even about the place where and the way in which they would be buried. Otherwise, the Reformed Mission and the local population did not really integrate. Not only was the Mission a foreign project from the outset, but many of the inhabitants of the area themselves felt like 'outsiders', either tracing their origin to, especially, the northern parts of present day KwaZulu-Natal, or nurturing dreams of a future in more urban and prosperous areas.

21.6 African Reformed Mission

According to the evidence found in the research, it could not be proved that 'mission' is the sole responsibility of a local church council to send an ordained minister to an area where the Word of God is not preached otherwise. Exclusive responsibility is difficult to reconcile with missionary characteristics such as sharing and reciprocity. As a result of its narrow scope, much of the work of the Reformed Mission was done in isolation. Locally, the Reformed Mission presented itself as an exclusive alternative: it offered a new way of worshiping God based on the Bible and in opposition to traditional worship. It presented Jesus in opposition to the ancestors, not as their fulfillment.[2] It called the people into a new community which came together for Sunday services in buildings built by the Reformed Mission. It was left to this new community to find its own identity as a European Initiated Church among other European and African Initiated Churches.[3] However, in their multi-denominational context the inhabitants of eNkumane experienced the Reformed Mission as a continuity rather than a discontinuity or a new phenomenon.

If the Reformed Mission Enkumane is to play a meaningful role in the 21st century, it will have to re-evaluate its position. It will have to realize that the context in which it operates, changed tremendously by the end of the 20th century, not at least because the isolated position of missionary projects in homelands is something of the past. If, as defended in this research, missionary work is the movement of a church beyond its boundaries into the margins of Gods Kingdom, these margins must be re-identified. For the Reformed Mission Enkumane these

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[2] The categorical opposition to ancestral practice seems to contradict the attempts by the Church Fathers during the first centuries of Christianity to re-evaluate and integrate their traditional heritage: "In the thinking of the early Christian writers... the Gospel of Jesus Christ became... the heir to all that was worthy in the past" (K. Bediako, 1992, p.439-440). "[Jesus] is Lord over the living and the dead, and over the 'living-dead', as ancestors are also called" (K. Bediako, 2000, p.27); reference to Romans 14:9. An attempt to integrate "traditions orally received" into "higher and holier truths" was made by Rev. H. Callaway at the Springvale Mission (par.12.4).

[3] European Initiated Churches well known in the eNkumane area are the Anglican, the Methodist and the Roman Catholic Churches. African Initiated Churches in the eNkumane area are the St. John's Apostolic Faith, several Zionist Churches and the *Ibandla lamaNazaretha*. P. Mwaura (2004, p.107) identifies the following characteristics of African Initiated Churches: "Pneumatological emphasis, spiritual call of a prophet, healing and deliverance, community, liturgy, the role of women, socio-political engagement and [not relevant for the *iBandla lamaNazaretha*] Christology."

margins were found in its existence among the people in eNkumane during a period in which they were purposely, politically and economically discriminated against. Whether or not the message shared in numerous sermons and lessons has made an impact, is to be assessed by others. Beyond doubt, a major aspect of this message was that its missionaries were sent by Jesus to share their lives. In reality, however, the Mission itself only entered the lives of the local people in a marginal way: at funerals, at prayer meetings and in occasional gatherings. In a similar way, the local population occasionally entered the lives of the missionaries, like, for example, when a church elder visited this researcher at his sickbed, read part of the book of Job and explained to him that he should not see his sickness as a punishment by God.

However, it has to be determined where these margins for missionary work are now to be found. Instead of being isolated, many people have become part of a new mobile lifestyle. New margins emerge where people from rural areas get lost in urban surroundings. Other challenges are formed when people return to rural areas, especially the old, the sick, and those who failed for other reasons to maintain themselves in urban surroundings. From its present position the Reformed Mission Enkumane is perfectly situated in the rural areas to form a refuge for these new groups of marginalized people.

New margins are also found on the borders between church denominations, especially on the borders between European Initiated and African Initiated Churches. Several African Initiated Churches have established themselves in the eNkumane area by the end of the 20th century. Contacts between churches of different denominations are rare and superficial. In these contacts the Reformed Mission with its long standing tradition of Bible studies might play a stimulating role. At the same time its (lack of) thinking and practice in relation to ancestors will be strongly challenged. Finally, the Reformed Mission might have a role to play in the racial divide which is still predominantly present in South Africa. The *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* were one of the last church denominations to integrate on the level of regional and national councils. On a local level the integration still has to start. With its presence as an overseas missionary project in a rural Zulu surrounding it gives a clear message about the inclusiveness of God's Kingdom and about the priority of the people who are counted less in the society as a whole. Whether this message will be understood will depend on all involved.

At present, the Mission does not play a part in the memories of old people about a former existence around the uThukela River, nor in the dreams of young people to go to Durban or Johannesburg. It has been accused of taking advantage of the people, ruling and misusing them. Nevertheless, in these things it has tried to uphold what is said about Jesus: "Of his own free will he gave up all he had, and took the nature of a servant. He became like a human being and appeared in human likeness. He was humble and walked the path of obedience all the way to death - his death on the cross. For this reason God raised him to the highest place above and gave him the name that is greater than any other name. And so, in honour of the name of Jesus all beings in heaven, on earth, and in the world below will fall on their knees, and all will openly proclaim that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."[4]

The future and survival of the Mission depends on the way it reorientates itself in a changing South Africa and in a changing Europe. As it works in the margins of several social

[4] Philippians 2:7-11.

networks it is ideally situated for those people who come back home (*emakhaya*) for several often troublesome reasons. Its clinic is visiting people living in remote places along the uMkhomazi River and cares for victims of the HIV epidemic. Its Mission Station is equipped for youth and training work. The Mission's contacts form a wide web including several remote congregations totaling about 200 church members. The Station might be developed further, for example, as a study centre or as a care centre. In a rapidly changing world, it provides a unique opportunity for people from different backgrounds to live, work and worship together.[5]

21.7 Final Suggestions

Further research in the same or in similar missionary situations should take the following into account. Firstly, many inhabitants of rural areas such as eNkumane live transient lives. Some families manage to stabilize their position in rural areas, thanks to their social webs stretching into industrial, urban areas. These webs enable them to find the necessary jobs and incomes to maintain their rural homesteads. Other rural families continue to live transient lives looking for places to stay and for a livelihood from Government Grants or from temporary jobs in the forestry or on farms. The ongoing drain of especially men and youngsters from rural into urban areas is counterbalanced by the return of retired or sick people and people who for other reasons fail to find or maintain urban jobs.

Secondly, it must be taken into account that no church is monolithic or fixed. The international or intercultural missionary encounter should not so much be seen merely as an exchange of information, a message or money, but as an attempt to establish a relationship, it should be seen as an opportunity to share in each other's history. The quality of this relationship will be a message in itself.

Thirdly, it must be taken into account that Christianity is found in many forms and that it is difficult to assume that God is absent in any area. Instead, the focus of interest in a missionary situation should be the question as to where the margins of God's Kingdom are to be found and finally, in what form the sharing of the Gospel takes place in these margins.

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[5] E. van der Borght (2009, pp.5, 13): "Racial, ethnic and national identities are unfinished ecclesial and ecclesiological business for Christian churches all over the world. In this respect, South Africa is an important case study that has global implications... One can fear that Sunday morning will continue to be the most segregated hour in South Africa... for a long time coming." B. Westerink (RMA, 2006#, p.15): "Er is een onderlinge band en kennis aan elkaar nodig om elkaar daadwerkelijk tegemoet te treden en te ontmoeten. De kerk beschikt daarover. Met de uit zending voortgekomen overzeese relaties heeft ze goud in handen. Een unieke band die vele fysieke en culturele grenzen overschrijdt, en in staat stelt om elkaar te ontmoeten en schouder aan schouder samen te werken."

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Written and Oral Sources

A.1 Written sources

Notes at the ends of the previous chapters with the structure {CODE: date #} refer to the following public and private archives and documents consulted for this research. Books consulted at these archives have been mentioned in the Bibliography.

CPSJ = *Catholic Parish St Joseph - Richmond*
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DDDC = *Department of Defence Documentation Centre - Pretoria*
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1968# (4.428b) "J. Berger verzamelt alle gegevens uit de correspondentie"
1973# (5.655A) "Voorstel voor oprichting van een opleidingsinstituut 'Sonqoba simunye' ten bate van de Zulu- en Xhosa-Gereformeerde Kerken in Zuid-Afrika".

MFA = *Moosa's Family Archive -Richmond (Ismail Essa Moosa)*
1907# "Registration of Firm", 14/01/1907 by Richmond Town Board (?), certificate of registration of "Adam, Essa & Co. of Nkumande".
1909a# "Letter", 13/04/1909 by (R.A.?) Cockburn, letter of recommendation.
1909b# "Letter", 15/04/1909 by M.A.Cockburn, letter of recommendation.
1912# "Request for Marriage Certificate", 23/11/1912 by E.Moosa.
1913a# "Affidavit", 21/01/1913 by A.Moosa, legitimacy of marriage.
1913b# "Lease Contract", 05/02/1913 by R.A.Cockburn, for a shop on *Durslade*.
1913c# "Bill", 10/04/1913 by Gooddricke & Laughton, clearance of A.Moosa's wife and child.
1913d# "Bill", 10/04/1913 by Gooddricke & Laughton, clearance of E.Moosa's wife.
1913e# "Permission to Build", 06/05/1913 by M.A.Cockburn, for a room on *Inkomani*.
1916# "Lease Contract", 17/04/1916 by M.A.Cockburn, for a shop on *Inkomani*.
1921# "Shop License", 10/01/1921 by Richmond Town Board, 4 license certificates until 1928 for a retail shop at "Nkumande Richmond District".
1922# "Letter of Thanks", 11/11/1922 by A.H. Cockburn, con. the death of (M.A.) Cockburn.
1924# "Shop License", 03/01/1923ff by Richmond Town Board, 4 license certificates until 1925 for a retail shop at erf N2 block F in Richmond.
1928# "Wheel Tax", 30/01/1928, tax payment by E.Moosa for a "four wheeled vehicle".
1933a# "Immigration Certificate", 04/04/33 by Immigration Office, E. Moosa's migration dates.
1933b# "Registration of Firm", 15/11/1933 by Richmond Town Board, certificate of registration of "Essa Moosa & Son" at Craigside District of Richmond.
1938# "Shop License", 24/01/38 & 29/01/1939 by Richmond Town Board, 2 license certificates for a retail shop at "Craigside Richmond District".
1939# "Burial Order", 10/03/1939 confirming the death of Essa Moosa, 56 years old.

MMA = *Mariannhill Monastery Archives*
Monastery Chronicle.
1917# "Kronik zum Richmond von Einsiedeln aus (1913 - 1917)".
1937# "Chronik von M. St. St Bernard 1910-30".
1944# "Chronik von Einsiedeln Heft II (1938-1944) - fortgesetzt nach einer Unterbrechung von 20 Jahren, durch

P. Severin Starchel C.M.M."
1976# "Chronik (1957 - 1976)".
1977# "N. Kops: Chronic of San Bernardo. The way-back" (NB. the date is estimated).
1998# D. Ryding: "St Bernard's Water Supply - Preliminary Feasibility Study prepared for the Catholic Diocese of Mariannhill", Thuthuka Community Engineering and Development, 1998.

NAP = *Natal Archives - Pietermaritzburg*
1862# Map M4/74, 1862: "Map of the Colony of Port Natal, South Africa, from the most recent surveys", Leeds: Masser, 1862.
1936# CNC 29A: note about 29 tenants in Umtwaluni Flats, represented by Amos John Mtembu.
1942# 1/RMD Vol.no.4/2: "District Headmen 1901-1942".
1943# CNC 1/31 Vol 6A fil 22/1016: Letter by H. Lechner to the Magistrate in Richmond.
1954a# "Letter", 14/10/1954 from S.H. Brokensha to the Land Tenure Board.
1954b# "Letter", 07/12/1954 from Land Tenure Advisory Board to Chief Native Commissioner.
1954c# "Letter", 15/12/1954 from Native Commissioner Richmond to Chief Native Commissioner.

NDAP = *Natal Diocesan Archives - Pietermaritzburg*
1871# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: NN: "Twelve years' work at Springvale"; in: *The Net* (May 1871), p.81-88.
1883# *The Vineyard* - A monthly Record of Church Work in the Diocese of Maritzburg (February 1883; 2.22).
1885# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: *The Vineyard* (January 1885), p.10.
1890# File: *Henry Callaway*: C. Cameron: "Bishop Callaway"; in: *The Net* (1890), p.75-78.
1916# File: *High Flats Mission* - Communication Roll, 1904-1916.
1921# baptism of Peter Nicholson on 10/02/1921 in the Parish of Richmond cum Byrne.
1923# *S. Saviour's and The Midlands Church Chronicle*, Vol.IV, no.48, January 1923.
1929# marriage between Phillip Nicholson and Evelyn Winifred Nicholson on 04/07/1929.
1952# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: K. Hallowes: "Springvale Mission"; in: *The Vineyard - issued as a supplement to the 'Church News* (April 1852), p.41.
1958a# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: K.B. Hallowes: "Centenary Effort"; in: *Church News* (19 November 1958).
1958b# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: J. Hallowes: "The Romantic Story of Springvale 1858-1958"; in: *Church News* (19 November 1958), p.168.
1958c# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: V. Shipston: "Mission in the Hills".
1958d# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: V. Shipston: The Reverend is honoured; in: *The Natal Witness - Saturday Magazine* (Pietermaritzburg, 17 January 1958).
1959# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: V. Shipston: "Springvale Thanksgiving"; in: *Church News* (21 January 1959), p.7.
1976a# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: letter by A.E.T. Motaungo to the Bishop-Suffragan of Natal, 09/06/1976.
1976b# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: letter by Bishop K.B. Hallowes to Mrs. Rite Elliot (Springvale Clinic Committee), 16/08/1976.
1979# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: NN: Springvale Community Project - 04/05/1979.
1980# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: C.E. Franers: "Historic Ixopo" (date estimated)
1984# File: *Henry Callaway*: I. Darby: "Doctor Henry Callaway", in: *Shalom* (July 1984), p.4+9.
1986# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: PGC Dodson, SA-Farm Consultants: "Springvale Farm - Report for the Bishop-Suffragan of Natal, 19/06/1986".
1987# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: Diocese of Natal - Springvale and Modderspruit Development Committee: "Minutes of the first Meeting of the Committee held at the Cathedral Centre, Pietermaritzburg, on Tuesday, 2 June 1987 at 10 a.m.".
1988# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: L. Pulkington: "St Andrew's Springvale - founded 1858" (date estimated).
1990# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: Paper by Ken Strachan: "Henry Callaway".
1996# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: NN: "Sprinvale sisters renew their vows"; in: *Anglican News* (March/April 1996).
2007# File: *Springvale St Andrews*: "A Report on the S.I.R. Cluster - April 2007 - Compiled by the Rev. F.

Thacker - Parish of Springvale".

NFA = *Nicholson's Family Archive (Richmond: Malcom and Colleen Nicholson)*
1929# undated news paper article

KZNPS = *KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Services (Pietermaritzburg: Mark Cogham)*

RBM = *Richmond & Byrne Museum*
1954# J.W. Hunt: "Educational Institutes - The Story of Indaleni Missionary Institute" in: *Native teachers' Journal* (January 1954), p.119-124.
1980# *Ndaleni Training College - 1980*
p.2-3: C.A. Halland: "Principal's report"
p.6-7: E.G.E. Miya: "Warden's Report"
P.25: E.J. Madlala: "Uyayithola nenkolo lapha eNdaleni"
1984# "The Methodist Church of Southern Africa - Indaleni Mission Development Centre - Newsletter"

RMA = *Reformed Mission Archive (Enkumane)*
1939# "Zendingsorde van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland voor de Zending onder Heidenen en Mohammedanen in Nederlandsch-Indië" (esp. Java and Sumba); original version approved by the Synod of Arnhem in 1902; amended version by the Synod of Sneek in 1939.
1954# "Kerknieuws"; in: *Gereformeerd Gezinsblad* (20 October 1954).
1956# De Raad van de Gereformeerde Kerk te Kampen: Beroepsbrief - concept.
1958a# Deputaatskap vir Sending Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika:
Letter to Gereformeerde Kerkraad Pietermaritzburg, 25/08/1958.
1958b# Die Gereformeerde Kerk Pietermaritzburg to Rev. J. Vonkeman
Letter to Rev. J. Vonkeman, 08/09/1958.
1959# Sekretaris van Bantoe Administrasie en -Ontwikkeling:
Permit to Rev. J. Vonkeman to work in Bantu areas in Richmond,13/10/1959.
1961# J. Lagendijk(?): *Het Zendingswerk der Geref. Kerken na 1850*, 1961? (Date estimated).
1962# K. Dhlamini: "Umnu. Kheswayo Dhlamini uthi"
In: *Indlela yeNkosi* (1962; 3), p.4-5.
1966# J.Vonkeman: (no title); in: *Indlela yeNkosi* (December 1966; 42), p.1-3.
1968a# M.R. van den Berg: "Het Rassenvraagstuk" - stellingen; 03/10/1968.
1968b# De Kerkeraad: "Kerkscheuring in Kampen Anno Domini 1967".
1977a# W. Vis: "Ds. D.J. van Stelten heeft zijn ambt neergelegd"
In: *Zendingsblad* (May 1977; 97), p .1-4.
1977a# A.H. Reitsema: "Ook Teleurstellingen"
In: *Zendingsblad* (December 1977; 100), p.3-4.
1988# J. Vonkeman: "Opstanding in die Dagga-Gebied van Nompofane"
In: *Gereformeerde Sending Nuusbrief* (1988; 68), p.3.
1989a# J. Vonkeman: "Die Moord op Vader Amos"
In: *Gereformeerde Sending Nuusbrief* (1989; 69), p.1.
1989b# J. Vonkeman: "Nog altyd Stamgevegte"
In: *Gereformeerde Sending Nuusbrief* (1989; 71), p.1.
1990a# J. Vonkeman: "Nog Stamgevechten"
In: *Mayibongwe* (1990; 154), p .4-5.
1990b# J. Vonkeman: "En wat van die onluste?"
In: *Gereformeerde Sending Nuusbrief* (1990; 74), p.2.
1990c# Nederlands gereformeerde Kerk Kampen to M.J. de Haan
Letter of instruction.
1991a# J. Vonkeman: "'Dromen' van de Toekomst met twee benen op de grond."
In: *Mayibongwe* (June 1991; 159), p.12.

1991b# J. Vonkeman: "Dan is het Feest"
In: *Mayibongwe* (June 1991; 159), p.14.
1991c# B. Wielenga: "Een gat in je hart"
In: *Mayibongwe* (December 1991; 160), p.2.
1994# B. Wielenga: "Wat doen we eigenlijk? (2)"
In: *Mayibongwe* (December 1994; 170), p.6-7.
1995# Notes about violence, 22 April 1994 until 9 July 1995.
1996# A.H. Reitsema: "Drie jonge Christenen vermoord"
In: *Mayibongwe* (November 1996; 178), p.2-3.
1999a# R. De Haan: "Hulpeloos Leiderschap"
In: *Mayibongwe* (March 1999; 186), p.1-2.
1999b# J. Vonkeman: "Een voorzichtig Stapje practische Elenctiek in Afrika"; in: A.J. Visser: *Kagiso - Bydraes vir Gereformeerde Sending in Afrika - Deel 2* (Pretoria: Sendingkommissie van die VGK Pretoria Maranata, 1999), p.55-69.
2001a# "Commissie Bestuurlijke Ordening Zending (NGK) - Advies omtrent een Organisatiestructuur voor het Zendingswerk van de Nederlands gereformeerde Kerken Leerdam, Bunschoten en Den Haag", 2001.
2001b# "Agreement between the Nederlands gereformeerde Kerk in Kampen (The Netherlands) and The Reformed Churches of KwaMncane, Mid-Illovo, Ndaleni and Umbumbulu-Umlazi in Southern KwaZulu-Natal (Republic of South Africa) - Concept", 2001.
2001c# "Iklasi Lomqiniso" compiled at the Reformed Mission Enkumane.
2002a# Corresp., 03/07/2002: letter to M. & M. Schleier, with answer and newspaper articles.
2002b# Notes made at a meeting of abaxhumanisayo in eNkumane about development.
2003a# B. Wielenga: "Theologische Opleiding: ja maar hoe?"
In: *Mayibongwe* (February 2003; 195), p.2-3.
2003b# Notes about patients and deliveries in the Enkumane Clinic.
2004a# Notes made during a workshop "abasha abanengane", 28-29/05/2004.
2004b# Riens de Haan: "Babysok in verkeerde keelgat"
In: *Mayibongwe* (July 2004; 198), p.2.
2006# B. Westerink: "Zending in de 21st Eeuw als Wederkerig Proces"
In: *Mayibongwe* (October 2006; 202), p.14-15.
2007# S.Z. Phungula: Een Man die de Gemeentes rond Richmond diende"
In: *Mayibongwe* (August 2007; 203), p.2-3.
2008# "Akkoord voor Kerkelijk Samenleven met bijlagen van de Nederlands Gereformeerde Kerken - 2008".
2009a# L. Eland: "De Financiën van de Zending"
In: *Mayibongwe* (February 2009; 209), p.12.
2009b# "Beleidsplan 2009-2012 van de Nederlands Gereformeerde Zedningsvereniging Nqutu".
2009c# A.H. Reitsema: "De Leiding is in Goede Handen"; in: *50 Jaar Op Weg*, November 2009.

TNA = *The National Archives - United Kingdom*
1916a# WO339/75814/TNA:116955: Letter from the South African Military Command to The General Staff Officer (War Office London), dated 14/01/1916.
1916b# WO339/75814/TNA:116955: "Application for Appointment to a temporary Commission in the regular Army for the Period of the War", 4/02/1916.
1919a# WO339/75814/TNA:116955: "Register No.154583/4: 1.Call for statement A.G.3 (11/1/19); 2.Statement (11/03/19); 3.Name clearance (10/04/19)".
1919b# WO339/75814/TNA:116955: "Proceedings of a Medical Board, 07/03/1919.

TOP = *Title Deeds Office - Pietermaritzburg*
Documents available in the Title Deeds Office have been referred to in the end notes as follows: {TOP: Number of Grant or Deed, Year of the document #}

VMP = *Voortrekker Museum - Pietermaritzburg*

A.2 Oral Sources

Reference to an oral source is made as follows: {Name Interviewee - Year of Interview - *}.
Al persons mentioned in this list took part in an unstructured interview.
(m) = the interviewee was / is a member of the Reformed Church eNkumane for at least a part of his / her life.

Bruce, David	Richmond: nephew of Philip Nicholson; farmer on Alton		2002*
Dladla, Calamaxhoki Jacob	eMlazi; son of Sikwishiza Dladla, tenant farmer on Groot Hoek		2002*
Du Plessis, Jakobus	Richmond		2003*
English, Jef	Richmond: farmer on Hillingdon		2002*
Fennel, Brian	Howick: Chairman Governing Council of Indaleni Develop. Centre		2008*
Funeka, Moment M.	Reformed Mission Enkumane (Groot Hoek)	(m)	2003*
Gwamanda, Gethi MaNdlovu	eMaromeni (Inhlazuka View)		2003
Hackland, Mrs:	Mid-Illovo: widow of Thomas Hackland, farmer on Gulubie View		2003*
Khwela, S.C.:	eNdaleni: principal at the School for the Deaf		2008*
Kunene, Ntombisizi Victoria MaMkhize	eSigangeni (Groot Hoek)	(m)	2003*
Marwick, Trevor	Richmond: farmer on Little Harmony		2002*
Mchunu, Zondeni	eThafeni (Groot Hoek)		2003*
Mfeka, Baqhobile Ntombi MaNcwane	eSijokolweni: former tenant farmer's wife on Dartnell	(m)	2002*
Mfeka, Jabulile Fakazile MaMpanza	eNkweletsheni	(m)	2002*
Mfeka, Sibongile Maureen MaNdlovu	eNkwelethseni	(m)	2003*
Mhlongo, Mzosizo Johnson	eNkumane (Groot Hoek)		2004*
Mkhize, Alphina MaDlamini	eMaromeni (Inhlazuka View)		2008*
Mkhize, Chupa-ukumuka	eNtshaseni: *Imbongi* of the Mkhize *amakhosi*		2003*
Mkhize, Dumezweni	eGibiyoni (Groot Hoek)		2003*
Mkhize, Elina MaGaselo	kwaGogo (Groot Hoek)	(m)	2003*
Mkhize, Fano	kwaNompofane (Groot Hoek): *induna*		2002*
Mkhize, Janet MaMsomi	eNkumane (Groot Hoek): former maid on Alton	(m)	2002*
Mkhize, Mzwenkosi Ndodo	eTafeni (Groot Hoek)	(m)	2003*
Mkhize, Ndabazabelungu	eMalizayo (Umlazi)		2003*
Mkhize, Ngodwane MaBhengu	eThendeni	(m)	2008*
Mkhize, Nobaneka MaMhlongo	eMbuthweni (Mqolombene)	(m)	2003*
Mkhize, Ntombovu MaNcwane	eNtshaseni	(m)	2003*
Mkhize, Piyanensa Marcus	esiGangeni (Groot Hoek)		2003*
Mkhize, Vuka M. A.	Pietermaritzburg; evangelist at the Reformed Mission	(m)	2003*
Mkhize, Zenzele	eNkumane (Groot Hoek)	(m)	2003*
Mntungwa,Chithomuzi	kwaStofela (Dartnell)		2002*
Moosa, Ismail Essa	Richmond: son of Essa Moosa		2003*
Mpanza, Nolanga MaMkhize	eSijokolweni: tenant farmer's wife on Dartnell		2002*
Mpanza, Nyoko	eNkweletsheni		2003*
Msomi, Lilly MaMzizi	eSigangeni (Groot Hoek)	(m)	2003*
Mthembu, Clara Ncamisile	lay minister in St Edward's (Springvale)		2008*
Ncwane, Zeblon Mbuyiseni	eSijokolweni (Dartnell)	(m)	2002*
Ndlovu, Mlungisi Thulebona	eNkumane (Groot Hoek)	(m)	2003*
Ngcongo, Bonani	eNtakeni (Mqolombene)		2003*
Ngcongo, Mphenzeni James	eSikheshini (Groot Hoek)		2003*
Ngcongo, Ziklongo Msitheli	eNkumane: 1904-1997 (Groot Hoek)	(m)	1994*
Ngobese, Esther MaDlamini	eNkumane (Groot Hoek)	(m)	1992*
Nicholson, Malcom and Colleen	Richmond: farmers on Roselands		2003*
Nicholson, Michael J.	Hilton: grandson of Humphrey Nicholson		2003*
Nicholson, James M.	Pietermaritzburg: (: "The Nicholson Family Tree 1690-1986")		2002*
Nxele, Nomvoti MaNcwane	eSigangeni (Groot Hoek)		2002*

Nxele, Lina MaMntungwa	eSigangeni (Groot Hoek)	(m)	2003*
Phungula, Gezephi MaMkhize	eNkumane (Groot Hoek)	(m)	2003*
Phungula, Sipho Ziboni	Richmond	(m)	2008*
Shange, Xhegu Isaya	eMaromeni (Inhlazuka View)		2008*
Sishi, Msabeni	eNgwegwe (Mqolombene)		2002*
Sithole, Bekhomuzi	eNkumane (Groot Hoek)		2003*
Sithole, Nkaniyakhe Nikolaas	eSikanisweni (Inkooman)		2009*
Sithole, Thukekile MaMhlongo	eNkumane (Groot Hoek)	(m)	2004*
Vonkeman, Johannes	Howick	(m)	2004*
Walsh, Gerald	Richmond: farmer on Mona Glen		2002*
Watson, Gillian Nicholson	Pietermaritzburg: granddaughter of Humphrey Nicholson		2003*
Wrist, John	Howick: Deputy General Secretary at Indaleni Mission Institute		2008*
Zungu, S.	eNdaleni (interviewed by N. Groom)		2008*

A.3 Unstructured Interviews

Most of the oral information processed in this research was collected in unstructured interviews.

Interview Context

Most interviews were done in the homesteads / homes of the interviewees. Some interviewees from in the eNkumane area were invited to the nearby Mission Post for an follow-up interview (e.g. G. Phungula MaMkhize; M.J. Ngcongo). Follow-up interviews were conducted when the interviewee had provided a large amount of information in an initial interview. To confirm details and to ask the interview's opinion on information obtained from other sources, the interviewee was invited to the Mission Post stressing her / his participation in the context of the research as a whole.

The number of participants per interview varied substantially. Most of the time, I did the interviews together with M.M. Funeka, especially where the conversation took place in isiZulu. Afterwards, each interview was evaluated with him to compare our impressions about the topics that were dealt with and about the general quality of the interview. For example, in the case of the interview with C. Mkhize the evaluation of the information collected was complicated by the fact that Mr. Mkhize was an official *imbongi* (= praise singer) of the local *inkosi* and his answers seemed predominantly determined by his intention to praise the qualities of the local Mkhize *amakhosi*. Moreover, he was the only participant who asked for money, which unfortunately was not available.

In most cases, the interviewee was the only participant. In some cases, two participants were involved at the same time (e.g. N. Mpanza MaMkhize & B.N. Mfeka MaNcwane) which led to discussions between the interviewees. In rare cases, many family members and neighbours attended the interview, most of them in silence (e.g. N. Mkhize MaNcwane).

Interview Content

The aim of the interviews was to collect information about the people who live in the eNkumane area and about the role of the Reformed Mission in the area. In some interviews, the topics discussed were of a limited range. For example, some interviews, especially with members of the Nicholson family, were concentrated specifically on the period during which the main part of the eNkumane area was used as a commercial farm. Other interviews focussed on another specific part of the history or context of the area, for example on commercial farming in the area (E. English; G. Walsh), on an 'Indian' shop in the area (I.E. Moosa), on the Indaleni Mission (J. Wrist; B. Fennel) or on the 'Reformed' perspective (S.Z. Phungula; J. Vonkeman).

Interview Procedures

The interviews must be characterised as informal unstructured interviews. The aim of the interviews was explained to the interviewees as a collection and preservation of information about the eNkumane area with a specific interest in the position of the Reformed Mission. No tape recorder or other technical devise was used to record the interviews as, in an initial stage, it was felt that this frustrated some of the interviewees.

Most interviews followed the following stages, while the main aim of questions raised by the interviewer was to stimulate the interviewee to relate to the topics raised:

- an explanation of the aim of the interview;
- an exploration of the involvement of the interviewee with the eNkumane area, especially in the form of a mapping of the interviewee's family including parents and grandparents with special attention for names, burial places, and means of existence;
- specific questions about the burial places of family members (an indication of migration patterns) and about means of existence (an indication of migration labour patterns and of social positions for example in term of the number of cows owned by a family);
- specific questions about the eNkumane area, for example about commercial farmers, about leadership patterns in the community, about the recent period of violence or about local customs at feasts or burials;
- where appropriate, when the interviewee had indicated a relationship with the Reformed Mission, questions were asked about this relationship;
- the interviewee was thanked for the participation in the interview.

Appendix B: *Amakhorasi*

1. **Abash' abaku lel' ivangeli** (imvuselelo; u-Isaya 40:31)

Abash' abaku lel' ivangeli	Mabagijime bangakhathali (2x)
Mabagijime	Mabagijime bangakhathali (2x)

[NOMA: *Izintombi za... / Izinsizwa za... / Omam' aba... / Obab' aba...*]

2. **Akekh' ofana nawe** (indumiso)

Akekh' o-	-fana nawe (3x) Nkosi yamakhosi
Siyaku-	-dumisa (3x) Nkosi yamakhosi
Siza se-	-namile kuwena (3x) Nkosi yamakhosi
Ezulwini ku- *Emhlabeni ku-* *Yonk' indawo ku-*	-lawula wena -lawula wena -lawula wena Nkosi yamakhosi
Sithi: u-	-yingcwele (3x) Nkosi yamakhosi

3. **Akekh' ofana nawe** (indumiso)

Akekh' ofana nawe	Akekh' ofana nawe (4x)
Sikwenza mkhulu wena	Sikwenza mkhulu wena (4x)
Siyakubabaza	Siyakubabaza (4x)
Siyakudumisa	Siyakudumisa (4x)
Singumndeni munye	Singumndeni munye (4x)
We magnify your name	We magnify your name (4x)
We glorify your name	We glorify your name (4x)
We are the family	We are the family (4x)

4. **Akekh' onjengawe Jesu wami** (indumiso)

Akekh' onjengawe Jesu wam'	Akekh' onjengawe
Onjengawe, Jesu wam' *Jesu wam'*	Akekh' onjengawe (3x) Akekh' onjengawe
Wethembekile	Wethembekile (3x) Wethembekile

5. **Ake uvume, wena ntomb' enoJesu** (imvuselelo)

Ake uvume, wena ntomb' enoJesu Haleluya haleluya
Ake uvume, wena ntombi naye Haleluya haleluya
Ake uvume, wena ntomb' enoJesu Haleluya haleluya
O Lord amen

[NOMA: *Ake uvume, wena nsizw' e- / mam' o- / bab' o-*]
[NOMA: *Sukum' ugxume, wena ntomb' enoJesu*]
[NOMA: *Ake ugxume, wena ntomb' enoJesu*]
[NOMA: *Ake sibone izinsizw' e'noJesu*]

Oha, intomb' enoJesu Haleluya haleluya
Oha, intombi naye Haleluya haleluya
Oha, intomb' enoJesu Haleluya haleluya
O Lord amen

[NOMA: *Oha, insizw' e- / umam' o- / ubab' o-*]

Ziphi 'zintomb' ezizohamba noJesu Haleluya haleluya
Ziphi 'zintomb' ezizohamba naye Haleluya haleluya
Ziphi 'zintomb' ezizohamba noJesu Haleluya haleluya
O Lord amen

[NOMA: *Ziphi 'zinsizwa ezi- / Baphi omam' aba- / Baphi obab' aba- / Liph' ibandl' eli-*]

Kwaze kwamnandi ukuhamba noJesu Haleluya haleluya
Kwaze kwamnandi ukuhamba naye Haleluya haleluya
Kwaze kwamnandi ukuhamba noJesu Haleluya haleluya
O Lord amen

6. **Amahlathi aphelile** (imvuselelo; uLuka 3:9; uLuka 23:28)

Amahlathi Amahlathi aphelile
Akusekho Akusekho ukucasha

Yelele mama Yelele mama Yelele mama
Yelele mama Yelele mama Yelele mama

UJohane UJohan' 'yashumayela
Esehlane Esehlane laseJudiya

7. **Anginakho okwanele** (imvuselelo)

Anginakho Anginakho okwanele
Okwanele Ngizomnika uqobo lwami

Ngizomnika mina Ngizomnika uqobo lwami

8. **Anginay' indawo yakho** (imvuselelo)

Anginay' indawo yakho Sathane
Nginendawo kaJesu Sathane
Sathane, suka kimi Sathane
Sathane Suka kimi, sathane
Isikhathi esingaka Sathane

Udlala ngamakholwa	Sathane
Sathane, suka kimi	Sathane
Sathane	Suka kimi, sathane

9. **Aningibolek' imbokodo** (induduzo)

Aningiboleke	Ngibolek' imbokodo
(Aningiboleke)	Ngigay' izono zami
Aningiboleke	Ngibolek' imbokodo
(Aningiboleke)	Ngigay' izono zami
O, ngigay' izono (zami)	Ngigay' izono zami (4x)
Ziyangesinda	Ngibolek' imbokodo
	Ngigay' izono zami
Ziyangesinda	Ngibolek' imbokodo
	Ngigay' izono zami
O, ngigay' izono (zami)	Ngigay' izono zami (4x)

10. **Asakhile lapha** (umngcwabo; amaHeberu 13:14)

Asakhile lapha	Sinekhay' eJerusalema
	Sinekhay' eJerusalema
EJerusalema	Sinekhay' eJerusalema
	Sinekhay' eJerusalema

11. **As'hambeni, makholwa** (imvuselelo; 1 kwabaseKorinte10:4)

As'hambeni, makholwa	As'hambeni, makholwa
As'hambeni, makholwa	Siy' ekhaya ezulwini
Ngob' uJes' ulidwala	*Ulidwala lamadwala*
UJes' ulidwala	Ulidwala lamadwala

12. **Asihambeni soyibong' iNkosi** (imvuselelo)

Asihambeni soyibong' iNkosi	Hay' asihambeni
Asihambeni	Hay' asihambeni
Soyibong' iNkosi	Hay' asihambeni
Asihambeni	Hay' asihambeni
Asihambeni	Hay' asihambeni
	Asihambeni soyibong' iNkosi
Let us go and praise the Lord	Let us go
Let us go	Let us go
And praise the Lord	Let us go
Let us go	Let us go
Let us go	Let us go
	Let us go and praise the Lord

13. **Avulekil' amasang' ezulu** (umngcwabo)

Avulekil' amasang' ezulu	Hayi hayi hayi hayi hayi
Hayi Hayiye	Hayi hayi hayi hayi hayi
Hayi Hayiye	Hayi hayi hayi hayi hayi

Hayi Hayiye	Iyaho
Iyaho he	Amen
Thina siphum' emnqam'lezweni	Hayi hayi hayi hayi hayi
Sithethelelw' izono	Hayi hayi hayi hayi hayi
Thina sisindisiwe	Hayi hayi hayi hayi hayi
Hayi Hayiye	Iyaho
Iyaho he	Amen

14. **Ayikh' indlela** (induduzo)

A-	-yikh' indlela ey' ezulwini
	Ehamba laph' uthanda khona
U-	-thanda khona uthanda khona
	Ehamba laph' uthanda khona

15. **Baba, thuma mina** (imvuselelo; u-Isaya 6:8)

Baba	Baba, thuma mina (3x)
	Thuma mina
	Thuma mina
Ngizo-	Ngizokusebenzela (3x)
	-sebenzela
	-sebenzela
Kulezi zizwe zonke	Thuma mina
	We Baba, thuma mina
Kulezi zizwe zonke	Thuma mina
	We Baba, thuma mina
Kulamagumbi omane	Thuma mina
	We Baba, thuma mina
Kulamagumbi omane	Thuma mina
	We Baba, thuma mina

16. **Bambulel' imfihlakalo** (imvuselelo; kwabase-Efesu 1:9-10)

(Baba) bambulele	Bambulele
	Bambulel' imfihlakalo yezulu
Baning' abakholwayo	Baning' abakholwayo kodwa
	Abayaz' imfihlakalo yezulu
Baphath' amaBhayibheli	Baphath' amaBhayibheli kodwa
	Abayaz' imfihlakalo yezulu
Bagcwel' emasontweni	Bagcwel' emasontweni kodwa
	Abayaz' imfihlakalo yezulu

17. **Bawelile ngaphesheya** (umngcwabo)

Bawelile	Bawelile
Bawelile	Ngaphesheya
Ngaphesheya	Bawelile ngaphesheya

Ngophathani	Ngophathani
Ngophathani	Mhla ngifayo
Mhla ngifayo	Ngophathani mhla ngifayo

18. **Bayede Ngonyama** (indumiso)

Bayede Ngonyama	Bayede (3x) Bayede Ngonyama yezulu
Ngonyama yezulu	Bayede (3x) Bayede Ngonyama yezulu
Udumo lukufanele	Bayede (3x) Bayede Ngonyama yezulu

19. **Bayozisola** (imvuselelo)

Bayozisola	Bayozisola
Bayozisola	Abangakholwayo
Bayozisola bona	Bayo- (2x)
Bayozisola	Abangakholwayo
Lobelingasekho	Lobelingasekho Ithuba lokuthandaza
Lobelingasekho lona	Lobe- (2x) Ithuba lokuthandaza
Bayobaleka	Bayobaleka
Bayobaleka	Abangakholwayo
Bayobaleka bona	Bayo- (2x)
Bayobaleka	Abangakholwayo

20. **Bazosind' abagulayo** (induduzo)

Bazosinda	Bazosind' abagulayo
abagulayo	Nxa bethemba iNkosi

21. **EGolgotha** (induduzo)

EGolgotha	Kukhon' umthombo (3x) Umthombo wegazi
Umthombo wegazi	Kukhon' umthombo (3x) Umthombo wegazi

22. **Ekhaya** (umngcwabo)

Ekhaya	Ekhaya (4x)
Bazojabula	Bojabul' abazalwane
Uma singena	Ekhaya

23. **Ekhay' ezulwini** (umngcwabo)

Ekhay' ezulwini	Sohlabelela uhosana

Uhosana Sohlabelela uhosana

24. **Ekuhluphekweni kwami** (induduzo; iHubo 18:6; 2 uSamuweli 22:7)

E- -kuhluphekweni kwami
Mina se- ngikhala kuJehova
E- -kuhluphekweni kwami
Mina se- ngikhala kuJehova wami

25. **Engibiza ngomlandela** (imvuselelo)

Engibiza ngomlandela Engibiza ngomlandela

26. **Enkazimulweni** (umngcwabo)

Enkazimulweni Enkazimulweni
Enkazimulweni

Ngiyathanda Ngiyathanda ukumbona
Enkazimulweni

EJerusalema EJerusalema
EJerusalema

Ngiyathanda Ngiyathanda ukumbona
Enkazimulweni

27. **Enqabeni enguJesu** (induduzo)

Enqabeni enguJesu Ngizocasha (2x)
Sengi- -zocasha (4x)

28. **Esandleni somusa** (induduzo)

Esandleni Esandleni
Esomusa Esomusa
Esandleni
Esandleni Somusa

**-yagcinwa* **-yagcinwa
***-yagcinwa* Noma kungathini
Noma kungathini Esandleni
Esandleni Somusa

[*: *Si- / Ngi- / Ni- / U- / Omama ba- / Obaba ba- / Ibandla li-*]
[** : *Si- / Ngi- / Ni- / U- / Ba- / Li-*]

29. **Esiphambanweni** (imvuselelo)

Esiphambanweni Esiphambanweni
Ngibon' umsindisi
Umthwalo wezono zami ususiwe

Amehlo ami Amehlo am' avulekile
Umthwalo wezono zam' ususiwe

30. **Ewe Jesu** (imvuselelo)

Ewe Jesu Ewe Jesu

Impilo Yami yonke
Ifuna Wena wedwa
Ifuna wena
Haleluya ewe

31. **Ewe limnand' ivangeli** (imvuselelo)
Ewe Limnand' ivangeli
Ewe Limnandi lona
Ewe Limnand' ivangeli
Bazalwane Limnandi lona

32. **E'nsukwin' zokuphila** (indumiso)
E'nsukwin' zokuphila kwami Baba, ngiyakubonga (3x)
E'nsukwin' zokuphila kwami

All the days of my life O yes I thank you, Lord (3x)
All the days of my life

33. **Hamb' ekukhanyeni** (imvuselelo; iHubo 56:14)
Hamb' ekukhanyeni Hamb' ekukhanyeni (3x)
Hamb' ekukhanyeni kweNkosi

Walk in the light Walk in the light (3x)
Walk in the light of God

34. **Hamba naye** (imvuselelo)
Hamba naye Hamba noJesu (2x)
Indlela yonke
Hamba noJesu
Hamba naye Hamba noJesu njalo

35. **Hamba nhlinziyo yami** (umngcwabo)
Hamba, nhlinziyo yam', uye ezulwini (2x)
Ngob' akukh' ukuphumula lapha emhlabeni (2x)

36. **Hamba vangeli** (imvuselelo)
Hamba, vangeli Hamba hamba, vangeli
Hamba hamba, vangeli
Hamba, vangel' elisha

Insimb' edl' ezinye Insimb' edl' ezinye
Insimb' edl' ezinye
Hamba, vangel' elisha

37. **Hay' angimbonanga** (indumiso)

Hay' angimbonanga Ofana naye (3x)
Ofana naye Ofana naye

Ofana noJesu Ofana naye
Ofana naye Ofana naye (3x)

Owasindis' intombi Ofana naye
Owasindis' insizwa Ofana naye
Owasindis' omama Ofana naye
Owasindis' obaba Ofana naye

38. **Hay' asivumelanga** (imvuselelo)
Hay' Asimvumelanga (2x)
Hay' Asimvumelanga usathane

39. **Heyi wena** (imvuselelo)
Heyi wena Heyi wena
Heyi wena Heyi wena
Heyi wena Heyi wena
Heyi wena Heyi wena

Wahlala wathula Heyi wena
Sikhonz' iNkosi Heyi wena
Wahlala wathula Heyi wena
Sikhonz' iNkosi Heyi wena

40. **Intokozo yami** (umngcwabo)
Intokozo yami
Ayikho lapha yona Isemazulwini
Intokozo yami
Ikuphi namhlanje Isemazulwini

Bakithi simi
SiseJordane lapha Abanye bayawela

Bayawela khona
Umful' omkhulu manje Sebengaphesheya

Ngizwa izigi
Ngizw' inhlokomo: UJes' useyabuya!

☛ 42.

41. **Inzima le ndlela** (induduzo)

Inzima le ndlela Inameva iyahlaba
Guq' uthandaze

Guq' uthandaze Guq' uthandaze

42. **Ithemba lami** (umngcwabo)
Ithemba lami Ngonyuka nalo (3x)
Endumisweni

Mangingene Endumisweni (2x)
Ngingene endumisweni

Sekusele kancane Mangingene (3x)

Endumisweni

O kancane kancane Mangingene (3x)
Endumisweni

Hayi, hayi, hayi, hayi Mangingene (3x)
Endumisweni

Nqonqo nqonqo Mangingene (3x)
Endumisweni

43. **Ithemba lami lona** (umgcwabo)

Ithemba lami lona Ngonyuka nalo

Ithemba lami Ithemba lami lona
Ithemba lami Ngonyuka nalo

Mangingene Mangingene
Mangingene Endumisweni

44. **Ithuba lokuthandaza** (imvuselelo)

Ithuba lokuthandaza Unalo unalo
Ithuba lokuthandaza

45. **I will never go back** (imvuselelo; uLuka 13:24)

I will Never go back (4x)
I will Never never
Never never
Never never
Never never go back

Ngizo- -phikelela (4x)
Ngizo- -phikelela
-phikelela
-phikelela
-phikelela -phikelela

Ngizo- -hamba naye (4x)
Ngizo- -hamba naye
-hamba naye
-hamba naye
-hamba naye hamba naye

46. **Iyo lendlela** (imvuselelo; izEnzo 9:2)

Iyoho iyo lendlela Iyo iyo lendlela
Iyo iyo lendlela
Iyo

Woza woza s'hambe, mzalwane Woza s'hambe, mzalwane
Woza s'hambe, mzalwane

Woza

Deda deda deda, sathane Deda deda, sathane
Deda deda, sathane
Deda

Thina thina sonqoba ngayo Thina sonqoba ngayo
Thina sonqoba ngayo
Thina

47. **Izindonga** (imvuselelo; uJoshuwa 6:20)
Izindonga Ziwelele (3x)
Nale nale ziwelele

Ziwelel' i'ndonga Ziwelele (2x)
Ziwelel' lena Ziwelele
Nale nale ziwelele

48. **Izulu lavuleka** (umgcwabo; uJohane 1:51)
Izulu lavuleka Izulu lavuleka
Sabona umbono
Umbono kaJehova

Sabon' ingelosi Sabon' ingelosi
Ezehla zenyuka
Zimhubel' uJehova

Ngelinye ilanga Ngelinye ilanga
Sonyuka neNkosi
Siy' ekhay' ezulwini

49. **Izulu liyasetshenzelwa** (imvuselelo)
Izulu liyasetshenzelwa Halala
O halala Izulu liyasetshenzelwa
O izulu liyasetshenzelwa Halala
O halala Izulu liyasetshenzelwa

Halala Halala
O halala Izulu liyasetshenzelwa
O halala Halala
O halala Izulu liyasetshenzelwa

50. **Izulu indawo yokuphumula** (umgcwabo)
Izulu indawo yokuphumul' abangcwele Alungen' uvalo

Ezulwini Alungen' uvalo

51. **Jerusalema** (umgcwabo)
Jerusalema Jerusalema (2x)
Jerusalema Jerusalem' umuzi okhanyayo

Imizamo yam' iyophela Jerusalema

Nxa gifika kuwe Jerusalema
Jerusalema Jerusalem' umuzi okhanyayo

Angisoze ngakulibala Jerusalema
Okuhle laphaya Jerusalema
Jerusalema Jerusalem' umuzi okhanyayo

52. **Kade ngihamba ngizula** (imvuselelo)
Kade ngihamba ngizula ngifuna lo Jesu Ngamthola

Mina ngamthola Ngamthola ngamthola ngamthola

53. **Kant' uJesu** (induduzo; iHubo 23:4)
Kant' u- -Jesu
Una- -mi njalo
Noma Ngihamba endlelen' enzima

Endlele -n' enzima (3x)
Endlelen' enzima

[NOMA: *Kant' u-* -Jesu *uya-* -ngihola / *uya-* -ngilonda / *uya-* -ngithanda]

54. **Kubo bonke othixo** (indumiso)
Kubo bonke Kubo bonke othixo
Akekho Akekho onjengawe
Nazo i- Nazo 'inceba zakhe

Zimile Zimi ngunaphakade

55. **Kuhle ukukholwa** (imvuselelo)
Kuhle ukukholwa Kuhle ukukholwa
Uma siphendukile
Uma sishiy' izono
Sivumel' iNkos' ingene kithi

Ngena, Nkos' yami Ngena ngena, Nkos' yam'
Ngena ngena, Nkos' yam'
Ngena ngena, Nkos' yami
Sivumel' iNkos' ingene kithi

56. **Kukhon' ongqongqozayo** (imvuselelo)
Kukhon' ongqongqozayo Kukhon' ongqongqozayo
'mvumel' uJes' angene 'mvumel' uJes' angene

O mangingene O mangingene
O ezulwini O ezulwini
O 'khay' elihle O 'khay' elihle

57. **Kuwe Baba** (induduzo; iHubo 46:10)
Kuwe Kuwe Baba, ngibek' ithemba lami (3x)

In Thee In Thee Holy, I put my trust (3x)

Thula	Thula wazi nginguThixo (3x)

58. **Kuyoba mnandi** (umgcwabo; 1 kuThimothewu 4:8)

(Dadawethu / Bafowethu)	Kuyoba mnandi (4x)
Khona	Sesiphelele sisonke ezulwini
	Ngoba siyaz' ukuthi
	Kunezithembiso zethu
Haleluya	Ezulwini

59. **Kwaze kwangcono** (imvuselelo)

Kwaze kwangcono	Kungcono kungcono ngizilahle (2x)
Kunokuba	Ngihlale ngilind' usathane
	Az' azuz' impilo yami
	Kungcono ngizilahle

60. **Libongwe abantu** (indumuso)

Libongwe	Libongwe ngabantu
Libongwe	Libongw' ingelosi
Alikho	Alikho igama elihle njengalo (2x)

61. **Lo mhlaba akusilon' ikhaya** (umngcwabo)

Lo mhlaba	Lo mhlab' akusilon' ikhaya lami
Lo mhlaba lo	Lo mhlab' akusilon' ikhaya lami
Ikhaya	Ikhaya lisemazulwini
Ikhaya lami	Ikhaya lisemazulwini

62. **Lungis' indaba yakho** (imvuselelo)

Lungis' indaba yakho noJesu	Khona manje
	Khona manje
	Khona manje
Khona manje	Khona manje
	Khona manje
	Khona manje
UJes' uzobuya manjena	Khona manje
	Khona manje
	Khona manje

63. **Makabongwe** (indumiso)

Makabongwe	Makabongwe makabongwe
Haleluya	Haleluya haleluya
Uphakeme	Uphakeme uphakeme
UyiNkosi	UyiNkosi uUyiNkosi
Uyingcwele	Uyingcwele uyingcwele

64. **Makenilunge** (imvuselelo)

Makenilunge	Makenilunge (2x)
Ngoba nina	Ngoba nin' abantu bakhe (2x)

65. **Malibongwe** (indumiso)

Malibongwe	Malibongw' igama lakhe (4x)
Simtholile	Simtholil' onokubongwa (4x)
Uyeyedwa	Uyeyedw' onokubongwa (4x)

66. **Masiqhubekeni** (imvuselelo; kumaHeberu 12:3)

Masiqhubekeni	Masiqhubekeni
-qhubekeni	Thin' amakristu
-makristu	Singaphel' amandla
	Ezulwini basilindele

67. **Mbonge uJehova** (indumiso)

Mbong' uJehova, mphefum'lo wami

Mbonge	Mbonge uJehova, mphefum'lo wami
Mbonge	Mbonge
Mbonge	Mbonge
Mbonge	Mbonge uJehova, mphefum'lo wami

68. **Mina angeke ngiyeke** (imvuselelo)

Mina angeke	Mina angeke ngiyeke
Ukukukhonza	Ukukukhonza, Baba
Ngikhumbul' iGetsemane	Ngikhumbul'
Ngikhumbul'	iGetsemane
Ungihluphekele	Ungihluphekele

69. **Mina kade ngaphil' ezonweni** (imvuselelo)

Mina kade ngangiphil' ezonweni	Ngingabon' ubuhle bezulu lakho
	Ngingabon' ubuhle be-
-zulu lakho	Ngingabon' ubuhle bezulu lakho
	Ngingabon' ubuhle be-
Mina kade ngangihlel' ezonweni	Ngingabon' ubuhle bezulu lakho
	Ngingabon' ubuhle be-
-zulu lakho	Ngingabon' ubuhle bezulu lakho
	Ngingabon' ubuhle be-

70. **Mphefum'lo wami bo** (induduzo)

Mphefum'lo wami bo	Nyathela kancane
	Nyathela kancane
	Nyathela kancane
	Siy' ekhay' ezulwini

Sekuseduze bo Nyathela kancane
Nyathela kancane
Nyathela kancane
Siy' ekhay' ezulwini

71. **Nanini naninina** (imvuselelo)
Nanini Nanini naninina
Nanini naninina
Nanini Nanini naninina
Nanini naninina

UJes' Ukhona naninina (4x)

72. **Nansi leyo mini** (imvuselelo)
Nansi leyo mini yenkululeko Yenkululeko (2x)
Ifikile imini yenkululeko

Nansiya Iyo le imini
Nansiya Yenkululeko
Nansiya Iyo le imini
Nansiya Yenkululeko
Ifikile imini yenkululeko

Thatha, mama, nans' iyo le imini leyo
Uthethelw' izono, haleluya yebo Ifikile imini yenkululeko

[NOMA : Thatha, buthi ... / Thatha, sisi ... / Thatha, baba ...]

73. **Ngafunyanwa** (umgcwabo)
Ngafunyanwa Ngafunyanwa, Nkosi yami
Ngafunyanwa, Nkosi yami
Nkosi yam', izulu lakho
Lona liyikhaya lami

Mangingene Mangingene, Nkosi yami
Mangingene, Nkosi yami
Nkosi yam', izulu lakho
Lona liyikhaya lami

74. **Ngangiboshiwe amen** (imvuselelo; isAmbulo 1:5)
Ngangiboshiwe Amen
Ngangiboshiwe Amen
Ngangiboshiw' Amen haleluya

Kwafik' uJesu Amen
Wangikhulula Amen
Ezonwen' Amen haleluya

75. **Ngangiboshiwe mina** (imvuselelo; iHubo 146:7)
Ngangiboshiwe mina Ngubani na? (3x)
Nguy' usathane

Ngikhululiwe mina — Ngubani na? (3x)
Nguy' uJehova

76. **Nganginezono** (imvuselelo)
Nganginezono — Zahlanzwa (3x)
Zasal' eGolgotha

77. **Ngasuka** (imvuselelo)
Ngasuka — Ngasuka
Ngamlandela
Ngasuka
Ngamlandela
Ngazishiya — Ngazishiya
Izono zami
Ngasuka
Ngamlandela

78. **Ngeliny' ilanga** (imvuselelo)
Ngeliny' ilanga — Amen
UJes' uzobuya — Amen

Usale wedwa — Amen
Othand' izono — Amen

79. **Ngibabaza** (induduzo)
Ngibabaza — Uthando nesineke
O nami — O nami ngize ngifinyele

Inzim' indlela — Inzim' ikhuphukela
O nami — O nami ngize ngifinyele

Usuku — Ngihlezi nomsindisi
Engipha — Engipha amandl' okunqoba

80. **Ngimfumen' uJesu** (imvuselelo)
Ngimfumene — Ngimfumen' uJesu
E'nsukwini — E'nsukwini zokugcina
Ngizohlala — Ngizohlala naye
Izolo, namhla naphakade

Nangu nangu — Nangu nang' uJesu
Ekubize — Ekubiza wena nami
Ethi — Ethi: Woza nawe
Akuthethelel' izono

81. **Ngingenzenjani** (imvuselelo; uMarku 10:17; uJohane 3:4)
Ngingenzenjani mina ngizalwe ka-

Ngizalwe kabusha? — Ngingenzenjani mina
Ngizalwe kabusha?

82. **Ngisize Nkosi** (imvuselelo; umShumayeli 10:4)

Ngisize, Nkosi	Ngisize, Nkosi, ngingasuki Endaweni yami yokulinda
Ngibona lapha	Nalaph' imimoya Ivunguza ngamandla
Noma	Abantu bekhuluma Beligxek' igama lakho

83. **Ngisondela kuwe** (indumiso)

Ngisondela	Ngisondela kuwe
Kuwe	Ngisondela kuwe
Kuwe	Ngisondela kuwena Thixo wami
Ngithandaza	Ngithandaza kuwe
Kuwe	Ngithandaza kuwe
Kuwe	Ngithandaza kuwena Thixo wami
Ngithembela	Ngithembela kuwe
Kuwe	Ngithembela kuwe
Kuwe	Ngithandaza kuwena Thixo wami
Ngizinikela	Ngizinikela kuwe
Kuwe	Ngizinikela kuwe
Kuwe	Ngithandaza kuwena Thixo wami

84. **Ngiyamthand' uJesu** (imvuselelo)

Ngiyamthand' uJesu	Wakhulul' umoya wam'
Umoya wami	Wakhulul' umoya wam'

85. **Ngizikhethele mina** (imvuselelo)

Ngizikhethele	Ngizikhethele mina
Mina	Ukuhamba noJesu
NoJesu	Ngizikhethele mina Ukuhamba noJesu
Ubobekezela	Ubobekezela bekezela
Bekezela	Ubobekezela bekezela

86. **Ngizohamba** (imvuselelo)

Ngizohamba	Ngizohamba njengabo bonke
Nami ngize	Nami ngize ngikudumise
Ngijabule	Ngijabule ngizinikele
Ngibone	Ngibone ngamehlo

87. **Ngizokubambelela** (imvuselelo; kaJakobe 1:12)

Ngizokubambelela kusona	Ngizokubambelela kusona isiphambano

Ngize ngizuz' umqhele wami

Umqhele was' uyahlaba Umqhele waso uyahlaba isiphambano
Ngize ngizuz' umqhele wami

88. **Ngizwe izwi** (imvuselelo)

Ngizwe izwi likhuluma nami
Ngaphenduka ngambon' uBaba
Ngizwe izwi likhuluma nami
Ngaphenduka ngambon' uBaba

Ngithi: Baba Baba Baba
Ngambon' uBaba
Ngithi: Baba Baba Baba
Ngambon' uBaba

89. **Njalo njalo** (imvuselelo)

Njalo Njalo
Njalo njalo
Njalo njalo
Njalo njalo

S'yathandaza
S'yanikela
S'yamdumisa
Thina njalo

90. **Nokuphathwa** (umgcwabo)

Nokuphathwa Nokuphathwa ezakh' izandla
Asiyise ekhaya le

Ayibhalwa Ayibhalwa iminyaka
Nobusuku abukho

91. **Nom' indlel' inameva** (induduzo)

Noma Baba Nom' indlel' inameva
Ngizothandaza
Noma Baba Nom' indlel' inameva
Ngizothandaza

Thandaza Ngizothandaza
Thandaza Ngizothandaza
Ngizothandaza Ngizothandaza
Ngizothandaza Ngizothandaza

92. **O bayede** (indumiso)

O bayede Bayede
Nkosi yami Bayede
O bayede Bayede
Nkosi yami Bayede

O Bayede Nkosi yami (4x)

O	Bayede (4x)

93. **Okholwayo iNdodana** (imvuselelo; 1 kaJohane 5:12)

Okholwayo	Okholwayo iNdodana Uzophila phakade
Uzophila phakade	Uzophila phakade Uzophila phakade

94. **O nxa ebizw' amagama** (imvuselelo; isAmbulo 20:11-15)

O nxa	Ebizw' amagama (3x)
Enga-	-b' elam' likhona
Enga-	-b' elam' likhona (4x)

95. **Ophuzayo** (imvuselelo; uJohane 4:14)

Ophuzayo	Ophuzayo
Kulawo manzi	Lawo manzi
Ophuzayo	Ophuzayo
Kulawo manzi	Lawo manzi
	Ophuzayo kulawo manzi Akomi naphakade qha
Akomi	'Komi qha (4x)
Ophu-	Ophuzayo (4x)
Woza	Woza nawe (4x)
Ophuzayo	Kulowo mthombo (2x)
Woza	Woza nawe
Uzo-	Uzophuza
Kulowo	Lowo mthombo
Wosi-	Wosindiso

96. **Phind' ukhulume** (induduzo)

Phind' u-	-khulume, Moya oyiNgcwele Khuluma khuluma, Nkosi yam'
Ngokuba	zonk' izono ebengizenza Namhla zisobala ebusweni bakho

97. **Praise God** (indumiso)

Praise God / Haleluya	Praise God haleluya
Haleluya	Praise God amen
Haleluya	Praise God haleluya
Haleluya	Praise God amen

98. **Sengawulahlela eKalvari** (imvuselelo)

Sengawulahlela eKalvari	EKalvari

Umthwalo wezono zami

Wanyamalala Wanyamalala
Wanyamalal' Umthwalo wezono zami

Wasala khona Wasala khona
Wasalakhon' Umthwalo wezono zami

Wathethelelwa Wathethelelwa
Wathethelelw' Umthwalo wezono zami

Wagingqilika Wagingqilika
Wagingqilik' Umthwalo wezono zami

99. **Sengizomphilela** (imvuselelo)
Sengi- -ngizomphilela yena (3x)
Kuze kube phakade

Sengi- -zofakaza ngaye (3x)
Kuze kube phakade

100. **Shall never lose** (imvuselelo)
Shall never never lose its power Shall never
Shall never lose its power Shall never lose its power

O yes the blood of God The blood of God
That 's shed for me and you
Shall never lose its power

Alisoze laphel' amandla Al'soze
Alisoze laphel' amandla Al'soze laphel' amandla

Igazi likaJesu Igazi likaJesu
Alisoze laphel' amandla Al'soze laphel' amandla

101. **Shiya umhlaba** (imvuselelo; uMarku 8:34)
Shiya umhlaba ne'nto zawo (4x)
Thabath' unqam'lezo ulandele (4x)

102. **Simbona ngothando** (indumiso)
Simbona Ngothando lwakhe (3x)
UJes' uyamangalisa

103. **Sinesithembiso thina** (umngcwabo)
Sinesithembiso thina Kulo mhlaba
Ngoba Sinekhaya ezulwini
Sinesithembiso thina Kulo mhlaba
Ngoba Sinekhaya ezulwini

Sithi: Haleluya
Sithi: Haleluya
Sithi: Haleluya haleluya haleluya

104. **Sinevangeli elisha** (imvuselelo)

Sine-	-evangeli elisha (3x)
	Selith': As'hambe senze nje
Khona seli-	-lith': As'hambe senze nje (3x)
	Selith': As'hambe senze nje

105. **Sithi Halala** (indumiso)

Sithi: Halala ngoJesu	Halala halala
O halala ngoJesu	Halala halala (3x)
Sithi: Phansi, sathane	'Jes' uyiNkosi (4x)

106. **Sivuselele** (imvuselelo)

Sivuselele	Sivuselele, Nkos' uJesu
Sivuselele	Sivuselele amen
Sivuselele	Sivuselele, Nkos' uJesu
	Sivuselele
Haleluya	Haleluya 'dumo lwakhe
Haleluya	Haleluya amen
Haleluya	Haleluya 'dumo lwakhe
	Sivuselele
Siyabonga	Siyabonga, Nkos' uJesu
Siyabonga	Siyabonga amen
Siyabonga	Siyabonga, Nkos' uJesu
	Sivuselele

107. **Siwelile iJordane** (umngcwabo)

Siwelile iJordane	Siliwelile siliwelile
	Siliwelile siwelile
Siliweli-	Siliwelile singaphesheya
Sohlangana nenkosi yezulu	Sohlangana neNkosi
	Sobonana neNkosi
	Siliwelile singaphesheya

108. **Siyabonga Nkosi yamakhosi** (indumiso)

Siyabonga	Siyabonga, Nkosi yamakhosi
Siyabonga	Siyabonga
Siyabonga	Siyabonga, Nkosi yamakhosi
Siyabonga	Siyabonga
UyiNgcwele	UyiNgcwele, Nkosi yamakhosi
UyiNgcwele	UyiNgcwele
UyiNgcwele	UyiNgcwele, Nkosi yamakhosi
UyiNgcwele	UyiNgcwele
Uphakeme	Uphakeme, Nkosi yamakhosi
Uphakeme	Uphakeme

Uphakeme Uphakeme, Nkosi yamakhosi
Uphakeme Uphakeme

109. **Siyabonga nokubonga** (indumiso)
Siyabonga nokubonga Siyabonga
Siyabonga Nokubonga
Siyabonga nokubonga Lifikil' ivangeli

Siyahalalis' impela Siyahalalis'
Siyahalalis' Impela
Siyahalalis' impela Lifikil' ivangeli

110. **Siyakubonga Baba** (indumiso)
Siyakubonga, Baba Haleluya amen
Siyakubonga, Jesu Haleluya amen
Siyakubonga, Mdali wethu Haleluya amen
Usithethelele

Usithethelel' izono Haleluya amen
Usithethelel' izono, Jesu Haleluya amen
Usithethelel' izono, Somandla Haleluya amen
Usithethelele

111. **Siyakutshekula siyakutshekula** (imvuselelo; uMalaki 4:2)
Siyakutshekula siyakutshekula Siyakutshekula njengamathole
Njengamathole Siyakutshekula njengamathole

112. **Sodibana eGalile** (imvuselelo; uMarku 14:28)
Sodibana Sodibana eGalile
Sodibana eGalile

113. **Sohlabelela** (indumiso; isAmbulo 14:3)
Sohlabelela Sohlabelel' uhosana
Sohlabelela Sohlabelel' uhosana

Sizungeze Sizungeze isihlalo sobuKhosi
Sohlabelel' uhosana

114. **Thandaza** (imvuselelo)
Thandaza Thandaza (4x)
Thandaza Thandaza
Umthandazo unganqoba
Thandaza Thandaza
Umthandazo unganqoba

Sonqoba Sonqoba (4x)
Sonqoba Sonqoba
Umthandazo unganqoba
Sonqoba Sonqoba
Umthandazo unganqoba

115. **Thina sihamba** (imvuselelo)

Thina sihamba	Sihamba neqhawe
Neqhawe	Sihamba noJehova
NoJehova	Sinyathela ngesizotha
NoJehova	Insimbi edl' ezinye

116. **Thina sizosho** (indumiso)

Thina sizo-	-sho haleluya
Thina sizo-	-sho haleluya
Thina sizo-	-sho haleluya
	Dumisani
O dumisani	O haleluya
UJehova	O haleluya
O dumisani	O haleluya
	Dumisani

117. **Thutha lapho** (indumiso)

Thutha lapho wakhe khona	Thutha lapho wakhe khona
	Thutha lapho wakhe khona
	Thutha lapho wakhe khona
Lo mhlab' uyazamazama	Lo mhlab' uyazamazama
	Lo mhlab' uyazamazama
	Lo mhlab' uyazamazama
Lo mhlab' awusil' ikhaya lami	Lo mhlaba awusil' ikhaya lami
	Lo mhlaba awusil' ikhaya lami
	Lo mhlaba awusil' ikhaya lami

118. **To die no more** (umngcwabo)

To die no more (2x)	To die no more (3x)
	To die no more (3x)
Ang'sayikufa (2x)	Ang'sayikufa (3x)
	Ang'sayikufa (3x)
I'm going home (2x)	I'm going home (3x)
	I'm going home (3x)
Ngiy' ekhaya (2x)	Ngiy' ekhaya (3x)
	Ang'sayikufa (3x)

119. **Ubatshele we Nowa** (imvuselelo; 2 kaPetru 2:5; isAmbulo 8-11)

Ubatshele, we Nowa	We Nowa: Umhlab' uyabhubha
Liyakhala lakhala	Icilongo: Intatha yokusa

120. **Ubusisiwe ozayo** (indumiso; iHubo 118:26)

Ubusisiwe	Ozayo (3x)
	Ngegama leNkosi

Makabongwe Ozayo (3x)
Ngegama leNkosi

121. **UJehov' uNkulunkulu** (induduzo; iHubo 23:2)
UJehov' uNkulunkulu wam' Uyangihola emadl'lweni aluhlaza

Uyangihola e- uyangihola Uyangihola emadl'lweni aluhlaza

122. **UJes' akehluleki** (indumiso)
UJes' akehluleki Akehlulwa luth' uJesu
Akehlulwa lutho
Akehlulwa luth' uJesu
Akehlulwa lutho

Akehlulwa lutho Akehlulwa luth' uJesu
Akehlulwa lutho

123. **UJesu mayebonakaliswa** (indumiso; 1 kaJohane 3:2)
UJesu mayebonakal(isw)a Thina sofana naye (2x)

Thina Sofana naye (2x)

124. **UJes' umbonaphi** (imvuselelo)
UJes' umbonaphi wena Ngimbona lapha kim'
Umbonaphi wena Esehlanz' inhliziyo
Umbonaphi wena Ngimbona lapha kim'
Umbonaphi wena Esehlanz' inhliziyo yam'

Ngimbona Ngimbona lapha kim'
Ngibon' uJesu Esehlanz' inhliziyo
Ngimbona Ngimbona lapha kim'
Ngibon' uJesu Esehlanz' inhliziyo yam'

125. **UJes' uyamangalisa** (indumiso; uHezekeli 36:26-27)
UJesu Uyamangalisa (3x)
Umangalisa Inhliziyo yam'

Wakhip' Inhliziyo yelitshe
Wafak' Inhliziyo kamoya
UJesu Uyamangalisa
Umangalisa Inhliziyo yam'

126. **UJesu uyimpendulo** (imvuselelo)
UJesu UJesu uyimpendulo
Yezwe Yezwe elonakele
UJesu UJesu uyimphendulo
Yezwe Yezwe elonakele

Yezwe Yezwe elonakele
Izwe Izwe elonakele
Yezwe Yezwe elonakele

Izwe	Izwe elonakele

127. **UJesu wangithatha** (imvuselelo)

UJesu wangithatha	Wangithatha
Wangithatha wangibeka	Wangibeka
Wangibeka wangisusa	Wangisusa
Wathi	Wathi: Hlala la
Ungithatha la angibeke la	Ungithatha la
Ungithatha la	Angibeke la
Angibeke la	Angisuse la
Angisuse la	Angibeke la
Angibeke la	Unobubele nam’
UJesu lo unobubele nam’	UJesu lo unobubele nam’
	UJesu lo unobubele nam’
	Unobubele nam’

128. **Ukukhonz’ iNkos’ uJesu** (imvuselelo)

Ukukhonz’ iNkos’ uJesu	Inhlanhla leyo
Kuyinhlanhla leyo	Inhlanhla leyo
O inhlanhla leyo	Inhlanhla leyo
O inhlanhla leyo	Inhlanhla leyo
Woza naw’ uzithathele	Inhlanhla leyo
O inhlanhla leyo	Inhlanhla leyo

129. **Ukuthula** (induduzo; uLevitikusi 16:14; kumaHeberu 9:12)

Ukuthula	Ukuthula
Ukuthula	Kulo mhlaba wezono
Wezono	Igazi likaJesu
	Linyenyez’ ukuthula

130. **Uma ngisuka lapha** (umngcwabo)

Uma ngisuka lapha	Ngiqonde ekhaya
Ngiqonde ekhaya	Ngiqonde ekhaya

131. **Uma singena ekhaya** (umngcwabo)

Uma singena	Masingena ekhaya
Uma singen’ ekhaya	Ukubon’ iNkosi laphaya
Laphaya / Thina sojabula	Sojabula
Sojabula	Thina sonke
Thina sonke	Sohlabelel’ uhaleluya

132. **Usathan’ akanandawo la** (imvuselelo)

Usathan’ akanandawo la	Akanandawo la (3x)
	Akanandawo la (2x)
UJes’ usenendawo la	Usenendawo la (3x)
	Esenendawo la (2x)

133. **Usathan' uyanyonyoba** (imvuselelo)

Usathan' uyanyonyoba	Zifihle phansi kwegazi
	Zifihle phansi kwegazi
	Zifihle phansi kwegazi leMvan'
Usathan' uthwel' umthwalo	Zifihle phansi kwegazi
	Zifihle phansi kwegazi
	Zifihle phansi kwegazi leMvan'

134. **Usesigcine** (induduzo; I uSamuweli 7:12)

Use-	-sigcine kwaze kwaba la (3x)
Thina	Simethembile
Use-	-sihole kwaze kwaba la (3x)
Thina	Simethembile

135. **Uthando lukaBaba** (indumiso)

Uthando lukaBaba	Uthando lukaBaba
	Lubanzi lujulile
	Lumnand' i'nsuku zonke
Lumnandi	Lumnandi lumnandi
	Lumnandi lumnandi
	Lumnand' i'nsuku zonke

136. **Uthando lwabantu** (imvuselelo)

Uthando lwabantu	Luncane luncane luncane
Lwabantu	Luncane luncane luncane
Lwabantu	Luncane luncane luncane
Isigcino:	Luyaphela
LukaJesu	Lungaka lungaka lungaka
LukaJesu	Lungaka lungaka lungaka
LukaJesu	Lungaka lungaka lungaka
Isigcino:	Lungaka

137. **Uthando lwakhe** (imvuselelo)

Uthando	Uthando lwakhe
Uthando	Uthando lwakhe
Uthando	Uthando lwakhe
	Luyamangalisa
UJesu	Sihamba naye
UJesu	Sihlala naye
UJesu	Silala naye
	Sivuka naye

138. **Uvalo lwami** (induduzo)

Uvalo lwami	Uvalo lwami lwaphela
UJesu	Wavus' umoya wami
Umoya wami	Wangethula umthwalo
	Wangishiya neculo

139. **Uyabona** (induduzo)

Uyabona	Uyabona selomile
Baba	Lima-limantise ngom'sa wakho
Limantise	Lima-limantise ngom'sa wakho

140. **Uyeza uyeza** (imvuselelo)

Uyeza uyez' uJesu	Uyeza uyeza
Uyeza uyez' uJesu	Uyeza uyeza
Uyeza uyeza	Uyeza masinyane
Bambisisa lokho nakho	Uyeza uyeza
Bambisisa lokho nakho	Uyeza uyeza
Uyeza uyeza	Uyeza masinyane

141. **Uzoba wedwa** (imvuselelo)

Uzoba wedwa	Uzoba wedw' embuzweni
Ngeliny' ilanga	Ngeliny' ilanga uzophendula

142. **Vuma nawe** (imvuselelo)

Vuma nawe	Vuma vuma
	Vuma vuma
	Vuma vuma
	Vum' usindiswe
Ekhaya	Ekhay' ezulwini
	Kunesithembiso
	Vuma vuma
	Vum' usindiswe

143. **Wamuhle** (indumiso)

Wamuhle wamuhle	
Wamuhle uJehova	Wamuhle wamuhle
Wamuhle	Wamuhle
	Wamuhle uJehova
	Wamuhle wamuhle
Siyaya	Siyaya
	Siyay' ezulwini
	Siyaya siyaya
Unity	Unity
	Unity is the power
	Unity unity

144. **We Jesu Nkosi** (induduzo; uLuka 23:42)

We Je-	Jesu
Nkos-	Nkosi
Uz' u-	-ngikhumbule embusweni wakho
Uz' u-	-ngikhumbule (3x)

Embusweni wakho

145. **We makholwa vumani** (imvuselelo)

We makholwa, vuman' izono Vuman' izono
We makholwa, vuman' izono Vuman' izono
We makholwa, vumani Vuman' izono
Nithethelelwe

Niyothethelelw' izono Vuman' izono
Niyothethelelw' izono Vuman' izono
We makholwa vumani Vuman' izono
Nithethelelwe

146. **We Ngonyama kaJuda** (indumiso; uGenesise 49:9; isAmbulo 5:5)

We Ngonyama Ngonyama kaJuda
Wanqoba Wanqob' usathane
Masimi nakuwe Masimi nakuwe
Sonqotshwa ngubani

Kodwa thina Sonqotshwa ngubani
Kodwa thina Sonqotshwa ngubani
Masimi Masimi nakuwe
Sonqotshwa ngubani

147. **Wenze kahle** (imvuselelo; izEnzo 10:33)

Wenze kahle / Dadawethu Wenze kahle wafika nawe
Wenze kahle wafika nawe
Sesilapha phambi kweNkosi
Ukuzwa izwi layo

148. **Woza Mmeli wami** (induduzo; 1 kaJohane 2:1)

Woza Mmeli wami Woza
Woza Woza Mmeli wami
Mmeli woz' uzongimmela Woza
Woza Woza Mmeli wami

Uyasind' umthwalo wami 'Yitshe
'Yitshe 'Yitshe Nkosi yami
Ngoba 'yitshe Nkosi yami 'Yitshe
'Yitshe 'Yitshe Nkosi yami

Usathan' usezophel' amandla Woza
Woza Woza Mmeli wami
Usathan' usezophel' amandla Woza
Woza Woza Mmeli wam'

149. **Yingoba engithandile** (induduzo; kwabaseRoma 5:8)

Yingoba 'Ngithandile
Engithandile 'Ngithandile
Yingoba 'Ngithandile
Engithandile 'Ngithandile
Waze wangifela esiphambanweni

Ngoba engithandile

150. **Yiwo lawo** (imvuselelo; kwabaseRoma 1:16)

Yiwo lawo	Yiwo lawa yiwo lawa
	Zithathele amandla kaJehova
Yiwo lawo	Yiwo lawa yiwo lawa
	Zithathele amandla kaJehova
Ungenzela	Ungenzela konk' okuhle (4x)
'Jehov' uBaba	UJehov' uBaba umalusi wami
	Ungenzela konk' okuhle
'Jehov' uBaba	UJehov' uBaba umalusi wami
	Ungenzela konk' okuhle

151. **Ziph' izintombi** (imvuselelo)

Ziph' izintombi	Ezizohamba
Ezizohamba	Ezizohamba
Ezizohamba	Ezizohamba
	Zibheke phambili
Sishumayel' ivangeli	Elizohamba
Elizohamba	Elizohamba
Elizohamba	Elizohamba
	Libheke phambili

[NOMA: Ziph' izinsizwa ezi- / Baphi omama aba- / Baphi obaba aba- / Liphi ibandla eli-]

Appendix C: Maps

(Design figures 1-5 by R. Wielenga; figure 6 by A.D. Kampen.)


MARITZBURG
ZWAARKOP
LOCATION
THORNVILLE
RICHMOND
PIETERMARITZBURG
PINETOWN
DURBAN
UMLAZI
DUTCH LOCATION
Umlazi R.
Umkomaas R.
Umgeni R.
Umhlatuzana R.
Umbilo R.
Umkomaas Mission
Umlazi Mission
Umbilo Mission
Inanda Location
Table Mt.
Town Hill
Botanic Gardens
Richmond Road
Pinetown Mills
Good Hope
Woodlands
Mt. Moreland
Verulam
Stanger St.
Umbilo Road
Umlazi Road
Umbilo Road
Umlazi Mission
Umkomaas

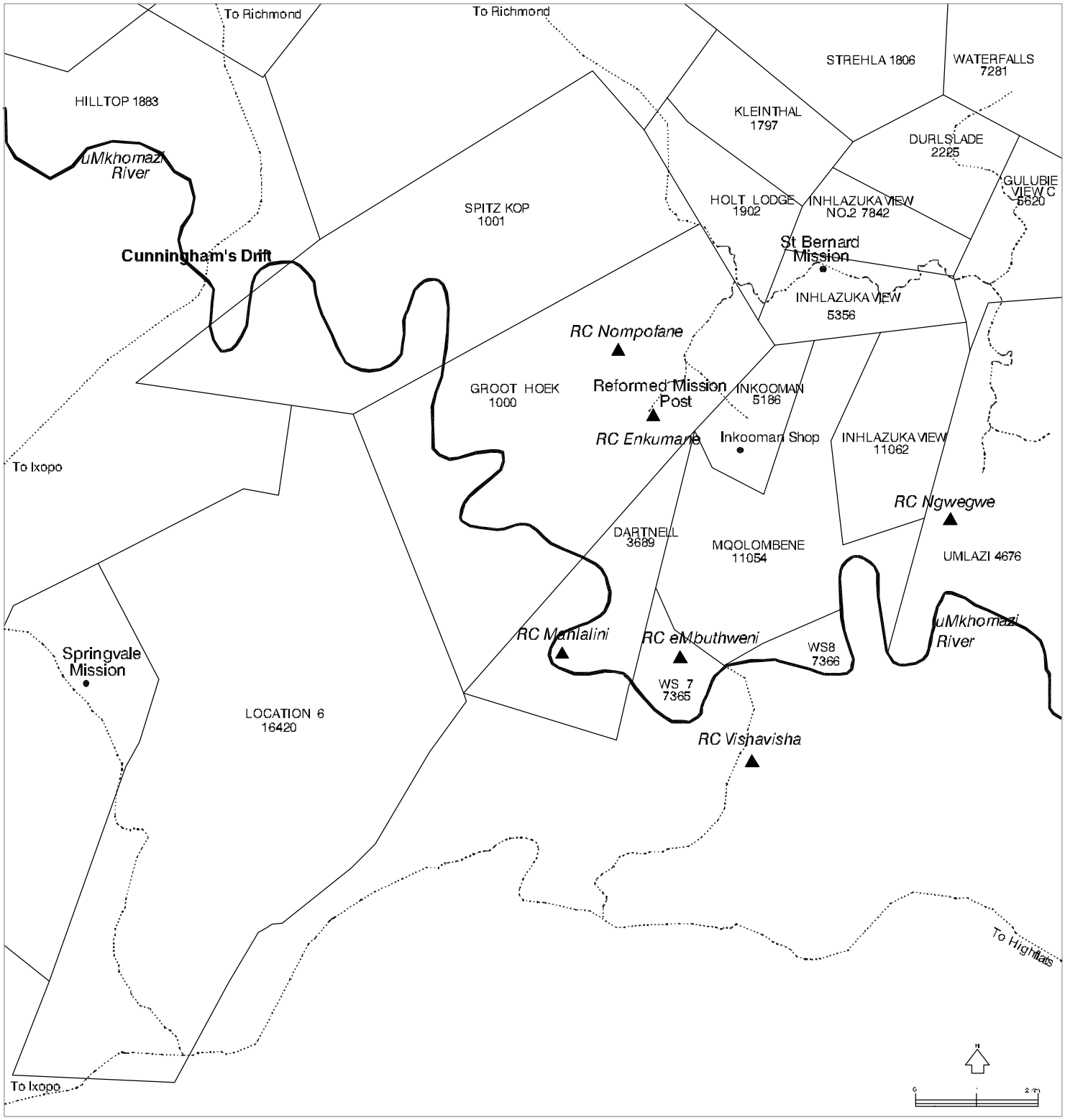


Figure 2: Cadastral Base of Proterties around eNkumane

▲ RC = Reformed Church building

(Chapters 2,3,6)

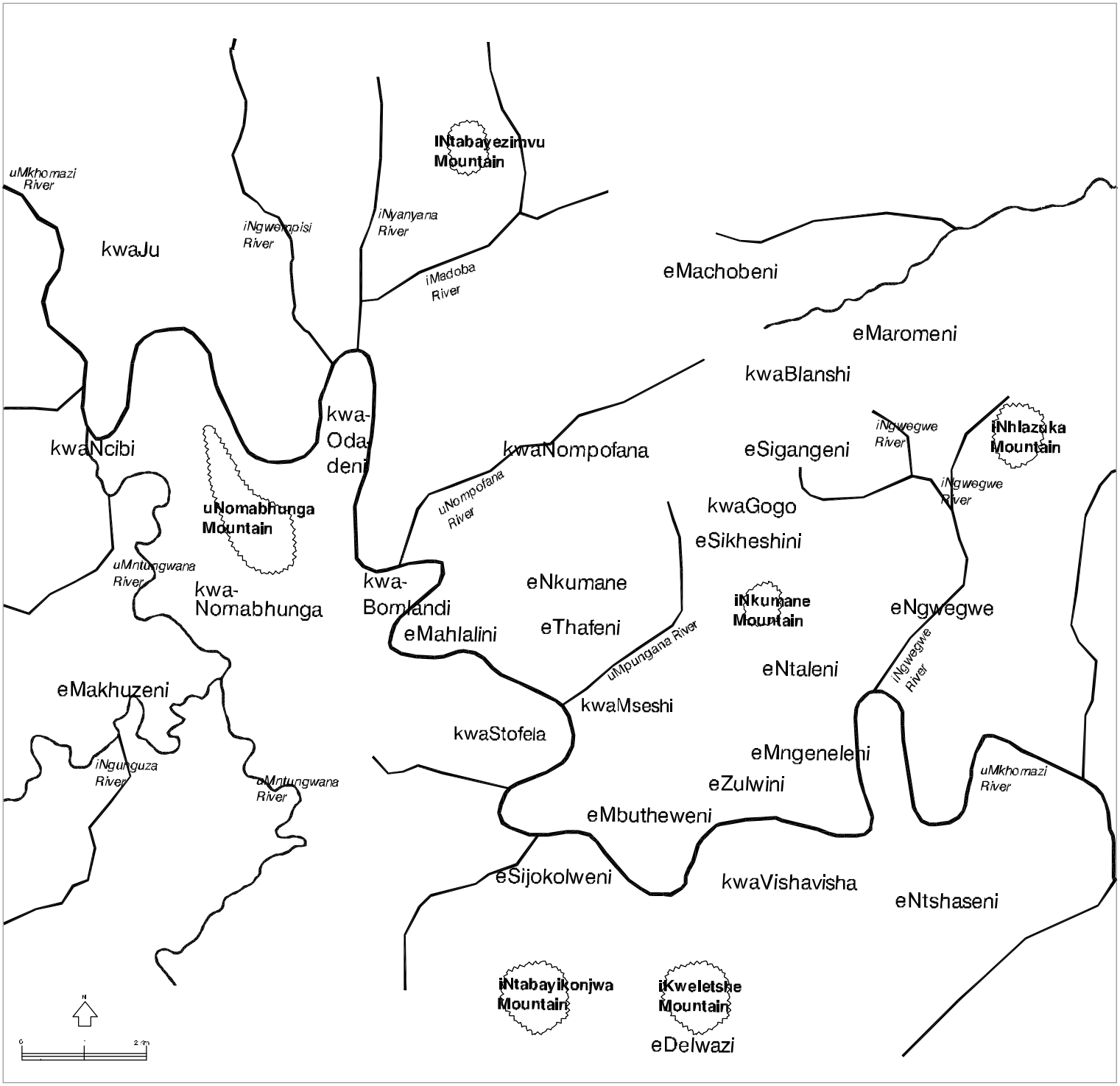


Figure 3: Local Geographical Names around eNkumane

(Chapters 4-5)

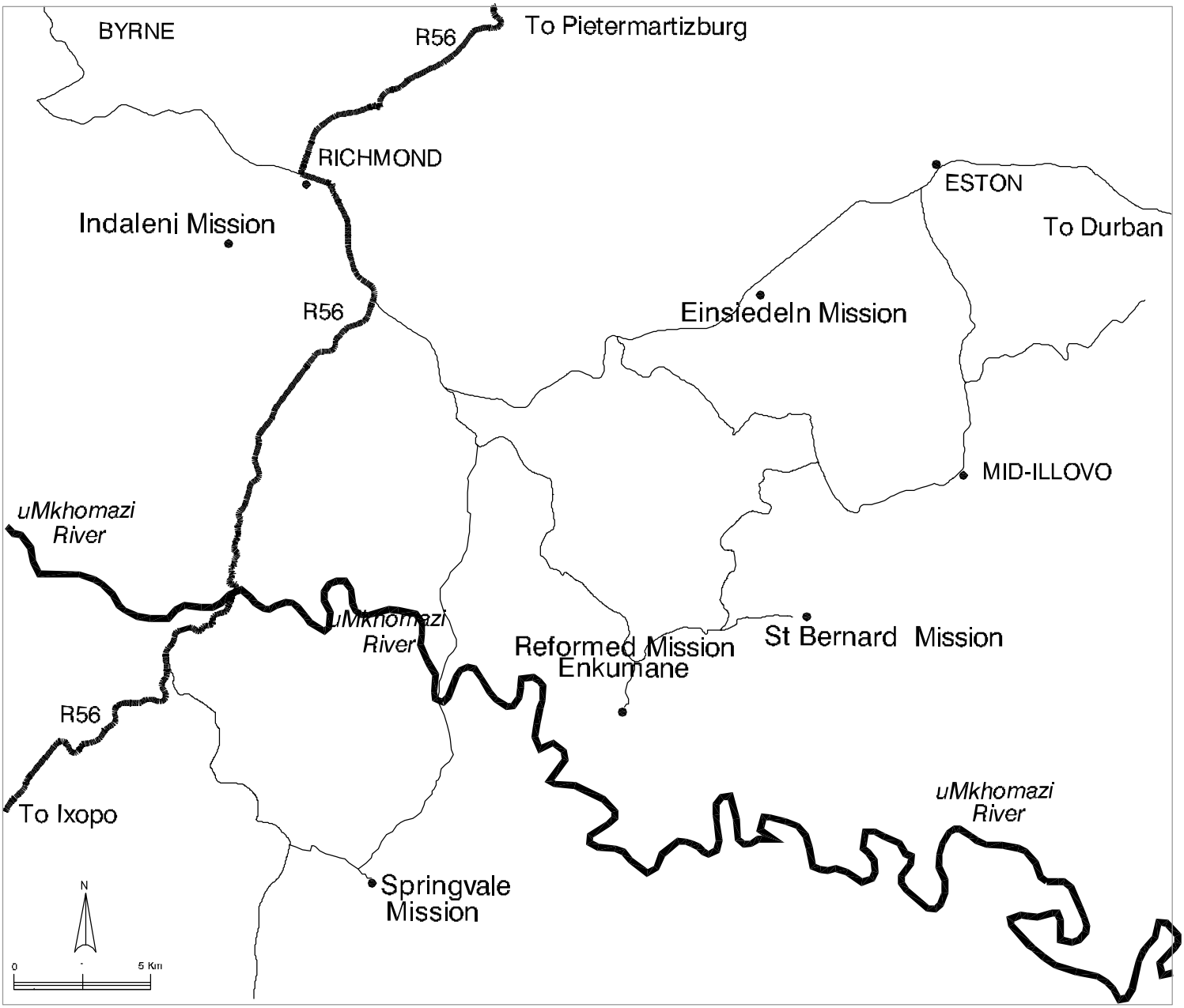


Figure 4: Mission Stations around eNkumane

(Chapters 11-13)

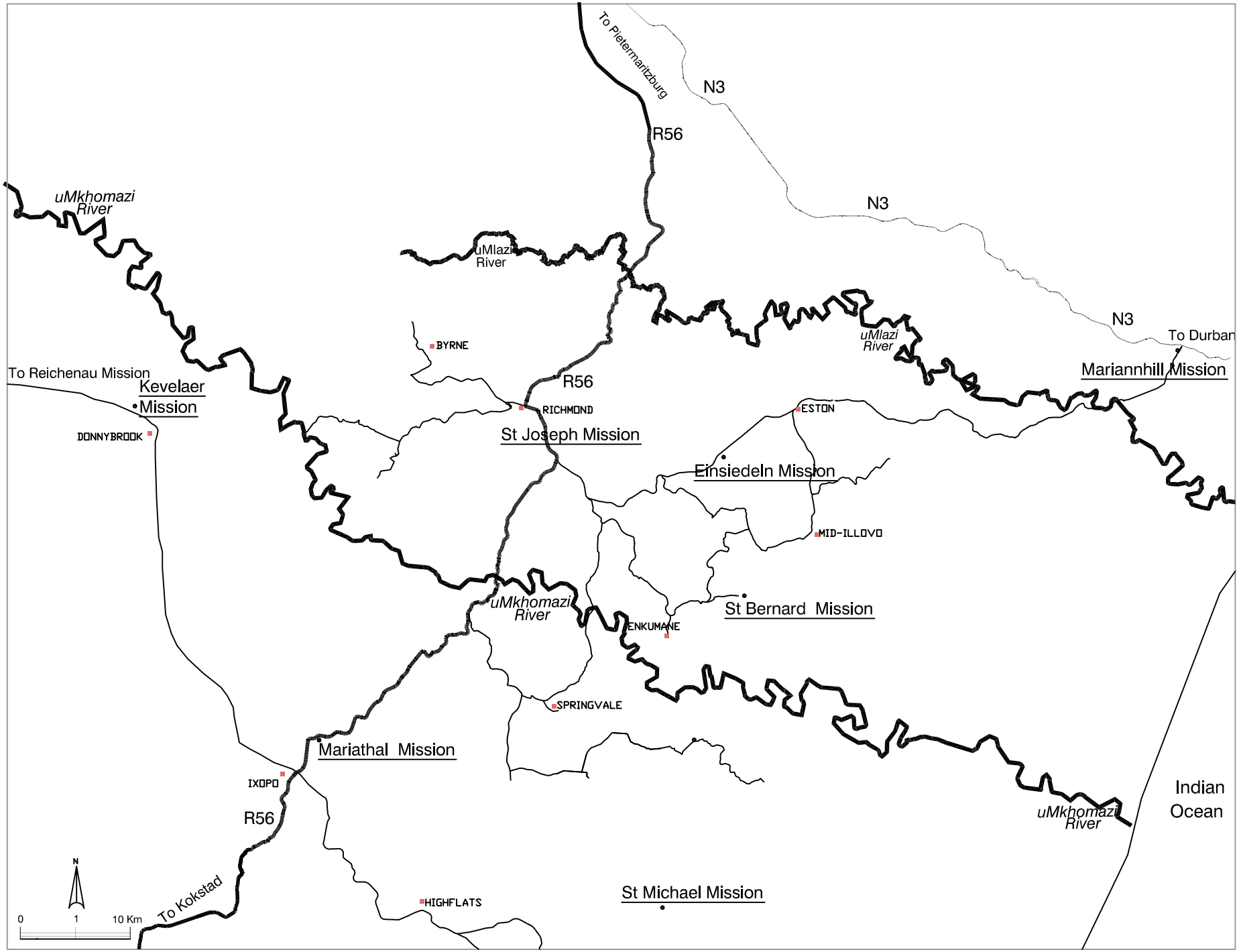


Figure 5: Roman Catholic Trappist / CMM Mission Stations

(Chapter 13)

Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika

Zulu sprekende gemeenten in het zuiden van KwaZulu-Natal

Pietermaritzburg
Pietermaritzburg 1998
Mbubhu-berg
Zbomvini 1985
Imbali
Edendale
KwaMncane 1984
Elandskop
Byrne
Illovo
Umlazi
Thornville
N3
Camperdown
Richmond 1973
Ndaleni 1980
Magoda
Simozomeni 1985
Phatheni 1999
Salimba
Spence 1983
Umkomaas
Nhlamvini
Nhlamvini 1972
Nomabhunga 1973
Makhuzeni 2000
Eston 1972
Hammarsdale
Mpumalanga 1993
Mid-Illovo
Ismont
Mahlabathini 1977
1995 Malizayo
Inhlazuka-berg
Enkumane-berg
1961 Enkumane
Ngwegwe 1963
Mbuthweni 1978
Vishavisha 1967
Durban
KwaMashu 1960
Pinetown
Mariannhill
Ndengezi 1999
Umlazi 1995
Isipingo
Mbokodweni
Folweni
Makholweni 1996
1974 Umbumbulu
Adams Mission
Amanzimtoti
Indische Oceaan
N2
0 5 10 km
N

Verklaring

- Autowegen
- Hoofdwegen
- Secundaire wegen
- Overige wegen
- Rivieren
- Kerkgebouw/Preekplaats

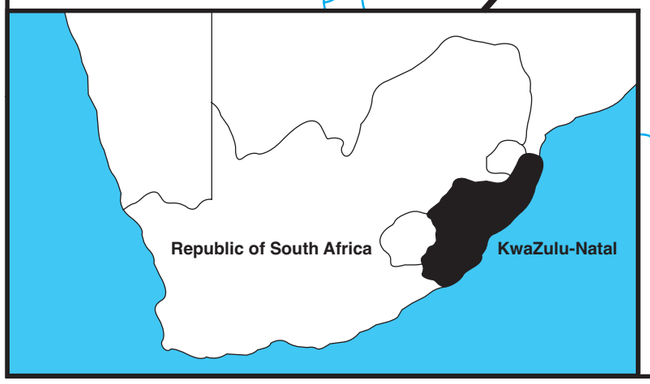
Kerkelijke districten

1. KwaMashu en KwaMncane
2. Ndaleni
3. Mid-Illovo
4. Vumukwenza (met zendingspost in Enkumane)
5. Umbumbulu-Umlazi
6. Nhlamvini-Nomabhunga

Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika

Zulu speaking congregations in southern KwaZulu-Natal

Pietermaritzburg/ Msunduzi
Pietermaritzburg 1998
Mbubhu Mountain
Zbomvini 1985
Imbali
Edendale
KwaMncane 1984
Elandskop
Byrne
Illovo
Umlazi
Thornville
N3
Camperdown
1973 Richmond
Ndaleni 1980
Magoda
Simozomeni 1985
Phatheni 1999
Salimba
Spence 1983
Umkomaas
Nhlamvini
Nhlamvini 1972
Nomabhunga 1973
Makhuzeni 2000
Eston 1972
Hammarsdale
Mpumalanga 1993
Mid-Illovo
Ismont
1995 Malizayo
Mahlabathini 1977
Inhlazuka Mountain
Enkumane Mountain
1961 Enkumane
Ngwegwe 1963
Mbuthweni 1978
Vishavisha 1967
Durban/Thekwini
KwaMashu 1960
Pinetown
Mariannhill
Ndengezi 1999
Umlazi 1995
Isipingo
Mbokodweni
Folweni
Makholweni 1996
1974 Umbumbulu
Adams Mission
Amanzimtoti
Indian Ocean
N2
0 5 10 km
N



Features

- Highway
- Main road
- Dust road
- Track
- River
- Church building

Church circuits

1. KwaMashu en KwaMncane
2. Ndaleni
3. Mid-Illovo
4. Vumukwenza (with Mission Post in Enkumane)
5. Umbumbulu-Umlazi
6. Nhlamvini-Nomabhunga

Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika

Amabandla eReformed enxenyeni yasetshonalanga nezwe laKwaZulu-Natal

Pietermaritzburg/
Msunduzi
Pietermaritzburg 1998
Intaba yaseMbubhu
Zbomvini 1985
Imbali
Edendale
KwaMncane 1984
Elandskop
Byrne
Illovo
Umlazi
Thornville
N3
Camperdown
1973
Richmond
Ndaleni 1980
Magoda
Simozomeni 1985
Phatheni
1999
Salimba
Spence 1983
Umkomazi
Nhlamvini
Nhlamvini 1972
Makhuzeni 2000
Nomabhunga 1973
Eston 1972
Hammarsdale
Mpumalanga 1993
Intaba yaseNkumane
1961 Enkumane
Mbuthweni 1978
Vishavisha 1967
Ngwegwe 1963
Mid-Illovo
Ismont
1995 Malizayo
Mahlabathini 1977
Intaba yaseNhlazuka
Mbokodweni
Makholweni 1996
1974 Umbumbulu
KwaMashu 1960
Durban/Thekwini
N2
Pinetown
Mariannhill
Ndengezi 1999
Umlazi 1995
Isipingo
Folweni
Adams Mission
Amanzimtoti
Ulwandle
0 5 10 km
N

Iningizimu Afrika
KwaZulu-Natal

Izimpawu ezithize

- Umgwaqo onguthelawayeka
- Umgwaqo wetiyela
- Umgwaqo owbhuqu
- Umgwaqo owugedle omncane
- Umfula
- Indlu yesonto

Amabandla

1. KwaMashu en KwaMncane
2. Ndaleni
3. Mid-Illovo
4. Vumukwenza (kanye neMission Post laseNkumane)
5. Umbumbulu-Umlazi
6. Nhlamvini-Nomabhunga